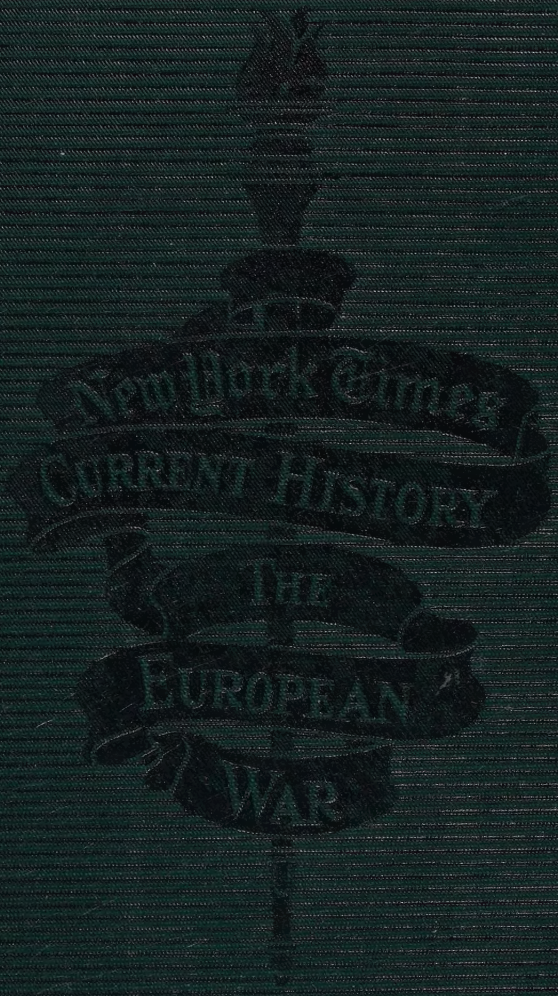
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THE EUROPEAN WAR

Period July, 1917—September, 1917

INTRODUCTION

THE travail of revolutionary Russia seeking to adjust itself to a new order and gradually abandoning the purposes for which the Czar's Government had gone to war, on the one hand, and, on the other, the rapid growth of the United States as a factor in the war were the two chief distinguishing features of the march of events during the months of June, July, and August, 1917. As Russia's military power collapsed, that of the United States began to grow and to exercise, though not rapidly enough to compensate for the failure of the eastern ally, an enormous pressure, which, when fully developed, must ultimately outweigh all the chances of victory which still encourage the Central Powers.

During this period there was a partial improvement of the Allies' position in the Balkans through the abdication of King Constantine of Greece, and Pope Benedict made an attempt to bring about the initiation of peace negotiations. The three months were not so rich in dramatic climaxes as the one which preceded it, since there could be few events as momentous as the Russian revolution or America's entry into the war, but the consequences of these great pivotal events were full of significance for the historian.

The most important military operations were those conducted on the western front, where the British Army was almost continuously engaged, and where during a period of determined and persistent effort it gained a series of brilliant victories, which were evidence that the work of creating an efficient fighting machine had at last been successful These victories, however, were the results of independent battles, and their chief value, ultimately, was of only a tactical nature.

Early in June it became apparent that the British were shifting the weight of their offensive operations to the more northern sectors of the battle front, and that once more the region around Ypres was to be the scene of furious and sustained fighting.

One of the problems that had long demanded solution was Messines Ridge, which was held by the Germans, and from which their guns were able constantly to sweep the British positions in the Ypres salient. The British Generals, however, had not been idle. For more than a year past engineers and sappers had been tunneling and mining below the ridge all unknown to the Germans above, and at last nineteen mines containing over one million pounds of explosive were ready for one of the greatest of all blasting operations. The British plan was literally to blow the top off Messines Ridge and with it the whole system of trenches and defense positions which the Germans had there created, and then, almost the next moment, launch an offensive between the Ypres salient and Armentières, the success of which would straighten out the line south of Ypres and give the British possession of the

ridge between Wytschaete and Messines, one of the few elevations in this extremely flat region.

The plan succeeded. After a terrific preliminary bombardment the signal for exploding the nineteen mines beneath the ridge was given on the morning of June 7, and in a moment the German positions on a ten-mile front were shattered to pieces. According to witnesses the concussion was so great that the sound of the explosion could be heard as far away as London. Woods were swept out of existence, hill slopes were stripped and laid bare, and villages like Wytschaete and Messines disappeared beneath piles of ruins and débris. With the artillery maintaining an effective barrage fire and the airmen fighting overhead, the British swept forward. A brief struggle won the village of Messines, and after a few hours' fierce fighting they took the village of Wytschaete. By noon the whole ridge was in their possession, and then the British swept down the other side and attacked the German rear defenses, capturing the village of Oosttaverne in the afternoon and the whole of the German defense system before the end of the day. The enemy fell back on a new line from north of Hollebeke to a point about a mile west of Warneton. The German losses were very heavy. The British took 7,000 prisoners and many guns, while large numbers of Germans were either killed or buried alive under the débris following the explosion. Despite the counterattacks which the Germans launched to relieve the pressure of the British advance, they were compelled to yield additional sections of their defensive system. The British further improved their position by taking, on June 15, the portion of the Siegfried line northwest of Bullecourt, which the Germans had still managed to hold.

The value of these operations was shown subsequently when the British artillery was able to force the abandonment of several lines of trenches almost without the infantry going into action at all, and when it became possible finally to draw a straight line from Hill 60, east of Zillebeke, to a point east of Armentières, thus getting rid of the formidable German salient south of Ypres. The Germans were now afraid that the British would attempt to advance down the valley of the Lys and thereby endanger their positions on the Belgian coast as well as their line southward from Lille. During July both sides maintained a bombardment of extraordinary fury and intensity along the entire line from the coast to the Lys. In addition to their artillery concentration the Germans brought up large infantry reinforcements. Still believing that the British intended to push along the Belgian coast from Nieuport to Ostend, for the purpose of destroying the submarine bases at Ostend and Zeebrugge, the Germans decided to anticipate the British by taking the initiative, which they did for the first time after a long interval of merely remaining on the defensive or counterattacking when the British made a drive. This German offensive was well prepared and thoroughly successful. It was launched against the British line as it had been established after the German attempt to push through to Calais. The line ran about 600 yards to the east of the southward stretch of the Yser, circled about the town of Nieuport, and, crossing the Yser Canal, continued south past Ypres to Armentières. The small British force on the Yser was caught unexpectedly with the river in its rear, so that reinforcements could not reach the front-line trenches, and in a very short time it was completely destroyed either through capture or casualties. The result was to improve the German defensive position by making it necessary for the British to cross the river under fire the next time they began an offensive in this sector. Though a brilliant move on the part of the Germans, it was of only minor importance in regard to the general situation.

The chief interest still lay in the region around Ypres, but it now moved to the northern half of the salient, where in the last days of July there began what was called the third battle of Ypres, or the battle of Flanders. Were it not for the taking of Messines Ridge the British would not have been in the advantageous position they were now for the initiation

of this great struggle. They also received a certain amount of assistance from the French, who sent a number of units to participate in the northern part of the offensive. The preliminary bombardment reached its height on the night of July 30, and the following day the offensive was launched along a front of fifteen miles from the Lys to the Yser. The German positions were penetrated to a depth of two miles in the centre and one mile on the right centre. This, the first phase of the battle, lasted only one day; and the second did not open till Aug. 16, by which date many strong German positions were captured as well as the villages of La Bassée Ville, Hollebeke, Bixschoote, Verlorenhoek, Frezenberg, St. Julien, Pilkem, Hooge, Westhoek, and Langemarck. Between Aug. 18 and 22 the British and French consolidated their gains and once more began pressing forward. The fighting between the British and the Germans around the Ypres-Menin road was extremely desperate, both sides suffering terrible losses.

The next in importance among the offensives which the British conducted was that around Lens. Ever since the taking of Vimy Ridge they had been nibbling at the German position here, trying to surround it from the south and so force the Germans out by a process of squeezing. The Canadians, who held this part of the front, seized the high ground west of the suburb of La Coulotte and next the suburb itself, establishing a line across the Lens-Avion road, occupying Avion and placing Lens in a deep pocket. No attempt, however, was made against Lens itself, because it would have been far too expensive an operation. The Germans had razed the houses of the town and turned the whole place into a vast nest of machine guns, making it the strongest single position that had confronted the Allies on the western front since the beginning of the war. On Aug. 21, however, the Canadians renewed the attack around the city, encountering a fierce counteroffensive launched simultaneously by the enemy. Despite the occupation of some isolated quarters of the town and several suburbs, the city itself, which lay between with its coal pits and cleverly constructed defense positions of reinforced concrete, was beyond the power of the attacking forces to take. The struggle developed into a succession of avalanches of gas, burning oil, rifle, and machine-gun fire, and hand-to-hand combats in which the German losses seemed out of all proportion to the military value of the place with its then industrial uselessness.

The French won several brilliant successes on the Aisne and the Meuse in the three months. To the Germans the possession of the famous road, the Chemin des Dames, had now become more important than any other position on the whole battle front. As long as the Chemin des Dames was in French hands it remained a constant threat against the German position at Laon, the very pillar of the whole line northward. The German attacks were as unceasing, as persistent, and as regardless of the cost in human life as those they delivered earlier in the war against Verdun. But throughout the ordeal the French held fast, and the German sacrifices were all in vain.

Nor had the last been heard of Verdun, for here after an interval of nine months the French suddenly pulled themselves together for one of the drives which had characterized their record on the Meuse. On Aug. 20, after a three days' bombardment, they went forward astride the Meuse, taking on an eleven-mile front, at a penetration of one and a quarter miles, all the fortifications between Avocourt and Bezonvaux, including Avocourt Wood, Le Mort Homme, (Dead Man Hill,) the Corbeaux and Cumières Woods, and the Côte de Talou, Champneuville, Mormont Farm, and Hill 240. Further positions were taken on the following days, and by the time the drive came to an end nearly 100 of the 120 square miles originally lost to the Germans were recovered, thus almost completely setting at naught the whole of the terrible effort of the Crown Prince to capture Verdun, for which he sacrificed, it is estimated, nearly a million men.

The Italian offensive had died down

at the end of May, and a considerable interval passed before operations were resumed by either the Italians or the Austrians. Toward the end of July the Austrians began to show new signs of activity by attacking advanced Italian posts in the Trentino, while the Italians opened a series of bombardments along the Julian and Carso sectors. On Aug. 19 the Italians began a great offensive on a front thirty-seven miles long from the region of Tolmino to near the head of the Adriatic Sea, and on Aug. 24 they gained a great success by occupying Monte Santo and hoisting their colors on the summit. A week later they had penetrated to a depth of seven and a half miles on a front of eleven over the Bainsizza, occupying all fortified positions and more than forty villages and hamlets. Another Italian army endeavored to create a diversion before Mount Hermada assisted by a naval force consisting of Italian and British monitors. But the Italian armies were unable to push their lines further, and, as we shall see, they were a couple of months later falling back before Austro-German forces invading their own soil.

The political change in Russia whereby Kerensky became Minister of War had, for a brief spell, an important bearing upon the situation on the eastern front. The revolutionary leader now became also a military leader, rallying the Russian armies for what promised to be a successful offensive and demonstrating to the Allies that their apprehensions regarding Russia were mistaken. Despite the fraternization which had been going on between the Russian and the Austro-German troops, despite the deterioration of discipline and morale, despite the labor troubles which were paralyzing the munitions industry, and, despite the general condition of disorganization which prevailed, Kerensky was able to overcome the pacifist spirit in the Russian Army and inspire the soldiers with a new ardor for war. It was a great effort, but it was not destined to last longer than a couple of weeks. Soon there was a complete reversal of fortune, and the advancing Russian troops, once more swayed by the view that they should no longer fight, and rapidly entering a state of mutiny, began to retreat and add to Russia's military record still another disaster. From that time onward the Russian Army was no longer a fighting force, but was clamorous for peace and more intent upon internal reform than upon the international problems the war had raised.

When the Russian offensive of 1916 had been brought to an end, the battle line followed the eastern bank of the Zlota Lipa from its source near Zloczow as far as Brzezany, where it curved round, crossed the river, and continued southward to the Dniester, which it crossed just west of Maryimpol. Passing west of Stanislau it continued south to the Carpathian Mountains, where it linked up to the Rumanian line along the border between Rumania and Transylvania.

The objective of the offensive which was launched on July 1, 1917, with Kerensky himself leading the Russian Army, was Lemberg, the capital of Galicia. By July 11, Halicz, the strategic key to that city, was occupied by the Russians, and a week later the drive reached its furthest point with the investment of Zloczow and Brzezany, forty miles east of Lemberg. On July 21 the Russian Army was already in a mutinous condition and the retreat in Galicia was in full swing, extending in a couple of days to a 150-mile front. The Russo-Rumanian forces, however, continued fighting and gained local successes in the Susitza and Putna valleys. But in Galicia the Austro-German armies swept everything before them, taking Stanislau and Tarnopol in rapid succession, crossing the Sereth from Tarnopol to Czortkow, and finally capturing Czernowitz and driving the last Russian soldier out of the Bukowina. The difficulties experienced by the Austrians on the right bank of the Sereth in Moldavia in getting reinforcements and supplies alone gave a respite to all that remained of Rumanian territory.

The retreat in Galicia was not the end of Russia's military misfortunes. Toward the end of August the Germans began to make a thrust at Riga by launch-

ing an offensive between the Tirul marshes and the River Aa and penetrating the Russian positions. The Russians abandoned Riga to its fate as the Germans drew nearer. The Russian armies were becoming more disorganized every day, and from the standpoint of the western allies were creating a very serious situation by permitting the Germans and Austrians to withdraw troops from the eastern front to strengthen their forces in Flanders, France, and Italy.

In the other theatres of the war, namely, on the Saloniki front, in Asia Minor, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, operations were either at a standstill or of a quite desultory and unimportant character.

In addition to the intense aerial activity which was a part of the fighting on all fronts, air raids on England were frequent. On June 5 sixteen German airplanes made an attempt to destroy the naval dockyards and workshops at Chatham. Twelve people were killed and 36 injured. On their return journey the German aviators encountered an allied air squadron from Dunkirk and lost several machines in the battle which followed. London was subjected on June 13 to one of the most disastrous aerial bombardments since the beginning of the war. In the broad daylight of noon 157 people were killed and 432 injured, 142 children being among the victims. On July 4 11 persons were killed at Harwich. On July 11 London was again visited by German air raiders, and 37 persons were killed and 141 injured. Three of the twenty German machines were brought down. On July 22 Felixstowe and Harwich were bombarded, 11 persons being killed and 36 injured. On Aug. 12 23 persons were killed and 50 injured during an attack on the southeast coast of Essex. On Aug. 22 11 persons were killed and 13 injured at Dover and other towns on the coast of Kent. Zeppelins were also used for aerial attacks, but they were far less effective than the Gotha airplanes employed by the Germans. One of the few systematic raids on Germany was carried out by the French on July 16 when eighty-four machines dropped bombs on Treves, Coblenz, Essen, and other towns of military importance and caused heavy damage to the Krupp works. Frequent raids on the German depots in Belgium were conducted by the British Air Service.

Naval operations continued to be confined to minor craft. British monitors, however, aided the land forces in Flanders by bombarding Ostend in June. The largest warship lost during this period was the French armored cruiser Kléber, which was struck by a mine and sunk with a loss of 38 men.

Compared with the three months which had gone before, the destruction of merchant ships by German submarines showed some diminution. Nevertheless, the losses of ships belonging to the Allies and neutrals was heavy enough to be a source of very great anxiety. During the thirteen weeks ended Aug. 26 the British Admiralty reported that 235 merchant ships over 1,600 tons, 55 under 1,600 tons, and 43 fishing craft had been sunk. The aggregate tonnage of these vessels, in accordance with the policy which the Admiralty refused to depart from, was not given. Various reports, official and unofficial, showed that the other allies and neutrals, particularly the Scandinavian countries, were suffering losses in about the same proportion as Great Britain. An estimate made by competent authorities put the total loss during the months of June, July, and August at 1,800,000 tons for all the allies and neutrals, excluding raider losses and ships damaged or beached but not sunk. Since the neutral vessels destroyed were nearly all carrying cargoes for the Allies, their loss was almost as serious as that of the allied merchantmen.

The problem of meeting the situation thus created was twofold. In the first place, there was the question of overcoming the submarine peril itself; and, secondly, there was the task of replacing the lost ships by the rapid building of large numbers of new ships. In regard to the submarines, great improvements in the methods employed by the navies of Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States, and Japan had taken place. It was claimed that German submarines were being destroyed in increasing num-

bers both by naval craft and by the naval gunners who were placed on merchant ships. But even when allowances had been made for fluctuations, the losses were not far enough below the level of destruction of the first months of the German unrestricted campaign to dissipate the anxieties of the allied Governments. While the naval experts were doing their best to combat the submarine, efforts were being made to build enough new ships to replace those lost. The British shipyards had long been working at their maximum capacity, and it was only by the efforts of the United States that the problem of the shortage of ships could be solved. How America met the situation will be described when we come to the consideration of the industrial side of the nation's war program.

During the third, fourth, and fifth months of America's participation in the war the nation made considerable progress in preparing to meet the new demands. When we remember the complex industrial and social activities of a nation with an area of 3,000,000 square miles and a population of over 100,000,000, it was remarkable how this huge national organism began to swing round from its peaceful pursuits to the purposes of war. Dissatisfaction, friction, criticism, and even confusion there were on all sides, and inevitably so, but in the midst of it all we saw the creation of a great war machine—a new army of fighting men backed up by its necessary noncombatant organization embracing practically the whole nation.

The United States Navy, the first branch of the nation's fighting services to join forces with the Allies, had begun to render assistance almost from the first day of America's entrance into the war. On June 6 it was announced by the French Minister of Marine that American warships had anchored off the French coast; and the same day the destroyer flotilla, under Admiral Sims, completed its first month of war service, which consisted mainly in helping to protect the merchantile marine of the Allies. Recognition of America's valuable cooperation was seen in the British Admiralty announcement on June 19 that Admiral Sims had been appointed to take charge of the allied naval forces in Irish waters during the absence of the British Naval Commander in Chief. Two naval bases were established on the French coast and one in the British Isles from which American destroyers operated against German submarines.

The navy was also active in arming merchant ships and providing gun crews for them. From the time that the President decided upon this course till about the end of August nearly 200 ships had thus been given means of protection against hostile submarines. Another item in the United States Navy's record in these months was the taking over of the cruiser patrol of the Atlantic coasts from Newfoundland to Brazil. But the most important work was the convoying of the numerous contingents of American soldiers, which now began to cross the ocean to form the great army under General Pershing in France, and it was to the credit of the navy that not a single soldier was lost through any hostile action.

Pershing, with his staff, arrived safely in England on June 8, and five days later he stepped ashore on French soil at Boulogne. The reception he received in Paris was by far the most spontaneous and thrilling that anybody had received since the outbreak of the war. After a series of brilliant official and popular greetings, the American commander settled down to work and established his headquarters in France in readiness for the coming of the first units of the expeditionary force.

The first contingents of the first United States Army to fight in Europe since the foundation of the Republic arrived at a port in France on June 26 and 27. Although they reached their destination in safely, it was not without some stirring moments, during which disaster was an imminent possibility; but, thanks to the skillful handling of the convoy squadron, commanded by Rear Admiral Albert Gleaves, the two attacks made by German submarines were beaten off.

The arrival of the first American soldiers, under the command of Major Gen. William L. Sibert, was the occasion of a magnificent welcome by the French people, who, if discipline had not been

maintained, would have stopped at nothing in lavishing attentions upon the new defenders of the sore-pressed sister Republic. Two celebrations followed a little later, in which the traditional bond of friendship between France and the United States was cemented anew. On July 4 all France celebrated the anniversary of American Independence. The march through Paris of a battalion of American troops, which was about to leave for training near the battle front, was a thrilling and memorable event. On July 14, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastile, President Wilson and President Poincaré exchanged appropriate messages, while the American soldiers joined with their French comrades in commemorating the day honored as that on which the French Revolution began.

The number of American soldiers in France gradually increased as additional contingents arrived, and training made excellent progress with the assistance of French and British instructors. Toward the end of July trenches began to be dug in and near the American camps, and a start was made with intensive training. After Pershing had made a thorough inspection of the training centres on Aug. 1 and 2 and inspected various places suggested as his field headquarters in anticipation of his removal from Paris, he expressed himself as well satisfied with the arrangements made and with the evidences of progress in the training.

Meanwhile, the raising, equipping, and training of a huge army in America was the chief subject occupying the attention of the Government. Recruiting to increase the regular army to the full strength of 300,000 authorized by Congress was slow, and it was not until Aug. 9 that the 183,898 enlistments required on April 1 were obtained. The National Guard did not yet reach its full strength, but enlistments were fairly steady, and, when the last units were mustered into Federal service on Aug. 5, this branch of the nation's armed forces numbered 350,000 men. The regular army and the National Guard together now had a strength of 650,000 to form the nucleus of the expeditionary force which would fight in France and which would be added to by the national army created under the Selective Draft act, approved on May 18. The registration of over 9,500,000 young men took place on June 5, and the drawing of numbers to decide the first 687,000 to be called into service was held on July 20. The exemption boards proceeded promptly to work, and by the end of August the first contingents of conscripts were ready to report for duty. Progress was also made in building cantonments for the new armies; many new officers to lead these armies were being turned out from the camps specially designated for their training; $640,000,000 was voted for the creation of an aviation corps; and already the War Department was preparing to handle over 2,000,000 men, including special branches of service.

The work of creating a war machine to maintain America's armed forces on the highest level of efficiency by utilizing the whole of the nation's resources was carried on during the period under review with the greatest enthusiasm and determination both by the Government, through its legislative and executive branches, and by the leaders of the nation's industry. Taking first the provision of financial means to conduct the war, we find that on June 15 an appropriation act was approved for $3,281,094,541 for army and navy expenditures, and on July 24 the President signed an act providing $640,000,000 for the aviation service. The same day Secretary McAdoo informed the Senate Committee on Finance that $5,000,000,000 in addition to previous estimates would be required to carry on the war to June 30, 1918. The Treasury Department's estimates for the War Department, when received in the House on July 26, were for $5,278,636,000, half of which was for armament. Chairman Kitchin of the House Ways and Means Committee on Aug. 27 estimated the war expenses of the United States to June 30, 1918, at $19,300,000,000, including actual expenses of $10,000,000,000, and loans to the allied Governments amounting to $7,000,000,000.

To meet these expenditures the issue of bonds and the levying of taxation on an unprecedented scale were both under consideration by Congress. On June 15

the first Liberty Loan, which had been floated on May 2 for $2,000,000,000, closed with an oversubscription of more than an additional billion dollars, the number of persons subscribing being over 4,000,000. The next increase of the nation's war debt was outlined by Secretary McAdoo on Aug. 17, when he proposed the issue of 4 per cent. bonds to the amount of $7,000,000,000, subject to income surtax, to provide $4,000,000,000 new money and retire the former 3½ per cent. bonds amounting to $3,000,000,000. Meanwhile, Congress was discussing a war revenue bill to raise $2,000,000,000 by taxation, but this, the Secretary of the Treasury explained, would not be sufficient, and another billion would have to be raised either in the special session or later, when also another $9,000,000,000 would have to be added to the $7,000,000,000 worth of bonds already authorized.

After nearly two months of discussion the important Food Control act was approved on Aug. 10. Drastic powers were conferred upon the President to regulate practically the whole of the nation's business in foodstuffs, to fix prices, punish hoarders, and in other ways restrict private enterprise. With this act in force, the Food Administration, headed by Herbert C. Hoover, was enabled to begin the tremendous work of providing increased supplies for the Allies while insuring a sufficiency of food for the people of the United States. Progress was necessarily slow in achieving the desired ends, and for some time little seemed to be happening apart from discussions with food dealers and the issue of lengthy statements and numerous regulations. An important decision, however, was announced on Aug. 30, when the Food Administration fixed the price of wheat at $2.20 a bushel for the United States and the Allies. Another act approved at the same time as the food control law provided for a survey of the nation's food supplies and an investigation of the basic facts relating to the production and the distribution of foodstuffs. This task was assigned to the Department of Agriculture.

The Espionage act, approved June 15, dealt with a wider range of subjects than its title indicated, for it covered the movements and safety of shipping, the protection of munitions and other goods intended for exportation, the seizure of arms and ammunition intended to be sent out of the country without authority, embargo on exports, passports, seditious and treasonable proceedings of various kinds, and the use of the mails for unlawful purposes. Another act important enough to mention was that approved on Aug. 10 providing for priority in shipments in view of the inadequacy of transportation facilities to do the country's business under the conditions created by the war. This was evident from the report of the Railroads' War Board, which showed that while the increase of equipment between June, 1916, and June, 1917, was only 3 per cent., traffic had increased 26 per cent.

Turning now to what might be described as the psychological condition of America at this time, we find that the great mass of the people was very slow in realizing the enormous issues at stake in the world war. There was accordingly a disposition not to take seriously enough the various measures adopted or proposed by the Government. The habits of a peace-loving people, who lived far remote from the bloody battlefields of Europe, and who until a little while previously had been enjoined to be neutral both in word and deed, were naturally not easy to change at a moment's notice. Individuals accustomed to comfortable lives only gradually gave ear to the call for sacrifice; while the commercial instinct of many Americans was so extremely difficult to subordinate to the new needs of the nation that President Wilson was compelled to take the bold step of issuing an appeal on July 11 to the business interests of the country to place patriotism before profits. In plain language he put the question: Do you wish to "exact a price, drive a bargain with the men who are enduring the agony of this war on the battlefield, in the trenches, amid the lurking dangers of the sea, or with the bereaved women and pitiful children, before you will come forward to do your duty and give some part of your life, in easy peaceful fashion, for the things we are fighting for,

the things we have pledged our fortunes, our lives, our sacred honor, to vindicate and defend—liberty and justice and fair dealing and the peace of nations?" To this appeal there was a general response with a new enthusiasm. Leading financiers, captains of industry, experts in matters technical, and professional men volunteered to place at the service of the Government their resources, experience, and skill without thought of the slightest recompense. Gradually Washington became populated with a small army which, recruited from the commercial and intellectual talent of the nation, became an increasingly valuable auxiliary to the Government and an example in subordinating the individual to the national will.

In Russia the overthrow of the Czar's rule was, as we have seen, only the opening episode of the revolution. A bitter contest had begun for the possession of the supreme power, and gradually the breach between the capitalist and well-to-do classes on one hand and the poorer peasants and industrial workers on the other widened into a definite class struggle on the lines advocated by exponents of Marx and other revolutionary Socialists. Socialists in Russia, like those in nearly every other country, were divided into a number of political groups and schools of thought. One of the chief lines of cleavage was between those who believed that the Socialist ideal could be attained only by a gradual process of transformation and those who insisted on driving hard all the time without the least compromise for the maximum demands of the Socialist program. In Russia these two wings of the Socialist movement were known as Mensheviki and Bolsheviki. The leader of the Bolsheviki was Nikolai Lenine, who had for more than twenty years been a revolutionary leader. He had built up a reputation as a writer on the economic problems of Russia and had especially won the confidence of what he called the agricultural proletariat, the vast majority of the peasants who had little opportunity of improving their lot because they could not get land. This question of the land was, throughout all the troubles which followed in the train of the revolution, almost as important a factor as the demand for peace. No party could exist without an agrarian policy. The Conservatives and Constitutionalist-Democrats promised the peasants the Czar's estates and the land belonging to the Church and offered to sell their own holdings at reasonable prices, while the moderate Socialists, led by Kerensky, held that the matter should be left for the Constituent Assembly to deal with. But Lenine, who returned from exile almost immediately after the Czar's abdication, declared without hesitation that all the land must be taken from the landholders by the peasants at once. Similarly the workers in the factories were encouraged to take possession of those means of wealth production.

But the question of peace remained uppermost in the minds of the Russian people. At the end of May the reconstructed Cabinet—in which Kerensky was War Minister, and in which Terestchenko directed foreign policy—was apparently in a stable position, committed only to a general peace without annexation or indemnity. Yet on June 1 the first signs of Leninist influence were seen. That day the Kronstadt branch of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council seized the fortress and assumed control of the city in defiance of the Provisional Government. A few days later, however, Kronstadt recognized the authority of the Government, but only for a very short period; on June 11 there followed another declaration of independence. In other parts of Russia there was a similar tendency toward local autonomy and communism, and everywhere an ever-growing diversity of both class and local interests. While representatives of commercial, banking, and industrial institutions were consolidating their forces and endeavoring to strengthen the alliance of all bourgeois interests, the small left wing of the Socialist Party, led by Lenine, kept driving hard for the complete overthrow of capitalist rule and for an immediate peace. Kerensky was still able to keep the situation in hand and actually make what appeared at the time successful efforts to reorganize the Russian armies for a new offensive. The story of this offensive, initiated on July 1, with its

speedy failure, has already been described, the main cause of the disaster having been the permeation of the fighting forces with the ideas propagated by the Leninists, who from this time onward became more and more influential.

The first serious uprising of the Bolsheviki, or Communists, as Lenine preferred to call his followers, took place in Petrograd on July 17. Several hundred people were killed and wounded during two days of street fighting, but the twofold aim of overturning the Provisional Government and recalling the Russian armies from the front was defeated. Lenine's attempt to seize the supreme power for the proletariat was premature.

Another element which was now making the situation still more serious and complicated was the demand for the autonomy of the Ukraine and Finland's resolve to separate from Russia and begin without delay its career of national independence. The Ukraine question was directly responsible for a Cabinet crisis, leading to the resignation of five Ministers of the Provisional Government on July 15. Three days later the Russian offensive was converted into a retreat, with the Teutonic forces sweeping everything before them in Galicia. The situation was now so critical that it was felt necessary to replace Prince Lvoff, the Premier, by a stronger man, and on July 20 Kerensky was appointed to head the Government with dictatorial powers to save the army from disaster and the nation from disintegration. It was too late to retrieve Russia's military fortunes, but there was still a chance that Kerensky could prevent the country from drifting further into the condition of disorder and chaos now threatening it. On July 24 there was another Cabinet reorganization, Kerensky being assisted by five Socialists and seven non-Socialists in the hope that the conflicting interests of bourgeoisie and proletariat might be reconciled and that there might result a temporary cessation of the class struggle. Kerensky's whole policy now seems to have been summed in a reconciliation of class interests for the sake of national unity. Though himself a Socialist, he was prepared to make very substantial concessions to the bourgeoisie. He was thus able to secure the support of the Cadets, or Constitutionalist-Democrats, the chief political expression of the bourgeoisie, but, as after events proved, the weakness of this line of conduct was that it encouraged the counter-revolutionary elements on the one hand, while on the other it provoked and finally strengthened the Socialist left wing.

Pursuing his policy of reconciliation and national unity, and without waiting for the Constituent Assembly to meet, Kerensky on July 27 summoned an "Extraordinary National Council," representing all political factions, administrative departments, and legislative bodies, to assemble in Moscow. In the meanwhile he was too vacillating to maintain peace between the bourgeoisie and the uncompromising leaders of the proletariat. While the calling of the Moscow conference was a concession to the former, Kerensky refused to deal drastically with the Leninists, who were undermining army discipline and working for the complete social revolution. One result of this timidity was the resignation of General Brusiloff as Commander in Chief of the Russian armies on Aug. 2, Korniloff being appointed to succeed him. Another Cabinet crisis followed, and most of the Socialist Ministers were replaced by Cadets in a new Coalition Government which began work on Aug. 7. Korniloff set himself the task of reorganizing the army and restoring discipline, while the Government, now once more largely influenced by the Cadets, appeared as if it were going to establish something approaching law and order. The forthcoming Moscow conference, they hoped, would again put Russia on a firm basis as a belligerent capable of helping the Allies and prevent the country being given over to the war of the classes.

The Moscow conference met on Aug. 26. It was attended by 2,500 delegates, representing the Duma, the Peasants, the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils, the municipal governments, the Zemstvos, industrial and co-operative organizations, and unions of professional workers. Premier Kerensky struck the keynote of warning in his opening address, in which

he declared that Russia was passing through "a period of mortal danger." A discussion of the separatistic tendencies of various nationalities and of "the shameful events at the front" followed. He declared against a separate peace, threatened autocratic action against those opposing the Provisional Government, and announced that the period of reconstruction was at hand. The Government, he said, would "endeavor to protect the army against subversive influences, which deprived soldiers of all sense of military duty," and would "struggle energetically against the Maximalists, against all attempts by them to corrupt discipline." On the following day Korniloff made a notable speech describing the state of insubordination and disorganization in the army and urging that the death penalty be restored, the authority of officers strengthened, and the functions of soldiers' committees restricted. One of Korniloff's strongest supporters was General Kaledine, the Hetman, or chief, of the Don Cossacks. The Socialist standpoint was stated by Tshcheidze, President of the All-Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, and other working-class representatives.

The net result of the Moscow conference was not so much to emphasize the opposition of the radical Socialists to the Provisional Government as to give the bourgeois enemies of the Government an opportunity to consolidate their forces for an attempt to seize the supreme power. Almost immediately afterward Korniloff, on behalf of the bourgeoisie, initiated a counter-revolutionary movement, but the story of this sequel to the Moscow conference does not come within the period with which we are now concerned.

Several political changes took place in England, but none of them arose from any fundamental difference in policy. The Ministry, headed by Lloyd George, remained securely in power despite criticism of various measures, past and present. The report of the commission on the failure of the first Mesopotamian expedition revealed mismanagement and inefficiency and severely censured Lord Hardinge, who at that time was Viceroy of India, and Austen Chamberlain, India Secretary. Lord Hardinge, who was now the non-political head of the Foreign Office, offered to resign, but the Government insisted on his remaining at his post. Mr. Chamberlain, however, resigned on July 12 and was succeeded by E. S. Montagu, who not long after took the unusual step for an India Secretary of visiting India and learning on the spot the conditions which were responsible for the unrest among the natives.

A much more important reorganization of the Government was announced on July 17. Bonar Law vacated his position in the War Cabinet so as to give his undivided attention to his work as Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was succeeded by Sir Edward Carson, who, in consequence, ceased to be First Lord of the Admiralty. Carson's promotion to the War Cabinet was criticised on the ground that an extremely partisan opponent of Irish home rule, such as he was, should not have a voice in the supreme council of the empire at a time when every endeavor was being made to abate the rancor of contending parties in Ireland. Another appointment which occasioned comment, but of a favorable nature, was that of Sir Eric Geddes to be First Lord of the Admiralty. Geddes had never been in politics and won his promotion by his work, first in transportation under Kitchener, and later as Director General of Munitions. Winston Churchill, who had been excluded from office on account of his connection with the Antwerp and Dardanelles failures, was appointed Minister of Munitions. Finally, Dr. Christopher Addison became Minister without portfolio in charge of reconstruction, a position the creation of which indicated that the Government was beginning to look ahead to the many difficult problems which would arise on the return of peace. In the House of Commons consideration was begun of the Representation of the People bill, a measure intended to abolish many of the undemocratic features of the British franchise system. It was proposed to give the vote to 2,000,000 additional men and to 6,000,000 women over the age of 30.

With the meeting on July 25 of the Irish Convention a new and more hopeful phase of the home-rule question opened.

All parties and interests were represented except the Sinn Feiners and the O'Brienites, who remained irreconcilable opponents of anything and everything the British Government did or proposed to do. H. E. Duke, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, opened the convention on behalf of the Government, and Sir Horace Plunkett was unanimously elected Chairman. The convention then adjourned to Aug. 8, and on reassembling decided to consider various schemes of self-government. Under Plunkett's leadership a spirit of toleration entered into the discussions which amazed all who believed that Ireland must remain everlastingly the prey of feuds and dissensions. Nevertheless, the Sinn Fein opposition remained strong and even grew more formidable as the irreconsilables began to gain adherents for their view that Redmond and the Nationalist Party was too ready to compromise with the British Tories and the Ulster Unionists.

Elsewhere in the British Empire the most interesting development was the adoption of conscription in Canada. The law, which was approved on Aug. 29, provided for the raising of 100,000 men and applied to males between 20 and 45 years of age, the first class to be called up including unmarried men between 20 and 34.

In France the Government, headed by Ribot, endeavored to maintain the continuity of a strong war policy, but a change was perceptibly coming over the whole political situation. The cessation of the grand offensive which was launched on April 16, the subsequent replacement of Nivelle by Pétain as Commander in Chief, the activity of a secret pacifist intrigue, the reappearance of former Premier Joseph Caillaux to public notice, and, finally, the decision of the Socialists early in August to withdraw their support from the Government war policy were all matters which caused uneasiness. The most important discussions in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate were held in secret, but there was no doubt that a state of unrest prevailed, induced by the activities of politicians.

Apart from a crisis threatened through friction between Baron Sonnino and other members of the Cabinet on the Albanian question and minor changes in the Ministry, there was no political development of importance in Italy. The absence of basic industries and the consequent dependence upon outside sources of supply for munitions caused ever-recurring troubles in the prosecution of the Italian campaign. In turn, this inability to continue war successes uninterruptedly, combined with the distress which a state of war caused among the people, gave many openings for the spread of a spirit of discontent and its crystallization into pacifist propaganda, promoted, it was charged, by the Clericals. The effect of the revolution in Russia was to stimulate socialistic and anarchistic agitation, which, while it did not blaze up into revolt, sowed the seeds of the disaster which was to overtake the Italian armies later in the year. Italy, as a whole, was unable to prosecute a continuously vigorous campaign, and the masses of the people, who listened to the preachers of revolution, were not sufficiently organized to follow the Russian example.

Greece, long a source of annoyance and a positive hindrance to the Allies' war plans in the Balkan Peninsula, was at last given serious attention. The allied Governments, believing that King Constantine was treacherous and would, if unchecked, drag Greece into the war on the side of the Central Powers, appointed Senator Jonnart, a former Foreign Minister of France, to act as High Commissioner and deal with the Greek monarch. Jonnart arrived at Athens on June 11 and at once told the Greek Premier, Alexander Zaimis, that Constantine must abdicate. The following day Zaimis announced that the King, after consulting the Crown Council, had bowed to the will of the allied Governments and resigned his throne to his second son, Prince Alexander. Constantine and all the members of his family, except the new King, left Athens for Switzerland on June 13. The way was now open for the return of Venizelos, who had been at the head of a Provisional Government at Saloniki. He reached Athens on June 21, and a few days later once more became Premier of Greece at the head of a Ministry pledged to support the Allies. On June 29 the new

Government severed diplomatic relations with the Central Powers and stated that it considered itself at war on the ground that Greek territory had been invaded. The price of the treachery of the King and his spouse, Queen Sophia, to the Allies was subsequently revealed by documents.

Other countries which declared war against Germany were Siam on July 22, Liberia on Aug. 4, and China on Aug. 14. Several Latin-American republics took the step of severing diplomatic relations.

The internal condition of Germany underwent no material change making for political progress. As before, the liberal bourgeois elements had neither the will nor the ability to overthrow the rule of Prussian conservatism, while the Socialists, who alone represented a genuine democratic movement in Germany, were for the most part content to follow Scheidemann in his policy of cooperation with the Government. Erzberger, one of the leaders of the Centre, or Catholic Party, however, made an energetic gesture to create an opposition to the war party. His declaration before the Reichstag Main Committee on July 7 for a program of peace without annexations promised to cause a crisis which might possibly have had good results if the imperialistic Junkers had not been permitted to have so much influence. Three days later the Imperial Chancellor, von Bethmann Hollweg, once more swaying to the side of the war party, told the same committee that a peace such as that proposed by Erzberger was unacceptable and that Germany "must fight and conquer." The war party, however, was becoming doubtful of the Chancellor, and, fearing lest he might swing back to the popular side, decided that the time had come for him to retire. The Crown Prince appears to have played a prominent part in the councils of the war party, which had to take prompt measures to stem the tide of discontent and unrest which was only too evident and check the movement for a more democratic form of government. The Chancellor resigned on July 14, and Dr. Georg Michaelis, Prussian Under Secretary of Finance and Food Controller, was appointed his successor. Michaelis was merely a stopgap nominated by the war party, and the inclusion of a member of the Reichstag in the new Ministry meant nothing from the standpoint of democracy. The imperialists and reactionaries who controlled the Government were strong enough to flout popular opinion, even when there appeared in the Reichstag on July 15 for the first time something faintly approaching an opposition. This was a combination of the Centre with the Radicals and Socialists which carried a resolution calling for no annexations and no economic boycott by 214 votes against 116.

In both the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments there was much outspoken espousal of the cause of peace. On June 19 the refusal of the Polish Party in the Reichsrat to vote war credits caused the resignation of the Austrian Premier, Count Clam-Martinic. He was succeeded by Dr. von Seydler. On July 14, Praschek, a former Czech Minister, caused tumultuous scenes by making a speech in which he urged separation from Germany, which nation, he said, had caused the war. He also demanded that Austria make a separate peace. In the Hungarian Parliament an equally vehement attack on Germany was made on June 19 by Count Michael Karolyi, leader of the Independent Party, who blamed the Teutonic leaders for causing the war and demanded instant dissolution and the establishment of a democratic Government. Great as was the desire for peace throughout the Dual Monarchy, the Government was too thoroughly subordinated to the will of Germany to effect its purposes except by indirect means. It was generally credited that the influence of Austria, a Catholic country, was as much responsible for Pope Benedict issuing his peace note as Erzberger, who represented numerous and powerful elements in Catholic Bavaria.

The discussion of war aims and peace terms continued in all countries. Those Socialists and pacifists who did not openly demand an immediate attempt to se-

cure peace by negotiation kept up an agitation for a more precise and specific statement of what were the objects to be attained by continuing the war. It was argued that the peoples of the world were entitled to know exactly what they were making sacrifices for, and that if it were not for imperialistic ends, that fact should be stated with clearness and emphasis. Many who were neither Socialists nor pacifists had a somewhat different reason for demanding less vague outlines of war aims. Senator Borah, for example, in the United States Senate on July 26 said: "We cannot carry on this war without a thoroughly aroused and sustained public opinion, which at this time does not exist." The absence of such public opinion, the Senator held, was due to the nebulous character of the terms for which the nation was fighting. Many Americans, however, considered that President Wilson in his Flag Day address on June 14 quite adequately stated the aims of the American Nation when he said: "With us rests the choice * * * to help set the world free or else stand aside and let it be dominated a long age through * * * by the nation which can maintain the biggest armies and the most irresistible armaments." And in Great Britain, similarly, Lloyd George's declaration at Glasgow on June 29 that "peace must be guaranteed by the destruction of German militarism" was regarded as a sufficient summing up of British war aims. The idea shared by President Wilson and the allied statesmen was that there could be no peace with the present ruling class in Germany, that the German armies must be defeated to wreck the power and prestige of that class, and that, therefore, the war must go on until there was a decisive military victory for the Allies.

Pope Benedict on Aug. 14 issued proposals for peace in a message dated Aug. 1 which he addressed to the rulers of the belligerent peoples. The substance of his peace plan was not unlike that outlined by President Wilson before the United States entered the war; but now when the President replied to the Pope on Aug. 27 he again made clear the opposition of the Government of the United States to German autocracy and militarism. "We cannot," the President wrote, "take the word of the present rulers of Germany unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting."

Nevertheless, the repeated declarations of President Wilson and the Governments of the western allies were not permitted to occupy the whole field of discussion. The Russian Socialists, with their formula of "no annexations, no indemnities, and the self-determination of all peoples," had injected a new element into the controversy, particularly in France, where the question of Alsace-Lorraine was uppermost. Leaders of French opinion refused for one moment to entertain the idea that the restoration of these lost provinces could be regarded in the light of annexationist policy. The British Foreign Secretary, A. J. Balfour, on behalf of his Government, supported the French view in a speech on July 30 when he declared: "As long as France fights for Alsace-Lorraine we shall support her." Even British, French, Italian, Belgian, and Greek delegates at the Interallied Socialist Conference, which was held in London at the end of August, while indorsing the Russian peace formula, qualified the statement in regard to annexations by deciding that it did not mean the "disannexation of land conquered by force."

While no responsible statesman rejected the principle of no annexations, it was clear on all sides that no one intended trying to restore the status quo ante bellum, and that in Germany and in some of the allied countries the Governments were actuated by definite if undefined annexationist motives. Peace was still far off, because at this time no Government, except that in Russia, believed there could be any outcome to the war except a decisive result which would enable one or the other side to dictate terms of peace, instead of being satisfied with a compromise brought about by negotiation. Germany desired peace because her armies were in possession of valuable European territories which she

wished to keep or else bargain with to exact substantial concessions. The Allies were determined to go on with the war till victory was theirs, so that Germany would not be in a position to obtain anything except what the Allies might be pleased to give. Hence, while it seemed that the refusal to state definite and concrete war aims obscured the purposes of the war, the reason for continued military effort was in reality quite clear in the minds of all who realized the true significance of the great struggle.

MAJOR GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING

Appointed by President Wilson to Command the American Army in Europe

(Photo Central News)

VICE ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. SIMS

Commander of the United States Destroyer Flotilla, Which Is Co-operating with the British Navy in the War Zone

(Photo Harris & Ewing)

PERIOD XXXIV.

President Wilson's Flag Day Address—Italian Offensive on the Carso and Isonzo Fronts—The Battle of Messines Ridge—Storming of the Aisne Quarries—Emperor Charles's Throne Speech—Russia's Perilous Transition Stage—The New Phase of Air Raids on England—The Downfall of King Constantine—Two Offers of Autonomy for Albania—Shipping Sunk by Submarines—The Threat of "Mittel-Europa" — China and the World War—Story of the Russian Upheaval—The Religious Revival in France—Who Pays for the Cost of War—Nesting Mothers of the Battle Zone—Welding Britain's Empire Closer—Britain's Fight on Food Shortage—Jewish Liberty in Rumania: King Ferdinand's Promise—The War in Western Asia.

WHY WE WENT TO WAR

President Wilson's Flag Day Address Explains the Grievance of the United States Against Germany

President Wilson delivered an address at Washington, June 14, at a Flag Day celebration, in which he set forth in detail the reasons why the United States went to war with Germany. He spoke as follows:

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS: We meet to celebrate Flag Day because this flag which we honor and under which we serve is the emblem of our unity, our power, our thought and purpose as a nation. It has no other character than that which we give it from generation to generation. The choices are ours. It floats in majestic silence above the hosts that execute those choices, whether in peace or in war. And yet, though silent, it speaks to us—speaks to us of the past, of the men and women who went before us and of the records they wrote upon it. We celebrate the day of its birth; and from its birth until now it has witnessed a great history, has floated on high the symbol of great events, of a great plan of life worked out by a great people. We are about to carry it into battle, to lift it where it will draw the fire of our enemies. We are about to bid thousands, hundreds of thousands, it may be millions, of our men, the young, the strong, the capable men of the nation, to go forth and die beneath it on fields of blood far away—for what? For some unaccustomed thing? For something for which it has never sought the fire before? American armies were never before sent across the seas. Why are they sent now? For some new purpose, for which this great flag has never been carried before, or for some old, familiar, heroic purpose for which it has seen men, its own men, die on every battlefield upon which Americans have borne arms since the Revolution?

These are questions which must be answered. We are Americans. We in our turn serve America, and can serve her with no private purpose. We must use her flag as she has always used it. We are accountable at the bar of history and must plead in utter frankness what purpose it is we seek to serve.

Items of the Indictment

It is plain enough how we were forced into the war. The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German Government left us no self-respecting choice but to take

up arms in defense of our rights as a free people and of our honor as a sovereign Government. The military masters of Germany denied us the right to be neutral. They filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators and sought to corrupt the opinion of our people in their own behalf. When they found that they could not do that, their agents diligently spread sedition among us and sought to draw our own citizens from their allegiance—and some of those agents were men connected with the official embassy of the German Government itself here in our own capital. They sought by violence to destroy our industries and arrest our commerce. They tried to incite Mexico to take up arms against us and to draw Japan into a hostile alliance with her—and that, not by indirection, but by direct suggestion from the Foreign Office in Berlin. They impudently denied us the use of the high seas and repeatedly executed their threat that they would send to their death any of our people who ventured to approach the coasts of Europe. And many of our own people were corrupted. Men began to look upon their own neighbors with suspicion and to wonder in their hot resentment and surprise whether there was any community in which hostile intrigue did not lurk. What great nation in such circumstances would not have taken up arms? Much as we had desired peace, it was denied us, and not of our own choice. This flag under which we serve would have been dishonored had we withheld our hand.

But that is only part of the story. We know now as clearly as we knew before we were ourselves engaged that we are not the enemies of the German people and that they are not our enemies. They did not originate or desire this hideous war or wish that we should be drawn into it; and we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it, as well as our own. They are themselves in the grip of the same sinister power that has now at last stretched its ugly talons out and drawn blood from us. The whole world is at war because the whole world is in the grip of that power and is trying out the great battle which shall determine whether it is to be brought under its mastery or fling itself free.

Germany's Military Masters

The war was begun by the military masters of Germany, who proved to be also the masters of Austria-Hungary. These men have never regarded nations as peoples, men, women, and children of like blood and frame as themselves, for whom Governments existed and in whom Governments had their life. They have regarded them merely as serviceable organizations which they could by force or intrigue bend or corrupt to their own purpose. They have regarded the smaller States, in particular, and the peoples who could be overwhelmed by force as their natural tools and instruments of domination. Their purpose has long been avowed. The statesmen of other nations, to whom that purpose was incredible, paid little attention; regarded what German professors expounded in their classrooms and Ger-

man writers set forth to the world as the goal of German policy, as rather the dream of minds detached from practical affairs, as preposterous private conceptions of German destiny, than as the actual plans of responsible rulers; but the rulers of Germany themselves knew all the while what concrete plans, what well-advanced intrigues lay back of what the professors and the writers were saying, and were glad to go forward unmolested, filling the thrones of Balkan States with German Princes, putting German officers at the service of Turkey to drill her armies and make interest with her Government, developing plans of sedition and rebellion in India and Egypt, setting their fires in Persia. The demands made by Austria upon Serbia were a mere single step in a plan which compassed Europe and Asia, from Berlin to Bagdad. They hoped those demands might not arouse Europe, but they meant to press them whether they did or not, for they thought themselves ready for the final issue of arms.

Austria-Hungary a Pawn

Their plan was to throw a broad belt of German military power and political control across the very centre of Europe and beyond the Mediterranean into the heart of Asia; and Austria-Hungary was to be as much their tool and pawn as Serbia or Bulgaria or Turkey or the ponderous States of the East. Austria-Hungary, indeed, was to become part of the Central German Empire, absorbed and dominated by the same forces and influences that had originally cemented the German States themselves. The dream had its heart at Berlin. It could have had a heart nowhere else! It rejected the idea of solidarity of race entirely. The choice of peoples played no part in it at all. It contemplated binding together racial and political units which could be kept together only by force — Czechs, Magyars, Croats, Serbs, Rumanians, Turks, Armenians—the proud States of Bohemia and Hungary, the stout little commonwealths of the Balkans, the indomitable Turks, the subtile peoples of the East. These peoples did not wish to be united. They ardently desired to direct their own affairs, would be satisfied only by undisputed independence. They could be kept quiet only by the presence of the constant threat of armed men. They would live under a common power only by sheer compulsion and await the day of revolution. But the German military statesmen had reckoned with all that and were ready to deal with it in their own way.

The Present Situation

And they have actually carried the greater part of that amazing plan into execution. Look how things stand. Austria is at their mercy. It has acted, not upon its own initiative or upon the choice of its own people, but at Berlin's dictation ever since the war began. Its people now desire peace, but cannot have it until leave is granted from Berlin. The so-called Central Powers are in fact but a single power. Serbia is at its mercy, should its hands be but for a moment freed; Bulgaria has consented to its will, and Rumania is overrun. The Turk-

ish armies, which Germans trained, are serving Germany, certainly not themselves, and the guns of German warships lying in the harbor at Constantinople remind Turkish statesmen every day that they have no choice but to take their orders from Berlin. From Hamburg to the Persian Gulf the net is spread.

German Cry for Peace

Is it not easy to understand the eagerness for peace that has been manifested from Berlin ever since the snare was set and sprung? Peace, peace, peace has been the talk of her Foreign Office now for a year and more; not peace upon her own initiative, but upon the initiative of the nations over which she now deems herself to hold the advantage. A little of the talk has been public, but most of it has been private. Through all sorts of channels it has come to me, and in all sorts of guises, but never with the terms disclosed which the German Government would be willing to accept. That Government has other valuable pawns in its hands besides those I have mentioned. It still holds a valuable part of France, though with slowly relaxing grasp, and practically the whole of Belgium. Its armies press close upon Russia and overrun Poland at their will. It cannot go further; it dare not go back. It wishes to close its bargain before it is too late, and it has little left to offer for the pound of flesh it will demand.

The military masters under whom Germany is bleeding see very clearly to what point fate has brought them. If they fall back or are forced back an inch their power both abroad and at home will fall to pieces like a house of cards. It is their power at home they are thinking about now more than their power abroad. It is that power which is trembling under their very feet; and deep fear has entered their hearts. They have but one chance to perpetuate their military power or even their controlling political influence. If they can secure peace now with the immense advantages still in their hands, which they have up to this point apparently gained, they will have justified themselves before the German people; they will have gained by force what they promised to gain by it—an immense expansion of German power, an immense enlargement of German industrial and commercial opportunities. Their prestige will be secure, and with their prestige their political power. If they fail, their people will thrust them aside; a Government accountable to the people themselves will be set up in Germany as it has been in England, in the United States, in France, and in all the great countries of the modern time except Germany. If they succeed they are safe and Germany and the world are undone; if they fail Germany is saved and the world will be at peace. If they succeed America will fall within the menace. We and all the rest of the world must remain armed, as they will remain, and must make ready for the next step in their aggression; if they fail the world may unite for peace and Germany may be of the union.

Do you not now understand the new intrigue, the intrigue for peace,

and why the masters of Germany do not hesitate to use any agency that promises to effect their purpose, the deception of the nations? Their present particular aim is to deceive all those who throughout the world stand for the rights of peoples and the self-government of nations; for they see what immense strength the forces of justice and of liberalism are gathering out of this war.

Tools of Peace Propaganda

They are employing liberals in their enterprise. They are using men, in Germany and without, as their spokesmen whom they have hitherto despised and oppressed, using them for their own destruction —Socialists, the leaders of labor, the thinkers they have hitherto sought to silence. Let them once succeed and these men, now their tools, will be ground to powder beneath the weight of the great military empire they will have set up; the revolutionists in Russia will be cut off from all succor or co-operation in Western Europe and a counter-revolution fostered and supported; Germany herself will lose her chance of freedom, and all Europe will arm for the next, the final, struggle.

The sinister intrigue is being no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia and in every country in Europe to which the agents and dupes of the Imperial German Government can get access. That Government has many spokesmen here, in places high and low. They have learned discretion. They keep within the law. It is opinion they utter now, not sedition. They proclaim the liberal purposes of their masters; declare this a foreign war which can touch America with no danger to either her lands or her institutions; set England at the centre of the stage and talk of her ambition to assert economic dominion throughout the world; appeal to our ancient tradition of isolation in the politics of the nations, and seek to undermine the Government with false professions of loyalty to its principles.

But they will make no headway. The false betray themselves always in every accent. It is only friends and partisans of the German Government whom we have already identified who utter these thinly disguised disloyalties. The facts are patent to all the world, and nowhere are they more plainly seen than in the United States, where we are accustomed to deal with facts and not with sophistries; and the great fact that stands out above all the rest is that this is a people's war, a war for freedom and justice and self-government among all the nations of the world, a war to make the world safe for the peoples who live upon it and have made it their own, the German people themselves included; and that with us rests the choice to break through all these hypocrisies and patent cheats and masks of brute force and help set the world free, or else stand aside and let it be dominated a long age through by sheer weight of arms and the arbitrary choices of self-constituted masters, by the nation which can maintain the biggest armies and the most irresistible armaments—a power to which the world has afforded no parallel and in the face of which political freedom must wither and perish.

For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe be to the man or group of men that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure for the salvation of the nations. We are ready to plead at the bar of history, and our flag shall wear a new lustre. Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we were born, and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people.

General Pershing in France

Advance Guard of American Expeditionary Force On the Way to the Front

MAJOR GEN. JOHN J. PERSHING, who is to command the American expeditionary force on the western front, arrived safely in England on June 8 with his staff of 53 officers and 146 men, including privates and civilian attachés. On landing at Liverpool from the White Star liner Baltic, he gave the following message to the British public:

We are very proud and glad to be the standard bearers of our country in this great war for civilization and to land on British soil. The welcome which we have received is magnificent and deeply appreciated. We hope in time to be playing our part—and we hope it will be a big part—on the western front.

The American commander was received by a British General with a guard of honor and a regimental band, which played "The Star-Spangled Banner." The British Admiralty was represented by the Admiral in command of the port and the municipal authorities by the Lord Mayor of Liverpool. After these greetings were concluded General Pershing left for London by special train, the official state car being attached for him to travel in; and on arrival in London he was received by Lord Derby, Secretary of State for War; General Lord French, other high officers of the British Army, the United States Ambassador, and Admiral Sims of the United States Navy. At every stage the British Government showed every possible mark of honor to America's commander, while the greetings of the people were warmly enthusiastic.

The following day General Pershing and his entire personal staff were received by King George at Buckingham Palace. General Lord Brooke, commander of the Twelfth Canadian Infantry Brigade, presented the American commander to the King, who said to him:

It has been the dream of my life to see the two great English-speaking nations more closely united. My dreams have been realized. It is with the utmost pleasure that I welcome you, at the head of the American contingent, to our shores.

Later King George chatted for a few moments with each member of Pershing's staff. He conversed with the General for a quarter of an hour, shaking hands enthusiastically as they parted. A series of calls and entertainments followed the ceremony at the palace. On June 11 General Pershing and Ambassador Page took luncheon with King George and Queen Mary, spending nearly two hours at the palace. After luncheon the King and Queen showed the visitors through the historic rooms and about the palace grounds. From the palace General Pershing went to the War Office, where members of his personal staff had been in conference for several hours with representatives of their corresponding departments in the British Army. The officer who represents the American military air service devoted two hours to discussing plans for co-operation with the British service.

In the afternon General Pershing visited the House of Commons. He sat in the Distinguished Visitors' Gallery for a time, and later took tea on the Terrace as a guest of members. In the evening he took dinner with Ambassador Page at his residence to meet members of the British Cabinet and naval and military officers. Among the guests were Premier Lloyd George, Arthur J. Balfour, Lord Derby, Lord Robert Cecil, Viscount French, Admiral Sir John R. Jellicoe, Vice Admiral William S. Sims, U. S. N., and General Jan Smuts.

The first opportunity General Pershing had of observing British Army methods was on June 12, when he was taken to a training camp to watch instruction in trench warfare. Afterward he was the War Secretary's guest at luncheon. In the evening the General and eighteen members of his staff were the guests of the British Government at a formal dinner

at Lancaster House, a Government building devoted solely to purposes of state entertainment of distinguished visitors. There were thirty other diners, including eight members of the Cabinet. The Prime Minister sat at the first of six round tables in the sumptuous dining hall. The other tables were presided over by Lord Curzon, Lord President of the Council; Viscount Milner, member of the War Cabinet; the Right Hon. George M. Barnes, Pensions Minister; the Earl of Derby, Secretary for War, and Sir Alfred Mond.

The dinner was not an elaborate affair, the menu conforming strictly to the prescribed war rations. There were no speeches, but toasts were drunk to the King and the President. Early in the evening, before Major Gen. Pershing left his hotel, ex-Premier Asquith called on him.

Enthusiasm in France

An even more thrilling welcome awaited General Pershing on French soil. "I salute the United States of America, which has now become united to the United States of Europe," from the lips of General Dumas, commanding the northern region, were the first words that greeted Pershing as he stepped ashore at Boulogne on the morning of June 13. It was the first time in history that a soldier wearing the American uniform had landed on the European Continent with sword in hand for the purpose of using it against an enemy. As Pershing himself said, it was a historic moment.

The scenes that greeted him, the reception that followed, both at Boulogne and in Paris, were both historic and deeply significant. Drawn up on the landing quay was a detachment of French infantry in battle uniform. They came only recently from the trenches. As the American chief greeted their colors, they came to salute and stood like iron statues as he passed slowly down the line. Pershing's face showed his emotion. They were all grizzled or middle-aged veterans. There was not a youth among them—that little detachment of the army of France. Their faces, too, showed eagerness at his coming, and the few Americans who were there felt heart-throbs of pride at the splendid way in which their leader fitted into the picture. As the boat neared the landing stage Pershing's figure stood out prominently from the centre of his staff, and the common French utterance was: "Truly, here comes a man!"

Among the officials that met him were René Besnard, Under Secretary of State for War; Brig. Gen. Pelletier, who is chief of the French Mission to the American expeditionary force; General Dupont, who represented General Pétain; General Dumas, commanding the region of the north; Sir George Fowke, representing Sir Douglas Haig; Captain Baron de Courcel, who was to act as Pershing's official interpreter; also the Military Governor of Boulogne, and representatives of the French and British Navies. The American War Department was represented by Captain Boyd, Military Attaché.

After a drive through Boulogne, where great crowds gathered in all the streets, the entire staff departed by special train for Paris. Immediately after the start, General Pershing received the French newspaper men in his private car, and afterward the representaives of the American press. To the former he said, after expressing his pleasure at landing in France: "The reception we have received is of great significance. It has impressed us greatly. It means that from the present moment our aims are the same." To the Americans he declared that this arrival of the advance guard of the American Army "makes us realize the fullest importance of American participation. America has entered the war with the fullest intention of doing her share no matter how great or how small that share may be. Our allies can depend on that."

Stirring Reception in Paris

The reception at Paris was by far the greatest given to anybody since the outbreak of the war. From the moment the fortifications were reached every housetop, wall, and window was filled with cheering thousands. At the Gare du

Nord special cordons of troops lined the platforms, while dense ranks of soldiers flanked every street for blocks and patrolled the route of the party all the way to the Hotel de Crillon, in the Place de la Concorde, where the General made his temporary headquarters. Paris turned out literally tens of thousands, and it seemed every one was waving an American flag, while cries of "Vive l'Amerique!" became a sustained roar all the way from the Gare du Nord to the Boulevards. General Pershing was visibly affected by the welcome as he stepped from the train. Bands in the station played "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the "Marseillaise." Those who greeted him were Marshal Joffre, M. Viviani, M. Painlevé, Minister of War; Generals Foch and Dutail, Ambassador Sharp, and all the attachés of the American Embassy.

To the masses in the streets as they followed the automobiles from the Gare it seemed the coming of Pershing was veritably the coming of an army. Here was America to help them, America, which had always stood in popular imagination as the symbol of incredible wealth and greatness. In the person of the simply dressed American General they cheered the whole American Army —millions strong, if need be, to carry the war to victory.

In the evening Ambassador Sharp gave a dinner at the American Embassy, where the General met the chief members of the French Cabinet and officers of the army and navy.

Pershing at Napoleon's Tomb

Among the most moving episodes was Pershing's visit to the tomb of Napoleon, in the Hôtel des Invalides, on June 14, for here was witnessed the impressive scene of the American commander standing with uncovered head at the resting place of the world's most famous soldier. Pershing, accompanied by his staff, was received at the Hôtel des Invalides by General Niox, the military commander of the historic monument, and General Malterre. As the American party entered the spacious grounds leading to the building they encountered a number of veterans of the French wars who have their home at this institution. One of these was a grizzled soldier of the Crimea, who still wore the ancient uniform and carried on his breast decorations of the old days. As the veteran saluted General Pershing the General stopped and extended his hand, saying: "It is a great honor for a young soldier like myself to press the hands of an old soldier like yourself, who has seen such glorious service."

Passing into the Invalides, General Niox conducted the American commander within the vast rotunda with its walls hung with battle flags, and thence the party proceeded below to the crypt where the sarcophagus of Napoleon reposes. Entrance to the crypt is rigorously restricted, and it is seldom that any one is admitted except crowned heads or former heads of States, as in the case of ex-President Roosevelt when he visited Paris.

General Pershing and his staff were conducted to the crypt by Marshal Joffre, who followed the precedent laid down by Napoleon, that only a Marshal of France might remain covered in his presence. The great key was inserted in the brass door of the crypt. Marshal Joffre and General Niox drew aside while General Pershing faced the door alone. He took a deep breath, stepped suddenly forward, and with a single motion threw his arm straight out and turned the key. In a tiny alcove at one side of the crypt the Governor of the Invalides unlocked the case, drew out the sword, and raised it to his lips. Then he presented the hilt to General Pershing, who received it, held it at salute for a moment, and then kissed the hilt. The same ceremony was followed with the cross of the cordon of the Legion of Honor, General Pershing holding the cross to his lips before passing it back to the Governor. This was the most signal honor France ever bestowed upon any man. Before this occasion not even a Frenchman ever was permitted to hold the historic relics in his hands. Kings and Princes have been taken to the crypt that holds the body of the great Emperor, but they only viewed the sword and cross through the plateglass of the case in

which they rest. The relics had not been touched since the time of Louis Philippe.

Visit to President Poincare

After his visit to the Invalides General Pershing made a formal call on Ambassador Sharp, and was then escorted with military honors to the Elysée Palace to be presented to President Poincaré. At 1:30 o'clock the President and Mme. Poincaré gave a state breakfast in honor of the American commander. Other guests were Premier Ribot, Paul Painlevé, Minister of War; Marshal Joffre, René Viviani, Minister of Justice, and Ambassador Sharp.

General Pershing received a remarkable greeting from the Deputies when he entered the diplomatic box in the Chamber of Deputies at 3 o'clock, just before Premier Ribot rose to tell the Chamber what the Allies purposed doing in Greece. The first part of the session partook of the nature of an official parliamentary reception to General Pershing, the United States figuring in M. Ribot's speech and being the theme of an eloquent oration by M. Viviani. Once they were aware of General Pershing's entry, the Deputies rose and stood, cheering, until the General bowed his acknowledgments. Then the galleries caught up the enthusiasm and violated the tradition of the House by joining in the applause. The Deputies again rose and turned toward General Pershing, cheering, when M. Ribot finished his speech by quoting President Wilson's phrase in his message to Russia: "The day has come to conquer or submit," and declaring: "We will not submit; we will vanquish." M. Viviani followed M. Ribot, describing the spirit of the United States and the principles for which both republics were fighting. General Pershing was compelled to respond to another demonstration after M. Viviani's speech, and at 4 o'clock he left the Chamber, followed by a storm of cheering.

Premier Ribot said in the course of his speech:

> The people of France fully understand the deep significance of the arrival of General Pershing in France. It is one of the greatest events in history that the people of the United States should come here to struggle, not in the spirit of ambition or conquest, but for the noble ideals of justice and liberty. The arrival of General Pershing is a new message from President Wilson, which, if that is possible, surpasses in nobility all those preceding it.

The people of Paris gave Pershing and Joffre a remarkable reception on the morning of June 15, when the two Generals stool bareheaded together on the balcony of the Military Club, looking down on the excited crowd on the Place de l'Opéra. "Vive Joffre, who saved us from defeat! Vive Pershing, who brings us victory!" cried an excited girl, clinging to the arm of a be-medaled permissionaire, in a brief moment of silence, and at her words cheering burst forth tenfold only to cease long after the club balcony was vacant and the crowd was at last convinced that its two idols had definitely withdrawn.

A Wreath for Lafayette

General Pershing's personal program of official calls, dinners, and ceremonies came to an abrupt end in the afternoon after he visited Picpus Cemetery, where he placed a huge wreath of American Beauty roses on the tomb of Lafayette. Then he announced definitely that next day he intended to get down to work at the headquarters of the American Army, which was already in full operation, in the Rue de Constantine. The ceremony at the tomb was very brief, simple but impressive. With half a dozen officers of his staff he motored to the cemetery, where he was received only by the Marquis and the Count de Chambrun, descendants of Lafayette, who conducted him to the tomb. The wreath was carried behind by two orderlies. The Marquis de Chambrun said a few words welcoming General Pershing, who replied simply, expressing the great pleasure of every American to visit the tomb of one who had done so much for the United States—to pay a tribute of devotion which sealed friendship forever. Then the wreath was placed on the slab, while General Pershing and the officers stood at salute. The streets along the route to and from the cemetery were lined, as usual, with crowds, whose cheers seemed to indicate their appreciation of General

Pershing in this symbolic fashion repaying the debt of Lafayette.

General Pershing spent his third and last day in Paris before leaving for the front in making official calls, paying a visit to Marshal Joffre, with whom he had luncheon, and visiting the Senate. During his visit to the Senate there were scenes of enthusiasm similar to those in the Chamber of Deputies on the previous day. The Senators stood when General Pershing appeared in the diplomatic box, accompanied by the American Ambassador, and applauded him for several minutes. The General had to bow his acknowledgments repeatedly.

M. Ribot, the Premier, alluded to the presence of the distinguished American soldier, and called on Foreign Minister Viviani to address the Senate. M. Viviani, speaking at first with restraint, launched with great beauty of expression into an oration, in which he described the refusal of the United States to see the ideals of civilization, of democracy, and of right in battle with destructive forces without taking her part, which, he declared, was a great and noble part. The speaker was frequently interrupted by applause, and at the close of his address all the members of the Senate stood and, turning again toward General Pershing, clapped their hands and shouted, "Vivent les Etats Unis." General Pershing rose and bowed several times before the demonstration subsided.

The Senate took a recess of half an hour, so that the members might be introduced to General Pershing, and Antonin Dubost, President of the Senate, escorted him through the immense lobby of the Luxembourg Palace, introducing him to the members, Baron D'Estournelles de Constant assisting in the presentations.

Organizing for the Front

With the great series of official and popular greetings at an end General Pershing set to work to establish his headquarters in France. Marshal Joffre was designated by the French Minister of War to continue his work, begun in Washington, of assisting to organize American participation in the war. He will, therefore, be the representative of the French Government in co-operating with the American Commander, Lieut. Col. Fabry, as Chief of Staff, and Lieutenant de Tessan as aid, both members of the French War Commission to the United States, continue with the Marshal. According to a statement made by the War Department at Washington on June 13, General Pershing, in conference with French army heads, will determine where the American expedition shall be sent, and his recommendations, which will be practically final, will be approved by the authorities at Washington. He will be an independent commander, like Field Marshal Haig, necessarily co-operating with the French high command while on French soil.

General Pershing was preceded to France by various special units of the American Army, and on May 24 the first United States combatant corps went to the front under Captain E. I. Tinkham, who won the War Cross at Verdun, and Lieutenant Scully of Princeton. It was a proud moment when the first detachment of the American field service, consisting mainly of Cornell undergraduates, departed for the Aisne battlefield. They were armed with carbines, attired in khaki uniforms, and drove American five-ton motor cars. As they left, the Stars and Stripes, floating over the cantonment in a historic French forest, spread out in the breeze, and other contingents cheered them on their way. Other American sections, drilling in preparation for active participation in the fighting, included detachments from Andover, Dartmouth, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Yale, Chicago, and Williams College, while a large body from Princeton is awaiting organization. Most of them intended to serve with the American Ambulance Corps, but selected the fighting corps after the United States decided to enter the war.

An official statement issued by the British War Office on May 28 said that, counting the Americans serving in the British and French armies and the additional units ordered to France, there would shortly be 100,000 Americans in

France, and, further, that 3,500 war airplanes would be constructed and 6,000 aviators trained in the United States this year. The statement added that flotillas of destroyers were co-operating with the Entente Allies in the submarine zone, that one army division, a force of marines, and nine regiments of engineers had been ordered to France, and that 10,000 doctors and many nurses had been ordered to England, hundreds of these having already arrived. "Together with the Americans already serving in the British and French armies," the announcement explained, "these additional units will shortly give a total of 100,000 Americans in France, equaling five German divisions."

America's Army in the Making

THE work of pulling together the different lines of organization which will result in the formation of a United States Army fighting in Europe has been proceeding gradually and methodically. Explaining the Government's military plans, Secretary of War Baker, in a statement on May 9, said that all the forces raised for the war were to be dovetailed into one great army machine of more than 1,200,000 men when the National Guard had been raised to full war strength, when the regular army had been similarly increased and strengthened, and when the first draft of 500,000 men for the national army had been raised. This army would consist of about forty divisions.

Under the National Defense act of June 3, 1916, the full war strength of the regular army was fixed at 293,000 men, and of the National Guard at 409,000, but recruiting for both branches has been below requirements. On April 1, 1917, the regular army still needed 183,898 men, but the number of enlistments on June 18 had reached only 120,815. In some States the National Guard actually showed a decrease through discharges. It, therefore, became obvious that more than the 500,000 men, as originally intended, would have to be drafted. General Crowder told the Senate Military Affairs Committee on June 4 that the number then required was 625,000, and to obtain this number it would be necessary to draft at least 900,000 and possibly 1,500,000, because of expected exemptions. The additional 125,000 would be needed to fill up vacancies in the army and to keep the training camps in continuous operation.

The President on May 14 had already approved the completed plans for the immediate expansion of the regular army to its full war strength of 293,000 men through the formation as rapidly as possible of all the new units authorized by the National Defense act of June 3, 1916. To accomplish this forty-five new regiments of infantry, cavalry, and field artillery are being organized. This increase, as contemplated by Congress in 1916, was to have been obtained in five equal increments in a five-year period. The orders issued by the President now call for the formation of twenty-seven regiments of infantry, twelve of field artillery, and six of cavalry. When these have been obtained the army will comprise sixty-four regiments of infantry, twenty-one of field artillery, and twenty-five of cavalry—a total of 110 regiments —exclusive of coast artillery, staff corps, and special service units. There will be 3,379 officers and 127,985 men in the infantry, 1,325 officers and 37,175 men in the cavalry, and 897 officers and 26,748 men in the field artillery. The entire regular army will comprise more than 12,000 officers and 293,000 men. Previously there had been thirty-seven regiments of infantry, nine regiments of field artillery, and nineteen regiments of cavalry. The new infantry regiments will be known as the Thirty-eighth to the Sixty-fourth, inclusive; the new field artillery will be the Tenth to the Twenty-first, inclusive, and the new cavalry, the Twentieth to the Twenty-fifth, inclusive.

Expanding the Army

The expansion of the army is being accomplished by the conversion of each existing battalion into a full regiment. When the expansion is complete, the regular army will have seven full divisions, including the four infantry and two cavalry divisions regarded as essentially troops of the mobile army. A full war strength division is maintained in the Philippines and additional forces are in the Panama Canal Zone and Hawaii.

Secretary of War Baker in a statement with reference to the regular army says:

The Cavalry, Engineers, Coast Artillery, Signal Corps, and Quartermaster Corps of the regular army have already been brought to war strength.

Forty-five thousand recruits are needed at once to complete the new regiments of infantry and field artillery.

Twenty-five thousand additional recruits are desired at the earliest practicable date to fill vacancies in order that the war strength of 300,000 men may be maintained.

Facilities are in readiness for placing these 70,000 men under proper training.

The expansion of the National Guard has also been planned on the principle of enlarging existing units and forming new ones. Including naval militia the total authorized is 433,800. This force is being formed on the basis of 800 guardsmen for each Senator and representative. For the 531 Senators and representatives this allotment would give 424,800 men. Adding 9,000 for the insular possessions, and subtracting 24,700 reserved for the naval militia, gives a total of 409,100 for the National Guard. There were recently fewer than 200,000 in the guard.

In accordance with President Wilson's orders, Brig. Gen. William A. Mann of the General Staff, as Chief of the Division of Militia Affairs, has sent to each Adjutant General complete information about the quota assigned for each State, the units to be comprised, and the order in which the units shall be organized. The War Department, in an explanation of what had been done, added:

Notwithstanding such action some States have undertaken the organization of units which cannot be utilized in the formation of complete higher tactical units. While it is much to be desired to take full advantage of the patriotic interest stirring in the country, such advantage can only come through a coordination and regulation in keeping with a general and basic plan.

The War Department and the Militia Bureau are vitally concerned in getting the best value from the National Guard and to that end have perfected, as far as practicable, definite plans, for which co-operation on the part of State officials and representatives is urgently desired.

All persons desiring to offer their services in the National Guard, and especially those interested in raising new units, are requested to communicate with the Adjutant General of their State and to be governed by the wishes of the State authorities in carrying out the announced policy of the War Department in the organization and acceptance of such troops.

For the training of the new draft armies plans have been adopted to build sixteen cantonments, which will practically be cities. Here accommodation will be provided for 600,000 conscripts. The building of the sixteen soldier cities is under the direction of Colonel Littel, Chief of Cantonment Construction.

Training Thousands of Officers

Sixteen camps in different parts of the United States for the training of officers began work on May 15, the number of trainees in attendance being 40,000. The preliminary training was concluded about five weeks later. During this period only engineers received special instruction; all the other officers were formed into infantry regiments, and trained as infantry. The second training period began on June 18, when the future officers began to specialize in the different branches of the service. They now ceased to be "rookies." The second period of training is to conclude about the middle of August, a week or two before the first 500,000 men of the draft army will be called to the colors.

But as officers will be required for the second 500,000 men the War Department has already completed plans for a second series of officers' training camps. Brig. Gen. Henry P. McCain, Adjutant General of the army, on June 2 issued the following statement:

To provide officers for the drafted forces of the national army, the War Department has adopted the policy of commissioning new

officers of the line (infantry, cavalry, field and coast guard artillery) purely on the basis of demonstrated ability, after three months' observation and training in the officers' training camps.

To provide officers for the first 500,000 the War Department has put into operation sixteen officers' training camps, with about 40,000 men in attendance. These sixteen camps correspond to the territorial divisions in which the national army will be raised. The present camps will provide line officers sufficient in quantity and quality for the first 500,000 and a reserve for that increment. It is proposed to officer further increments raised under the draft by promotion from the ranks of the regular army, the National Guard, and drafted forces previously in service.

The second series of officers' training camps will be held beginning Aug. 27, with the definite mission of producing a body of line officers capable of filling all places in the grades above Lieutenant and many places in the Lieutenant grades of the second 500,000 troops. These camps will open on Aug. 27, 1917, and the training period will last until Nov. 26, 1917.

The President has commissioned officers by the hundred for the Officers' Reserve Corps, until its total strength is now in the neighborhood of 10,000. Many promotions have become necessary, and on June 8 President Wilson raised three Brigadier Generals (John F. Morrison, Charles G. Morton, and William L. Sibert) to the rank of Major General, while eighteen new Brigadier Generals and three new Lieutenant Colonels were also nominated. In making these promotions the President disregarded strict seniority and went down the list in search of "live wires," promoting several officers by selection.

A Great Air Fleet

The creation of a great American air fleet has begun. Three aviation fields are under construction and cadets are in training at the preliminary aviation schools established in six representative engineering colleges and universities. The Aircraft Production Board announces also that a site has been selected in France for the final training of the first aviators graduated from the American fields.

Work has been begun on a big four-squadron aviation field at Dayton, Ohio, and "it is significant," says Howard E. Coffin, Chairman of the Aircraft Production Board, "that this Dayton field of 2,500 acres, built to accommodate the largest group of aviation students to be trained in the great project on which America has now set forth, should be on the site of the original field on which the Wrights developed their first successful airplanes. The original Wright hangar, placed on a modest tract of eighty-six acres, which constituted the Wright experimental field, is set within the boundaries of the big new Government field."

A statement by the Council of National Defense says in regard to aviation policy:

The immediate policy involves, roughly, a program for the first year of turning out in American factories about 3,500 air machines, including both training and battle types, and the establishment of schools and training fields with sufficient capacity not only to man these machines but to supply a constant stream of aviators and mechanics to the American forces in Europe.

Brig. Gen. George O. Squier, Chief Signal Officer of the United States Army, who directs the aviation service, informed Congress on June 15 that $600,000,000 was needed as an initial appropriation for America's air fleet.

Putting the Conscription Law Into Operation

THE first step in putting into operation the select conscription law, officially known as "an act to authorize the President to increase temporarily the military establishment of the United States," which was approved on May 18, 1917, was to register all male residents who had reached the age of 21 years but who were not yet 31 years of age. The President by a proclamation, dated May 18, fixed June 5 as the day of registration.

When it became apparent that men who came under the law were leaving, or

endeavoring to leave the country, the President on June 1 issued another proclamation warning all persons subject to registration who withdrew from the United States for the purpose of evading registration that they would be prosecuted on their return and be liable to one year's imprisonment.

The registration blank contained twelve questions covering among others, name, address, age, nationality, birthplace, and occupation, and concluding with the interrogation, "Do you claim exemption from draft (specify grounds)?" The official estimate by the Census Bureau of the number of men who should register was 10,264,867, and they were directed to appear at their polling booths and other places usually employed for elections.

Registration day passed off quietly. Although trouble was expected from anti-conscriptionists, there was practically no disorder. A few arrests were reported, but the method employed by the young men who were opposed to conscription was in nearly every case simply to neglect to register. An official statement given out by the Committee on Public Information on the evening of June 5, said in part:

Nearly 10,000,000 Americans of military age registered today for service in the army against Germany. The registration was accomplished in a fashion measuring up to the highest standards of Americanism. The young men came to the registration places enthusiastic; there was no hint of a slacking spirit anywhere except in a few cases where misguided persons had been prevailed upon to attempt to avoid their national obligation.

From every State reports were received showing that the sporadic conspiracies to thwart the first step toward the mobilization of as large an army as the country may need to bring the war to a victorious conclusion had failed utterly. The Department of Justice had a tremendous machinery ready to cope with these conspiracies, but it proved to be unnecessary.

Arrangements had been made by the Department of Justice and the War Department to secure immediate telegraphic reports upon any outbreaks or troublesome occurrence.

The spirit of the young men from whom the fighting forces are to be selected was evidenced in their attitude toward Question 12 on the registration blanks, which asked if exemption was claimed. In thousands of cases young men availed themselves of their right to ignore this question and to leave it entirely for the Government to decide whether they should be selected. This spirit was evidenced again in the receipt during the day of numerous requests from diplomatic and consular officials of the United States for additional registration cards to be used by citizens who are now in other countries; this fact was impressive because registration is voluntary on the part of Americans resident abroad.

Provost Marshal General Crowder, on June 16, gave figures to show the results of the registration. With the reports from Kentucky, New Mexico, and Wyoming still missing, the number registered was 9,401,314. It was estimated that the missing States would add at least 265,000 to this number, and that the grand total would be not less than 9,666,000. This, the War Department considered, would represent a registration of slightly more than 100 per cent. of the census figures, as a careful tabulation showed that there were at least 600,000 men in the service of military age who were not compelled to register, although they were included in the census estimate.

From various parts of the country plots and conspiracies to avoid or oppose the draft were reported. In many places those who had failed to register were rounded up and given another chance to enroll. There were also some arrests. Anarchist agitators were the most troublesome, and one of them, Louis Kramer, was sentenced by the Federal Court in New York to three years' imprisonment for conspiracy to dissuade men of conscript age from registering.

America's Fleet in Being

THE United States Navy began to render the Allies assistance almost from the first day of America's entrance into the war. The whereabouts of the Atlantic Fleet have been shrouded in secrecy, but announcements have been made regarding the movements of certain units. On June 6 the French

BRIGADIER GENERAL HENRY P. McCAIN

Adjutant General of the United States Army and Director of the Organization of the New Forces for Service in Europe

BRIGADIER GENERAL ENOCH H. CROWDER

Judge Advocate General of the United States Army, One of the Chief Officers Concerned in the Making of the New Draft Armies

(Photo Bain News Service)

Minister of Marine stated that American warships had anchored off the French coast. The same day the flotilla of American destroyers under Rear Admiral Sims, who has been promoted to the rank of Vice Admiral, completed their first month of war service. In the course of a speech in the House of Commons, on May 25, Prime Minister Lloyd George referred to the work of the United States Navy in these words:

> We owe a very considerable debt of gratitude to the great American people for the effective assistance they have rendered and the craft they have placed at our disposal. Now that the American Nation is in the war it is easier to make arrangements for the protection of our mercantile marine than it was before.

The American destroyers have been assigned to work hand in hand with the British squadrons, being virtually assimilated into the British naval machinery. A destroyer is usually out for four or five days, and then returns to port for two or three days while coaling and loading supplies. The Americans take their turn with the British boats in all routine work of patrol and convoy. The work, although largely routine, is interesting, and the Americans have never yet found time hanging heavy on their hands. The lookout must be constant, and eyes must be trained to an unbelievable degree of keenness. The young Americans take zealously to this business of finding the periscopic needles in the nautical haystack, and daily reports of submarines sighted, of observations made, of wireless warnings sent broadcast, show that the American boats are already making an average of results almost as satisfactory as the long-experienced English boats with which they are operating. An assignment to convoy a liner "from home"—that is, from an American port—is regarded as an especially choice morsel. A transatlantic liner which sights the American flag approaching to escort her to land never fails to respond with a great waving of flags and handkerchiefs from her decks, and there is a fine exchange of wigwag signals in lieu of handshakes.

Admiral Sims, it was officially announced in London on June 19, had been appointed by the British Admiralty to take general charge of the allied naval forces in Irish waters during the absence of the British naval Commander in Chief. Admiral Sims accordingly hoisted his flag as allied senior officer commanding.

By an act of Congress, approved by the President on May 22, the enlisted strength of the navy and Marine Corps was increased to 150,000 and 30,000 men, respectively. A substantial increase in the pay of enlisted men and a temporary increase in the commissioned personnel were provided for. Secretary of the Navy Daniels on June 8 said that the navy was so popular that recruits had come in far more rapidly than had been expected. Since Jan. 1 about 60,000 recruits have been added to the service. The Marine Corps has also made good progress. On May 16 it had 21,864 officers and enlisted men.

Food Crisis in the United States

PRESIDENT WILSON has exerted all his authority during the month to secure measures to cope with an impending food crisis in the United States. In a statement issued on May 19 he declared that it was absolutely necessary to place unquestionable powers in his hands to prevent hoarding and speculation, and generally to regulate the distribution and consumption of food.

Herbert C. Hoover, whom the President has designated as Food Administrator, stated officially on June 2 that America's allies would require 971,000,000 bushels of bread and fodder grains out of the next harvest and, in addition, provision must be made for the grain ships destroyed by submarines. It would be impossible for North America, Mr. Hoover added, to furnish all of the 971,000,000 bushels, but the major load must fall on us.

At a conference in Washington on June 13, which was attended by Mr. Hoover, representatives of organized labor, and about twenty-five Congressmen, the statement was made that the present cost of living probably could be reduced about 30 per cent. in a comparatively short time if President Wilson received the powers he demanded. It was said that hundreds of millions of dollars were being wasted in getting foodstuffs from the producer to the consumer; that speculators and illegitimate middlemen were getting the greater part of this wastage, and that poorly organized methods of transportation and distribution were to blame in no small measure for the rest.

President Wilson made clear his decision in this matter by publishing a letter which he had written on June 12 to Mr. Hoover and which was issued on June 16:

My dear Mr. Hoover: It seems to me that the inauguration of that portion of the plan for food administration which contemplates a national mobilization of the great voluntary forces of the country which are ready to work toward saving food and eliminating waste admits of no further delay.

The approaching harvesting, the immediate necessity for wise use and saving not only in food, but in all other expenditures, the many undirected and overlapping efforts being made toward this end, all press for national direction and inspiration. While it would in many ways be desirable to wait complete legislation establishing the food administration, it appears to me that so far as voluntary effort can be assembled we should not wait any longer, and therefore I would be very glad if you would proceed in these directions at once.

The women of the nation are already earnestly seeking to do their part in this our greatest struggle for the maintenance of our national ideals, and in no direction can they so greatly assist as by enlisting in the service of the food administration and cheerfully accepting its direction and advice. By so doing they will increase the surplus of food available for our own army and for export to the Allies. To provide adequate supplies for the coming year is of absolutely vital importance to the conduct of the war, and without a very conscientious elimination of waste and very strict economy in our food consumption we cannot hope to fulfill this primary duty.

I trust, therefore, that the women of the country will not only respond to your appeal and accept the pledge to the food administration which you are proposing, but that all men also who are engaged in the personal distribution of foods will co-operate with the same earnestness and in the same spirit. I give you full authority to undertake any steps necessary for the proper organization and stimulation of their efforts. Cordially and sincerely yours, WOODROW WILSON.

The extent to which speculation had been rife since the beginning of 1917 was described by Mr. Hoover when he appeared, on June 19, before the Senate Committee on Agriculture to explain the Food Administration bill. In the last five months, he said, on the item of flour alone $250,000,000 had been extracted from the American consumer in excess of normal profits. Mr. Hoover then uttered this warning:

We now have a high cost of living beyond the abilities of certain sections of the population to withstand and to secure proper nourishment from the wage levels. Unless we can ameliorate this condition and unless we can prevent further advances in prices, we must confront further an entire rearrangement of the wage level, with all the hardships and social disturbances which necessarily follow. We shall in this turmoil experience large loss in national efficiency at a time when we can least afford to lose the energies of a single man.

President Wilson, it was announced on June 19, had decided to exercise in full the powers conferred upon him by the embargo clause in the espionage law and thereby make it impossible for neutral countries or the allies of America to export from this country so much as a bushel of wheat or the smallest quantity of any other essential commodity without obtaining a license and the approval of an Exports Council, to be composed of Herbert C. Hoover and representatives of the Departments of State, War, Navy, and Commerce. The statement to this effect was made through Secretary Redfield of the Department of Commerce:

The procedure of issuing an export license will be about as follows: The President's proclamation will designate the particular articles under control and countries to which such controlled articles may be exported under license. The quantity of the particular commodity to be exported under license will be decided by the Exports Council, and upon the advice of the departments concerned, and with such facts as may be presented by the trade expert dealing with that particular commodity. After the amount has been determined, the Division of Export Licenses will then restrict the amount licensed to the

amount determined upon by the Exports Council.

President Wilson has assumed full responsibility for the decisions which are to be made, and in reaching his conclusions he will have at his disposal all of the information and advice of Secretary of State Lansing and Mr. Hoover.

The First United States War Loan

THE first popular offering of bonds for the war—in the sum of $2,000,000,000—closed June 15, 1917, in a large oversubscription, the total amount subscribed exceeding $2,900,000,000. There were nearly 3,000,000 individual subscribers. It was the largest bond offering in the history of the United States, and the individual subscriptions exceeded several times the largest total ever before recorded in this country.

The loan was known as "The Liberty Loan." The interest rate was 3½ per cent., and the amount was limited to $2,000,000,000. Allotments were made of the sums expected from each of the twelve Federal Reserve Districts, and in every case, with one exception, these amounts were largely exceeded. The official figures have not been issued at this writing, (June 20,) but semi-official reports show the following subscriptions in the various Reserve Districts:

District.	Minimum. Allotment.	Estimated Subscription.
New York.....	$600,000,000	$1,050,000,000
Philadelphia ...	140,000,000	225,000,000
Boston	240,000,000	300,000,000
Richmond	80,000,000	100,000,000
Atlanta	60,000,000	58,582,000
Chicago	260,000,000	355,000,000
Cleveland	180,000,000	276,286,950
St. Louis.....	80,000,000	90,000,000
Minneapolis.... ..	80,000,000	62,000,000
Kansas City.....	100,000,000	100,000,000
Dallas	40,000,000	48,000,000
San Francisco..	140,000,000	180,000,000
Total.....	$2,000,000,000	$2,844,868,950

The last days of the loan campaign were marked by picturesque propaganda. In many cities bells were rung and whistles blown to indicate progress of the subscriptions; enormous clocks were conspicuously placed to show how the totals were mounting; women and men all over the country delivered addresses at street corners and in public places, advocating subscriptions; flaming and appealing posters were everywhere displayed, and all the newspapers inserted large advertisements gratuitously. The Liberty Bell at Independence Hall in Philadelphia was rung for the first time in half a century on the last day, and as the broken bell pealed the sound was taken up at the same time by other bells in all parts of the country.

Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo visited the leading cities in advocacy of the loan, and everywhere met with an enthusiastic reception. Large corporations, railroads, industrial, commercial, and banking institutions made subscriptions for their employes, allowing them to subscribe on the instalment plan, in this way giving the loan a wide distribution. Banks and bond houses all over the United States put all the machinery and energy of their sales organization behind the loan without charge, and this one fact contributed in no little degree to its success. There was much gratification over the large oversubscription, and especially because of the large number of individual subscribers.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

PERIOD ENDED JUNE 20, 1917

BRITISH ELECTORAL REFORM: VOTES FOR WOMEN

THE Representation of the People bill, introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Long, is in its way more radical even than the first great Reform bill of 1832, which brought about the downfall of the Duke of Wellington, the victor of Waterloo, who violently opposed it; much greater than the Reform bill of 1867, which enfranchised the artisan class and added over 3,000,000 to the voters of the nation; greater by far than the Reform bill of 1885, which was, in the main, a redistribution bill, reapportioning the seats in Parliament in accordance with the population.

The effect of the new Reform bill may be summarized as follows: There were in 1915 8,357,000 male voters on the registers; the present bill will add over 2,000,000 male voters to this number; but far more striking is the addition of over 6,000,000 women voters, in accordance with the following clauses of the bill:

1. A woman shall be entitled to be registered as a Parliamentary elector for a constituency, (other than a university constituency,) if she has attained the age of 30 years, and is entitled to be registered as a Local Government elector in respect of land or premises in that constituency, or is the wife of a husband entitled to be so registered.

2. A woman shall be entitled to be registered as a Parliamentary elector for a university constituency if she has attained the age of 30 years, and would be entitled to be so registered if she were a man.

3. A woman shall be entitled to be registered as a Local Government elector for any Local Government electoral area where she would be entitled to be so registered if she were a man; provided that a husband and wife shall not both be qualified as Local Government electors in respect of the same property.

The age limit was adopted because the bill could not have been passed without it. The reason for the apparent discrimination against women in the matter of age seems to be that, with the destruction of male voters now going on at the front, the women would vastly preponderate at the polls if they, like the men, were allowed to vote at the age of 21, and it was thought safer to give time for the equalization of the sexes numerically.

* * *

CONSTANTINE AND HIS DYNASTY

CONSTANTINE of Greece, who has lost his throne, reversed the policy of his father, George I., King of the Hellenes, who was strongly pro-English, and who succeeded Otho of Bavaria when the Greeks drove him out of the country in 1862. The Greek Nation thereupon, by a plebiscite, elected, as King, Prince Alfred, son of Queen Victoria, the Duke of Edinburgh; and, when he refused the throne, requested Great Britain to nominate a candidate. The British Government chose Prince Christian William Ferdinand Adolphus of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glucksburg, who was recognized by the powers on June 6, 1863, and for whom the Conference of London, in August, 1863, created the style, King of the Hellenes, at the same time making Greece a present of the Ionian Islands, which contain about one-tenth of the population of Greece.

Just before his nomination the new Greek King's sister, Princess Alexandra, had married the Prince of Wales, afterward King Edward VII., and it has been repeatedly affirmed and denied, in the House of Commons, that Queen Alexandra's protection kept her nephew Constantine on the throne long after his policy had become an open danger to the Allies at Saloniki.

Shortly after George of Denmark became King of the Hellenes, his father succeeded to the crown of Denmark, while another sister, Princess Dagmar, married the future Czar Alexander III. of Russia; she, also, as Dowager Empress Marie of Russia, was supposed to uphold Constantine, who is further allied with several of the Russian Grand Ducal families, his mother having been the daughter of Grand Duke Constantine, his

sister having married the Grand Duke George Mikhailovitch, while his brother Nicholas married the Grand Duchess Helena Vladimirovna. From each of the three powers which guarantee the constitutional Government of Greece, King George received a personal allowance of $20,000 yearly.

* * *

Visiting Commissions

LORD NORTHCLIFFE, proprietor of The London Times, The London Mail, and other publications, arrived at New York June 12 to take up the duties of head of the British Commission to the United States, which post had been tendered him by Premier Lloyd George. His duties are to co-ordinate the work of the various British organizations already engaged in the task of supplying British war and other needs. His appointment is not a diplomatic position. Each of the allied Governments has numerous commissions engaged in various duties of assembling and procuring supplies in this country. The head of the French Commission is André Tardieu. Baron Moncheur, former Belgian Minister to the United States, arrived at New York with a Belgian Commission June 16. A commission of Russians consisting of forty members, headed by Boris A. Bakmetieff, arrived at Seattle June 13; this commission was appointed prior to the fall of the Milukoff Cabinet.

* * *

The Irish Convention

THE Irish convention which will deliberate during the Summer to endeavor to reach an agreement on a form of home rule will consist of 101 members. The British Government, seeking to secure for this convention representatives of the everyday life of Ireland, invited the Chairmen of every County Council and county borough, while, in addition, invitations had been extended to the Chairmen of small towns and urban districts in each of the four provinces to appoint two members to the convention.

The convention will also include four Roman Catholic Bishops, together with the Primate, Dr. Crosier, and the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Bernard, representing the Protestant Church of Ireland, and Dr. John Irwin, Moderator of the Irish Presbyterian Assembly. Commerce will be represented by the Chairmen of Chambers of Commerce in Dublin, Belfast, and Cork, while five representatives of labor will be sent by the trade councils of Dublin, Belfast, and Cork, and trade unions.

Political parties will be represented as follows: Five Nationalists, five Ulster Unionists, two O'Brienites, two Irish representative peers, five Southern Unionists, and five Sinn Feiners or Separatists. As to Sinn Feiners, the spokesmen of the Separatists' bodies had stated they would not enter the convention, but the Government reserved five places for them. Fifteen additional members will be nominated by the Government from among leading Irishmen of all sections.

* * *

Socialist Efforts for Peace

THE International Socialist Conference, which was summoned to meet at Stockholm in May, but which was delayed because delegates from important countries would not attend or were not permitted by their Governments to go to Stockholm, has taken on a more important aspect since the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates assumed the responsibility for summoning the assembly. The Russian Provisional Government has indorsed the invitation. The British and French Governments have granted passports to Socialist delegates, including so ardent a pacifist as Ramsay MacDonald, evidently because the Socialists of the allied countries command a majority of the votes in the conference and for them not to attend would give the delegates from the central countries a chance to dominate the gathering. The Dutch-Scandinavian Socialist Committee at Stockholm has been holding a series of preliminary consultations and informal discussions with Socialists from the different belligerent countries, and has succeeded in eliciting from the German majority Socialists, who, under Scheidemann's leadership, are supporting their Government, a statement of their peace terms. This statement has been condemned by prominent anti-Government leaders among German

Socialists, on the ground that it merely represents German imperialism. At the conference, which has been called for July 8, Germany has twenty votes, but they are divided equally between the Scheidemann group and the minority, which includes Kautsky, Haase, and Bernstein. The United States Government refused to issue passports to Morris Hillquit, Algernon Lee, and Victor L. Berger, the delegates chosen by the Socialist Party of America.

* * *

Chaos Growing in Austria-Hungary

COUNT MORITZ ESTERHAZY has completed the formation of a new Hungarian Cabinet, in which all parties opposed to the policies of Count Tisza are represented, Count Albert Apponyi being Minister of Education, while Count Karolyi has so far refused to take office. Hungarian feeling both against Germany and against the German dominance of Austria is reported as steadily growing; but the rock in the channel is the Slav question. More than half the population of Hungary is either Slav or Rumanian, and is held in political helotry by the dominant Magyars. Without the help of Germany and of the Austrians in Germany the Magyars would inevitably be submerged in the rising flood of Slavdom.

The difficulties of the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy—which, since 1866, has been the weaker half—are also rapidly growing. The Southern Slavs, agitation among whom was one of the causes of the war, are restive under the Germanizing pressure of the Vienna Government, while the Northern Slavs—the Czechs of Bohemia, the Moravians, and Slovaks—are practically in open rebellion, and these two Slav groups far outnumber the German factions in Austria, as the non-Magyars outnumber the Magyars in Hungary.

German and Magyar domination has only been maintained by franchise laws, and now, as in Prussia, there is strong pressure for the establishment of a widely extended franchise. If this were done, the domination of both Magyars and German-Austrians would come to an end. Even now, in the Reichsrat, 233 Germans —who are divided into mutually antagonistic parties—are faced by 263 Slavs and Italians, the Slavs including 108 Czechs, some 80 Galician Poles, and a certain number of Ruthenians, Slovenes, Dalmatians, Croatians, and Italians. On June 19 the Poles in the Austrian Parliament refused to vote for the war budget and forced the Austrian Premier, Count Clam-Martinic, to resign; the Poles are seeking independence.

* * *

Two German Reforms

THE German Federal Council has decided upon the repeal of two of the main features of "exceptional legislation" in Germany, the Jesuit act and the language paragraph, the first of which forbade members of the Society of Jesus to establish themselves in Germany, while the second forbade the use in public meetings of any language but German, except in the case of international congresses and election meetings. This decision is final, and will not be referred to the Reichstag, as that body is formally regarded as having already given its consent, having voted in favor of the abolition of the Jesuit act in 1894, and again in 1899, and in favor of the repeal of the language paragraph in 1908. On all three occasions, however, the Federal Council refused to ratify the decision of the House, whose vote has, therefore, been overruled until now.

The language paragraph was directed against the Polish and Danish subjects of the empire and the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine, and was considered necessary, in view of the German custom of arranging for a State official to be present at any public meeting, so as to intervene in the event of any inadmissible utterance.

The Jesuit act dated from 1872 and marked the beginning of the famous Kulturkampf. The aggressive policy of the Vatican at that time had aroused Protestant opinion, and its claim as to the precedence of ecclesiastical over secular jurisdiction had given rise to the conviction that, as Herr Rudolf Delbrück, the then Secretary of State, stated in the Reichstag at the time, the young German

Empire must be protected from the disintegrating effect of international influences on the imperial consciousness being evolved in its midst. The Society of Jesus and its kindred organizations were, therefore, forbidden to establish themselves in Germany, their existing settlements were ordered to be broken up within six months, and Jesuits of non-German nationality were permitted to reside only in certain districts, and were liable to banishment at any time.

* * *

Our German and Austrian Ships

GERMAN merchant vessels numbering about 100 and representing a gross tonnage of about 600,000 were taken under the control of the United States Government on April 6, the German crews being removed and turned over to the immigration authorities. Customs officials took over the ships at Porto Rico and Hawaii, while the War Department had earlier taken possession of German merchant ships in the Canal Zone, the Navy Department taking control of the German raiders at Philadelphia. It is estimated that, while the German ships now controlled by the United States Government cost more than $50,000,000, they now represent, even in their present damaged condition, considerably over $100,000,000; and while practically every ship was more or less damaged, by orders emanating from the German Embassy, the injuries, except in one or two cases, were much less serious than had been feared. The Kronprinzessin Cecilie was probably the most seriously damaged, while the Liebenfels, sunk in Charleston Harbor, was almost intact, except for the opening of the seacocks.

Fourteen Austrian ships, of a gross tonnage of 67,807, were also taken over, the largest being the Martha Washington, 8,312 tons; the Dora, 7,037 tons; the Lucia, 6,744 tons, and the Ermy, 6,515 tons. The first two were in New York, the third at Pensacola, and the fourth at Boston. Of these fourteen Austrian ships, eight belonged to the Union Austriaca di Navigazione. The four Hamburg-American liners seized at Colon—the Grünewald, Sachsenwald, Savoja, and Prinz Sigismund—were first moved to Gatun Lake, in order that the fresh water might kill the barnacles accumulated on their hulls.

Rush repairs were immediately begun on all the ships except those at Honolulu, H. T., and the Vaterland at New York, the latter being too large for any American dry dock. By a unanimous Senate resolution, no suit for compensation may begin until one year after peace is made.

* * *

Canada's Conscription Bill

A BILL has been introduced in the Canadian Parliament providing for compulsory military service for men between the ages of 20 and 45. According to the bill, drafts shall be called out by the Governor in council in precedence of youth and lack of home entanglements. Ten classes are provided in which age and dependents (confined to wives and children) are given the preference. When a certain class is called out by proclamation those who fall under that class are bound to respond to the call. Those who do not may be designated as deserters and held liable to imprisonment not exceeding three years. The proposition is bitterly opposed in the Province of Quebec, especially by the French Catholics. An effort was made to form a coalition Cabinet to pass the measure without party division, but it failed.

* * *

The Fiji Islanders in the War

THE Fijians, whose archipelago became British territory in 1874, have actively entered the world war, a group of sturdy Fijians recently disembarking at Vancouver and passing through Canada on their way to France, where they will act, however, not as belligerents, but as stevedores on the wharfs of France. But a larger contingent may follow, trained for war. Many of the Polynesian races, to which the Fijians belong, are splendidly built. At the Columbian World's Fair the prize for physical perfection was awarded to a South Sea Islander, and the average among some of these races is the highest in the world both for stature and for all-round physical development.

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These Fijians are, however, not the first group of Polynesians to take an active part in the war; a strong force of fully trained Maoris, who are also of the Polynesian race, accompanied the "Anzac"—Australian and New Zealand Army Corps—to Gallipoli and served with great gallantry. And the entry of the United States into the war has made belligerents of the large Polynesian population of Hawaii. All over the vast South Sea archipelagos the Polynesian race is singularly uniform, except in certain regions, where there is an infusion of Malay or Melanesian blood; the group of languages which covers this area, while they have been separated by vast spaces of ocean for unnumbered centuries or millenniums, are nevertheless quite evidently very closely related.

* * *

Never Heard of the War

THE Japan Chronicle notes the fact that recently a Japanese girl came to Kobe to work in the house of an English lady. A portrait of a young man in khaki stood on the mantelpiece of one room, and as the mistress speaks Japanese fluently, the girl asked about him and his uniform. On being told that he was fighting in the great war in Europe, she asked, "What war?" Further inquiry showed that this young woman, though quite intelligent, had never heard of the war. She herself had lost her father in the Russo-Japanese War when she was about 7 or 8 years old, and her mother had had a terrible struggle to maintain the family. But she had not heard of any war being waged at present, nor had she heard any one talk of the war or refer to it in any way.

* * *

Foreign-Born Men in America

THE foreign-born white males 21 years of age and over in the United States in 1910 totaled 6,646,817, of whom 3,034,117 were naturalized and 2,266,535 were aliens; 570,772 had first papers and 775,393 failed to report citizenship. The increase in total foreign population in ten years from 1900 was 35.5 per cent.; there was only 6.6 per cent. increase in the number naturalized, but an increase of 147.7 per cent. in the number of aliens. The total number of aliens admitted in 1916 was only 298,826, and 129,765 departed.

In 1910 the percentage of foreign-born males over 21 years of age in the United States who had been naturalized was distributed as follows: Ireland, 67.8; Canada, 51; Russia, 26.1; Italy, 17.7; England, 59.4; Germany, 69.5; Sweden, 62.8, and Scotland, 56.5.

Figures just compiled by the Bureau of the Census show the total number of alien inhabitants in the United States of the nationalities with which this country is at war or which are allied with Germany, to be 4,662,000, constituting 4½ per cent. of the total number of inhabitants. The distribution is as follows, and contains all men, women, and children born in the countries named:

Germany	2,349,000
Austria	1,376,000
Turkey	188,000
Bulgaria	11,000

The number of male aliens 21 years of age and over would be about 964,000, or about 3.2 per cent. of the total number of male inhabitants of the United States 21 years of age and over, and the distribution of these males according to country of birth is:

Germany	136,000
Austria	447,000
Hungary	280,000
Turkey	93,000
Bulgaria	8,000

Up to 1910 most of the Germans were naturalized, but the Austrians and Hungarians did not seem so ready to amalgamate with the Americans and become citizens.

* * *

Difficulties Before the New Spanish Ministry

EDUARDO DATO heads the new Ministry, pledged to preserve the neutrality of Spain. His immediate predecessor, Marquis Manuel Garcia Prieto, held office only since April 19, when Count de Romanones resigned, declaring that acquiescence in Germany's ruthless submarine campaign was endangering the very life of the Spanish Nation and that Spain should forthwith join the En-

tente Allies. Eduardo Dato was Premier when the war broke out. Germany tried hard to induce him to assume an attitude of open hostility toward France, mobilizing troops south of the Pyrenees, and thus compelling Joffre to withdraw large forces from the defense of Paris and the Marne. Dato, though considered pro-German, refused the offer of Gibraltar and Morocco and held Spain to a rigid neutrality.

The Premier's position is highly precarious. Spain, with a population of only 20,000,000, has ten organized political parties whose Parliamentary combinations are exceedingly unstable. The ultra-Conservatives, who include the nobility, the Church, and army, are openly pro-German, the army upholding militarism and a military caste, while the German bait of temporal power for the Pope is intended to capture the Church. Other groups still resent the French invasion during the Napoleonic wars, and are not pro-English, in spite of Wellington's help at that time, because of England's holding Gibraltar.

The Liberals, the Republicans, and the moderate Socialists, who are all grouped together as Reformists, are strongly pro-ally, Señor Lerroux, Deputy for Barcelona, having said, on April 30, that Spain's moral ascendancy over Latin America has already passed to the United States; that this moral loss would be followed by economic loss, and that, by failure to enter the war on the side of the Allies, Spain showed her impotence, fear, and incapacity. But a lively German propaganda still dominates the Conservatives, whom Dato leads. This German domination is provoking widespread revolutionary protest in Catalonia, Asturias, and elsewhere throughout Spain. On June 18 it was reported that the Province of Catalonia, which embraces the City of Barcelona, was in a political ferment and threatened to secede from Spanish dominion. Authentic reports from Madrid on June 18 indicated that demand for radical reforms was acute all over Spain and that a thorough liberalization of the electoral, military, and economic laws was inevitable.

Espionage and Embargo Act

THE Espionage act, as finally passed by Congress, is much wider in its scope than its title indicates, although it does not go so far in many directions as the Administration desired. The most serious clash between the Executive and the Legislature was with regard to a press censorship. Despite the urgent appeals of the Administration, Congress refused to set up a censorship, thus leaving the newspapers of the United States practically the only ones in a belligerent country not subject to the official blue pencil. The Espionage act prescribes death or long imprisonment as the punishment for convicted spies, penalizes interference with foreign commerce, provides for the enforcement of neutrality, authorizes the seizure of shipments of arms designed for unlawful purposes, fixes penalties for injuring vessels in foreign commerce and for disturbing foreign relations, and sets forth new restrictions upon passports. Other important provisions deal with censorship of mails and the extension of the use of search warrants, and confer on the President authority to embargo exports. The embargo feature puts into the hands of the Executive a weapon by which it is intended to stop supplies from entering Germany through neutral countries.

* * *

Brazil Prepares to Enter the War

WHILE Brazil has definitely ranged herself on the side of the United States and the Entente Powers, it is somewhat difficult to give an accurate legel definition of her position. Brazil is not at peace with Germany; she is not neutral; she is not an active belligerent. At the end of May the Brazilian Foreign Minister declared: "Brazil declares war on nobody. It is Germany which declares war on all neutrals. * * * Our Government is not free to declare war; that is for Congress to decide."

The Brazilian Chamber on May 28 passed the first reading of the Administration measure revoking Brazil's neutrality in the war between Germany and the United States by a vote of 136 to 3.

Thereupon Brazil began to take active war measures. The Chamber of Deputies authorized the Government to utilize German ships in Brazilian ports, and on June 2 President Braz signed a decree carrying this into effect. Forty-six German merchant ships were laid up in Brazilian ports early in the war, aggregating 240,779 tons displacement. The largest of these is the Hamburg-American liner Blücher, of 12,350 tons; while thirty-three of the vessels are of more than 4,000 tons each. A second step was the opening of Brazilian ports to all Entente warships, including those of the United States. A third step was the development of measures whereby Brazil will share with the United States Navy the policing of the South Atlantic, thus liberating many English and French ships to fight in the North Sea and the Mediterranean.

It will be remembered that Brazil, once a colony of Portugal, and still using Portuguese as its official language, is one of the largest countries in the world, with an area of 3,218,991 square miles and a population approaching 20,000,000, being exceeded in area only by the British Empire, the Russian, French, and Chinese dominions, and the United States. Most of South America is preparing to follow Brazil's lead, while in Central America only Costa Rica and Salvador still maintain relations with Germany.

* * *

General Pershing Carries America's Sword to Europe

SINCE the national existence of the United States began, General Pershing is the first soldier of the Republic to draw the sword of America on a European battlefield, though a full army corps of young Americans have been fighting in the battlefields of France under the flags of France and England. In the Colonial period, during the wars waged between 1689 and 1763—King William's war, Queen Anne's war, and the war of the Austrian succession, precipitated by the attack of Frederick the Great against Maria Theresa—all officers in the British colonies in America were, of course, officers of the English Crown, and it may be held that for this reason they took part in European wars, though fighting in America. Thus, Washington and Clive were at the same time fighting on the same side in the same war, though the one was engaged at Pittsburgh, the other at Plassey, in Lower Bengal. In this war both Cuba and the Philippines were taken by England from Spain, but were returned when peace was made.

In the Barbary wars, from 1802 to 1806, the United States was at war in the Old World, on the north coast of Africa. The Pasha of Tripoli, who had collected tribute from the United States, declared when payment of this tribute was stopped that "we are all hungry, and if we are not provided for we soon get peevish," and opened a war against the United States. There was naval fighting in European waters when John Paul Jones, leading a little fleet fitted out by France, cruised in the North Sea and took the British ship Serapis in September, 1779. Since the United States was then allied with France, it may be said that Paul Jones carried the sword of America to Europe.

The war of 1812 was directly caused by the great European struggle against Napoleon, but the United States was no longer allied with France. Indeed, it was openly declared in Congress that the United States "ought to fight France also." So General Pershing opens a new page, carrying the sword of America to the battle plains of Belgium and France.

* * *

Polyglot Armies of the Entente

THE forces of humanity are, in the most literal sense, fighting against the tyranny of the Central Empires; practically every race, creed, and color under the sun is represented in the Entente armies, whether already in the field or in training camps. France's Foreign Legion is already a congress of races; but there are also, in the armies of the French Republic, representatives of half a dozen African and Asian stocks, including the troops of Arab and Moorish blood, from Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco, who fought valiantly in the Champagne offensive; and, at Verdun, the coal-black

sharpshooters from Senegal and the Upper Niger—territories largely opened up by Gallieni and Joffre—and the Colonials from French Farther India, from the territories of Tonking. Many Chinese are also working for France, in the munition shops and in the fields.

England's army is even more varicolored, as England's Empire is more widely extended; and it should be remembered that, with the exception of Great Britain—that is, England, Scotland, and Wales—the armies of England, including the large contingents from India, are all volunteers. Fighting with the Colonials are Red Indians from the Canadian Northwest, Polynesians and Maoris—aboriginal New Zealanders—and, in the Imperial Army of Britain, there are representatives of a dozen nations of India, and of one at least, the Gurkas, who do not owe political allegiance to England, but who cross over the frontier from Nepal, to enlist in the British Indian army, because it offers a career to these hereditary fighting men.

In Africa, side by side with the Britons and the Boers, led by Generals like Louis Botha and Smuts, who, not so long ago, were fighting against England, there are representatives of several South African races, of the Kaffir stock, who are quite distinct from the negro races of Equatorial Africa. Besides the Christian religion, there are represented, among these troops, Brahamanism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Jainism, and a dozen forms of paganism and fetich worship.

* * *

HENRY P. DAVISON of J. P. Morgan & Co. has been appointed Chairman of the Red Cross War Council by President Wilson. It is proposed to raise $100,000,000. With Mr. Davison on the War Council will be William H. Taft, Edward N. Hurley of Chicago, former Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission; Cornelius N. Bliss, Jr., Charles D. Norton, Grayson M. P. Murphy of New York, and Eliot Wadsworth of Boston, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Red Cross.

* * *

THE total amount of income taxes collected in the United States from the civil war law in the ten years it remained on the statute books, 1863 to 1873, was $346,762,000, as against $330,565,628, the total amount collected in the single year ended June, 1917.

* * *

War Insurance Losses

THE United States War Risk Insurance Bureau up to May 23, 1917, had issued policies totaling $504,003,016, with net losses of $5,844,531; total premiums, $10,300,355. The following were the losses:

Vessel.	Hull.	Cargo.	Total.
1915.			
Evelyn	$100,000	$301,000.00	$401,000.00
Carib	22,253	235,850.00	258,103.00
Greenbrier	50,000	.....	50,000.00
Wm. P. Frye.	11,550	.....	11,550.00
Navajo	.....	58,368.34	58,368.34
Seguranca	.....	235.73	235.73
Total for 1915			$779,257.07
1916.			
Carolyn	.....	$62,595.03	$62,595.03
1917.			
Healdton	$400,000	$99,000.00	$499,000.00
Illinois	250,000	.....	250,000.00
Rockingham	800,000	498,108.00	1,298,108.00
Missourian	1,000,000	.....	1,000,000.00
Edw. R. Hunt	50,000	.....	50,000.00
N. York, (est.)	100,000	150,000.00	250,000.00
Percy Birdsall	25,000	.....	25,000.00
Vacuum	1,000,000	.....	1,000,000.00
Hilonian	275,000	414,627.00	689,627.00
Total for 1917			$5,061,735.00
Total losses			$5,903,587.10

Military Review of the Month

Period From May 18 to June 18, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh U. S. Cavalry

[See map of Italian front Page 31, and of Ypres front on Page 36]

As last month's review was being written, one of the fiercest Italian battles of the war was being fought on the front between Tolmino and the sea. The Italian objective was the Carso Plateau, on which they already had a foothold, obtained shortly after the fall of Gorizia last year. Instead of attacking here, however, they began operations on the Isonzo between Tolmino and Gorizia, thereby following the same strategy which has marked all the later battles of the Entente. Two points were particularly selected for the attack: The first Canale, and the second Plava. After a very heavy bombardment the Italians, who were on the west bank of the river, surged across and established themselves on the east bank. Vodice Ridge, close to the river and just to the north of Mount Cucco, was taken and Mount Cucco itself occupied.

For days there was fighting of the heaviest character. The Austrians counterattacked heavily in an effort to throw the Italians back across the river, and, when this failed, began a minor attack in the Trentino in order to divert attention. In both, however, they were unsuccessful. The Italians had their object thoroughly in mind and were not to be distracted from it.

Fighting on the Carso

Then the scene of operations was suddenly shifted south of the valley of the Vippaco. It was the much discussed plan of the oscillating attack. As in most other cases where it has been tried, it was successful. The work on the Carso was brilliantly performed. The front attack extended from Castagnavizza to the sea. There was no attempt to advance the entire Carso line. It was not necessary, nor could sufficient concentration of guns and shells have been made.

The Carso is a hairpin-shaped plateau which generally parallels the seacoast. The distance from the southern edge to the seacoast varies considerably, in some cases being several miles, in others practically nothing, the sides of the plateau sloping down to the water's edge. The surface of the Carso is broken and rough, honeycombed with natural caverns of varying size, the plateau being of volcanic origin and calcareous in nature. It is the great barrier to Trieste from whatever direction a land attack might come, and must be occupied in its entirety before Trieste can be taken.

The advance, after the most severe fighting, was for a depth of nearly a mile, and many thousands of prisoners were taken. The Italians finally reached a point about half way up the western slopes of the Hermada Hill, or Hill 323. This hill is the key to the entire situation. It is a nearly isolated height about 1,000 feet above sea level, which dominates the Adriatic and both the highway and the railroad which run along the coast at the base of the tableland. Its capture would give the Italians almost perfect observation for a distance of five miles, whereas, as matters now stand, the Austrians are in a position to observe every preparation the Italians put under way. This is always a matter of cardinal importance because it is on perfection of observation that any success in this war is based.

In this case it is of particular importance in view of the railroad and supply situation. The Carso is bounded by two railroads, one generally following the line of the Vippaco on the north and the other on the south, running along the seacoast, the latter branching at Nabresina. The plateau itself is not touched by any railroad. A few indifferent dirt roads pass over it, which, after consider-

able winding, connect with one of the two railroads. The only road of moment which crosses the Carso runs from Nabresina through the village of Comen to Scherbina, a rail junction in the Vippaco Valley. Once Hermada Hill is in Italian hands, this road with its southern connection is not alone under observation but under reasonably close artillery fire.

The Italian attack lasted for eighteen days without pause. It was the longest and most sustained offensive yet carried on by any of the belligerents, and the fact that the Italians were able to continue for such a great length of time speaks exceedingly well for their transport system. After that time the attacks gradually lessened and then died down. Since then they have not been renewed.

The Austrians were able to strengthen their line greatly at the expense of the Russian front. This latter front was still inactive, with no prospect of its becoming otherwise, and men could be taken without danger. This was done freely, and several divisions were recognized as having been on the Russian front a short time before. This in itself is sufficient reason for the final halting of the Italian offensive. After several days the Austrians, who had refused to admit that Italy had moved forward at all, counterattacked and reported that all their lost positions (which up to this time had not been lost) were recovered. But while it is probably true that some gains were made, it is unlikely that any serious reclamation of ground took place. The claims made were too vague.

Battle of Messines Ridge

The event of the month on the western front was the British attack between the Ypres salient and Armentières. The defeat of the German attempt to reach Calais, known as the battle of Ypres, left the lines most peculiarly shaped. A great wedge bulged out into the German lines east of Ypres, with the flanks beaten back, one as far west as Furnes on the Ypres Canal, the other well to the west of the village of Wytschaete. From Wytschaete the line curved about Messines, and then continued on east of Armentières. The British attack was launched from Hill 60, just west of Zillebeke, to a point south of Warrenton on the Lys River. The object of the attack was twofold: first to straighten out the British lines from Ypres south and remove the danger of having the southern side of the Ypres salient crushed in. This danger was always present, and if such an attack should succeed there would be an immediate possibility of the Germans being able to continue the drive to Calais.

There was the second consideration of improving the line from the standpoint of terrain. This section of Belgium and of France is extremely flat. There are but few points which rise more than seventy-five feet above the sea; indeed, this is almost the exact level of the entire belt. Between Wytschaete and Messines, however, there is a distinct ridge which varies in height from 260 feet to about 190. This ridge, together with Hill 60, the British had most thoroughly and carefully mined. In fact, from the extent to which preliminary work was carried it must have been begun nearly a year ago. Its importance justified this measure, and all the work that was involved. There is not an artillery position within ten miles of this section of the British front after this ridge has been eliminated. It is impossible for the Germans to move any considerable body of troops or to move their guns, whether in reinforcement or withdrawal, without the entire operation opening out under the British eyes. On the other hand, in order for the British to make the most important concentrations unobserved, it is only necessary to keep German airplanes away, and the work can be done in complete concealment.

The fighting was begun by setting off the mines, which had been so placed and so carefully constructed that the entire German front positions were destroyed. Immediately the artillery began, and in a short time the infantry went forward. The Germans had full warning of the attack. The action of the artillery, which was of very heavy calibre, for some days

before the infantry went into action, was in itself a warning that an attack was pending. In spite of this the resistance was not up to the German mark. The entire command seems to have been thrown into a panic by the explosion and was unable to fight effectively. At an absurdly small loss the infantry took these two villages, Wytschaete and Messines, and occupied the entire ridge between. Over 7,000 prisoners were captured in the operation—more than the total British loss. The entire British objective was gained; at no point was a reverse suffered. This meant the occupation of the entire ridge and to a large extent the flattening out of the old salient.

Later operations showed almost immediately the value of the positions which the British had gained. The weight of British artillery fire, directed partly from the new observation posts and partly by airplane, forced the abandonment of several lines of trenches almost without the infantry going into action at all. This was particularly the case between the Lys River and the village of St. Yvon, where the Germans fell back solely because of the effects of the artillery.

The final result of this fighting as it stands at the moment of writing is that the British have cleaned out the old salient in its entirety and have drawn a straight line from Hill 60, east of Zillebeke, to a point east of Armentières. To the north the old salient still exists. But in this case the Germans have to launch their attack across the Furnes Canal, which stretches out before the British lines; judging from former experience, this is apt to prove an impassable obstacle with the important artillery positions all in British hands.

The British attack, however, did a great deal more than straighten out the dangerous southern salient. It will eventually mean the abandonment by the Germans of the triangular strip of territory, the vertices of which are Hill 60 on the north, Comines on the east, and Warrenton on the south. This triangle is bounded on its eastern sides by the Ypres Canal and the River Lys. The ground embraced by it is exceedingly low without a single elevation. It is nothing like the rolling country found in Artois further south. It is absolutely flat, except for a gentle slope from west to east. There is no cover, there are no positions from which a German attack can be launched. That the British have not yet launched another attack does not mean that they are not in a position to take advantage of this situation. But the lesson had been dearly bought with experience, that liberal use of the mechanics of war is to be economical in human lives. The British output of shells is sufficient to permit them to be used lavishly, and this the British are prepared to do. It is a question, however, of accumulating them in the gun positions—of transportation. It is this accumulation which is going on now, and when it is deemed sufficient, the Germans are almost certain to feel the weight of another torrent of steel.

The capture of this triangle will push well out into the German positions a deep wedge several miles beyond their present lines. It will endanger both Lille on the south and the Germans about the Ypres salient on the north. Their lines before Armentières will be taken almost directly in the rear and the whole line as far south as Lens endangered. The situation created in the German lines by this recent success, though generally local, is still the most interesting from the standpoint of possible developments, and will bear the closest watching.

Further south the fighting has come to a standstill. After taking Bullecourt, for which the struggle was most intense and most bitterly contested, the British found that they were unable to advance further. Heavy counterattacks held them in place and even wrested from them isolated sections of trenches which they had won at so great a cost. On the whole, however, both sides have been fought to a standstill with but little to choose. On the French front matters are in very much the same state, and the fighting has generally ceased on a large scale. Attacks by the Germans—all fruitless—

against the Chemin des Dames have been the only outstanding features.

Situation in the Balkans

The most hopeful thing from the standpoint of the Allies has been the abdication of the Greek King Constantine with his heir apparent in favor of the second son. For many months Constantine has been a thorn in the side of Sarrail's army before Saloniki. The latter has been afraid to make any serious attempt to move forward lest the Greek Army under the King's directions sever his lines of communications behind him. This fear is now removed and there is nothing to prevent an offensive movement should he care to make it.

It is extremely doubtful if this attempt will be made at the present time. A change of plan is under way now on this front from which anything may develop. It would surprise no one if the main part of the armies which now hold this front should be withdrawn for service in other fields—possibly the Near East—leaving only a covering force of sufficient strength to hold the Bulgarians in check. This force will of course be assisted in part at least by the Greek Army, and could be safely left to look after the position of the Entente, while close to 750,000 men could be detached.

As matters now stand, the task before the Saloniki army of moving up either the Vardar, the Struma, or the Cerna against Nish seems well nigh hopeless. Such a movement could only be begun with Russia sufficiently active to prevent withdrawals from her front. As this is far from being the case, it is not apparent just what use the army is in its present location. All indications point to a complete readjustment of this entire situation in the near future.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From May 19 Up to and Including June 18, 1917

UNITED STATES

Announcement was made on May 19 that a regiment of American marines under Colonel Doyen would be sent to the fighting front at the earliest practicable moment. On June 7 the French Ministry of Marine announced the arrival of American warships off the French coast, and the collier Jupiter arrived at a port in France with wheat and other supplies for the American troops. On June 8 announcement was made that one thousand naval aviators had arrived in France. On the same day Major Gen. Pershing reached London, and went from there to Paris. Several hospital units arrived in Europe.

The State Department refused passports to delegates to the International Socialist Conference at Stockholm.

An Italian Commission headed by Prince Ferdinand of Udine conferred with American officials in Washington on the conduct of the war, and a Belgian Commission headed by Baron Moncheur reached this country and was received by President Wilson. Lord Northcliffe was sent from England to act as head of the British Commission.

Congress passed an Espionage bill with an embargo clause giving the President power to control exports.

Between 9,000,000 and 10,000,000 men registered on June 5 in compliance with the army draft law.

Subscriptions to the Liberty Loan, closed June 15, reached a total of almost $2,900,000,000.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The British official statement for the week ended May 19 showed that eighteen merchant ships of over 1,600 tons each had been sunk; for the week ended May 26, eighteen vessels; for the week ended June 2, fifteen, and for the week ended June 9, twenty-two ships of more than 1,600 tons.

On May 22 announcement was made that Denmark had lost 150 ships since the beginning of the war through submarines or mines.

Germany sent a conciliatory reply to Spain's protest concerning the sinking of the Patricio, offering an indemnity and a salute to the Spanish flag. Two other Spanish ships, the mail steamer C. De Eizaguirre and the steamship Begona, were sunk. More than eighty lives were lost on the

Eizaguirre. Pro-ally demonstrations were held in Madrid.

Several Swedish grain ships were sunk. In reply to a protest from the Swedish Government, Germany expressed regret. A Swedish ship engaged in the work of the Belgian Relief Commission was also sunk.

Three American sailing vessels, the Dirigo, the Frances M., and the Barbara, were sunk.

The British hospital ship Dover Castle was sunk, but all the patients on board were saved. One hundred ninety men lost their lives in the sinking of the South Atlantic liner Sequana. The Leyland liner Anglian and the British steamship Southland were sunk.

A French submarine sank an enemy submarine as it was coming out of Cattaro harbor on June 2, escorted by a torpedo boat.

Nicaragua and Haiti severed relations with Germany.

The Brazilian steamer Tijuca was sunk. Following the recommendation of President Braz, the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies passed a bill authorizing the revocation of neutrality in the war between the United States and Germany, and authorized the seizure of German ships in Brazilian ports.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

May 20—Russians repulse German attacks east of Kalncem.

June 2—Germans bombard Russian positions at Krevo and Brody.

June 4—Russian scouts raid German lines near Kovel and Pnevi.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

May 19—Germans launch strong attack on the Aisne; small force reaches French lines northwest of Braye-en-Laonnois.

May 20—British break into Hindenburg line on a front of over a mile between Fontaine-les-Croisilles and Bullecourt; Germans seize French trenches on a 216-yard front on the Chemin-des-Dames.

May 22—French repulse strong attacks against new positions in Western Champagne, north of Mont Carnillet, and against the heights of Casque and the Teton; Germans bombard Rheims.

May 23—French seize the last heights dominating the valley of the Aillette River and enlarge their positions on the northern slopes of the Vauclerc and Californie Plateau.

May 24—French check German assault on Vauclerc Plateau.

May 25—Germans penetrate French lines near Braye, but lose most of the ground later; British make gains southeast of Loos.

May 26—French extend their gains on both sides of Mont Carnillet.

May 27—Germans pierce French lines at the eastern end of the Moronvilliers Range; British gain near Fontaine-les-Croisilles.

May 28—Germans fail in three attempts to wrest Moronvilliers Heights from the French.

May 30—Germans attack French trenches south of Mont Blond, but are driven back; fighting resumed south of St. Quentin.

June 1—Berlin reports unusual activity in the region of the sand dunes on the Belgian coast, at the Ypres salient, and in the sector of Wytschaete; Germans attack on the Aisne and penetrate French trenches near the Laffaux mill, but lose most of their gains; French capture a German outpost south of Chevreaux.

June 2—General von Hindenburg announces that the French and British offensive has come to a definite conclusion; French War Office reports capture of 52,000 prisoners and an enormous amount of war material since April 1.

June 3—British advance near Lens, but are forced back by German counterattacks; Germans enter British lines near Chérisy, but are driven out.

June 6—British attack Arras line from Roeux to Gavrelle and carry German positions on a front of about a mile on the western slopes of Greenland Hill, north of the Scarpe; Germans attack on the Aisne and make small gains near Braye-en-Lannois.

June 7—British smash salient south of Ypres with a terrific blow, preceded by gigantic mine operations, and win Messines, Wytschaete, Oosttaverne, and other strongly fortified positions that had been held by the Germans for two and a half years.

June 8—British organize new positions south of Ypres and repulse German counterattacks.

June 9.—Germans make counterattack on a six-mile front east of Messines and near Klein Zillebeke, but are repulsed; Canadians penetrate German lines on a front of two miles south of Lens; French repel attacks along the Chemin-des-Dames.

June 10—British make further gains at several points south of Ypres.

June 11—British capture German trench system on a front of about a mile near La Poterie farm.

June 13—British sweep forward on a front of about two miles east and northeast of Messines and occupy Gaspard.

June 14—German troops in the Messines region abandon their positions between St. Yves and the River Lys.

June 15—British force Germans out of new positions east and south of Messines and capture a further portion of the Hindenburg line northwest of Bullecourt.

June 16—British driven back in counterattacks east of Loos and from second line trenches northwest of Bullecourt, but make gains south of Ypres.

June 17—Germans penetrate French salient northwest of Hurtebise Farm, but French

BIRDSEYE VIEW OF VERDUN FRONT

This Picture-Map, Drawn in Five-Mile Squares in Perspective, Shows How the Battle Line Has Moved to and Fro Since the Germans Attempted to Capture the Great French Fortress

(© *The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial*)

THE ITALIAN DRIVE ON TRIESTE

Picture-Map of the Carso Plateau, Across Which the Italians Are Driving in Their Attempt to Capture Trieste, the Key to Italia Irredenta

(© *The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial*)

retake all except a small part of the first line.

June 18—British fall back east of Monchy-le-Preux; French capture a German salient in Champagne between Mont Carnillet and Mont Blond.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

May 19—Italians take Hill 652 on Monte Vodice; Austrians admit loss of Monte Kuk.

May 20—Italians extend their positions on Hill 652 and break into Austrian lines east of Gorizia.

May 23—Italians recapture positions penetrated by the Austrians in the Travignolo Valley.

May 24—Italians break through Austrian lines from Castagnavizza to the sea, capturing Boscomalo, Jamiano, and strong heights east of Pietrarossa and Bagni, and advance in the San Marco, Monte Santo, and Vodice areas.

May 25—Italians capture fortified heights north of Jamiano and gain ground south of Jamiano to the sea.

May 26—Italians capture a strong network of trenches from the mouth of the Timavo River to a point east of Jamiano, take heights between Flondar and Medeazza, and trenches around Castagnavizza.

May 27—Italians smash through Austro-Hungarian positions between Jamiano and the Gulf of Trieste, driving across the Monfalcone-Duino Railroad to Medeazza, and carry the heights at the head of the Palliova Valley.

May 28—Italians cross the Timavo estuary and occupy San Giovanni.

May 31—Austrians fail in attack north of the Tonale Ridge, on the northern side of Monte Pizzul, and in the Rocolana Valley.

June 1—Italians defeat Austrian attempts to recapture heights in the Vodice area.

June 4—Italians drive Austrians from captured advanced positions on the western slopes of San Marco.

June 5—Italians repulse massed attacks south of Gorizia from Dosso Faiti to the sea and take advance positions in the sector between Castagnavizza and Jamiano.

June 6—Austrians regain positions before Flondar, south of Jamiano.

June 7—Austrians report successful attacks near Jamiano and defeat of Italian attacks between the Vipacco Valley and the sea.

June 11—Italians begin new offensive on the Asiago Plateau and seize Monte Ortigara and the Agnello Pass.

June 16—Italians in the eastern Trentino carry Corno Cavento.

June 18—Italians advance northeast of Jamiano and repulse attacks on Monte Mosciagh, on the Asiago Plateau, and on Hill 652 in the Vodice.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

May 20—Russians repulse German attacks on the Rumanian front east of Koverka.

May 27—British bombard German positions near Livanovo.

May 31—Italians in Albania occupy Cerevoda, Velisest, Osaja, and Cafa.

June 7—Rumanians show activity on the Dobrudja front; gun duels in Macedonia on the right bank of the Vardar and south of Huma.

June 16—French cavalry occupies five towns in Northern Thessaly.

June 17—British evacuate several villages on the Bulgar front, after setting them afire; French extend the occupation of Thessaly.

AERIAL RECORD

Danube towns were raided by the Germans and many persons were killed in Ismail, Bessarabia.

Many great raids, in which hundreds of machines took part, occurred on the western front. The British dropped bombs on Ostend, Zeebrugge, Bruges, and Niemunster. Ghent was also raided and St. Peter Station partly destroyed. The London morning papers on June 2 announced that 713 airplanes were shot down on the western front in May, of which 442 were German and 271 British and French. On June 5 the French raided eleven points behind the German lines, including the City of Trèves, in Rhenish Prussia. The Lafayette Escadrille, composed chiefly of Americans, fought fifteen battles in the last two weeks of May.

The Zeppelin L-43 was destroyed by British naval forces in the North Sea.

Many lives were lost and hundreds of persons injured in raids on England. On May 23 the eastern counties were attacked and one man killed. On May 26 seventy-six persons were killed and 174 injured in the Folkestone raid. Three machines were shot down. One hundred and four persons were killed and 403 hurt in a raid on June 13. On June 17 two lives were lost and sixteen persons injured. One Zeppelin was brought down.

NAVAL RECORD

A French topedo boat flotilla put to rout a flotilla of German destroyers on May 20. One French craft was damaged.

British warships bombarded Ostend and Zeebrugge. In a running fight between six German destroyers and the British squadron one German destroyer, the S-20, was sunk and another damaged.

Japanese light craft arrived in the Mediterranean Sea to help in fighting submarines.

Thirteen Bulgarian ships bombarded Kavala.

A Russian squadron, cruising along the Anatolian coast on May 29, bombarded four ports and destroyed 147 sailing ships loaded with supplies.

British warships captured Fort Saliff on the Red Sea.

The American steamer Mongolia fired four shots at a German submarine which discharged a torpedo at the liner on June 1. Neither the Mongolia nor the submarine was damaged. The American ship Silver Shell had a running battle with a submarine in the Mediterranean on May 30. After an exchange of sixty shots the submarine disappeared. The Standard Oil steamer Moreni was sunk after a two-hour battle with a submarine, and four of her crew were lost.

RUSSIA

The reorganized Cabinet of the Provisional Government, on May 19, declared itself a unit for general peace only, and no annexations or indemnities.

A congress of the Swedish political party passed a resolution favoring complete separation of Finland from Russia.

On June 1 the Kronstadt Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates repudiated the Provisional Government and decided to assume control of Kronstadt. The committee surrendered on June 6, but their decision was reversed on June 11 by agitators, who declared that the declaration of independence was still in force.

A. I. Konovaloff, Minister of Commerce and Trade, resigned because of disagreement with M. Skobeleff, the Labor Minister, concerning economic and financial questions. Many strikes occurred in Petrograd. General Michael V. Alexeieff resigned as Commander in Chief of the Russian Armies, and General Brusiloff succeeded him. General Goutor took Brusiloff's place on the southwestern front.

An American diplomatic commission, headed by Elihu Root, and a railroad commission, headed by John F. Stevens, arrived in Petrograd. President Wilson sent a note to the Provisional Government outlining the objects and ideals of the United States in the war. These principles were approved in a note sent by Great Britain.

The Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, in reply to Austrian overtures, made in a telegram from Prince Leopold of Bavaria, adopted a proclamation expressing opposition to a separate peace. Robert Grimm, a Swiss Socialist who acted as Germany's agent in a new peace move, was expelled from the country.

On June 17 the Duma, in secret session, voted for an immediate offensive by Russian troops.

GREECE

On June 12, in response to the demand of the protecting powers—France, Great Britain, and Russia—King Constantine abdicated in favor of his second son, Prince Alexander. Entente forces landed at Piraeus and Castella, and occupied the heights near Phalerum Bay. French cavalry occupied a number of towns in Northern Thessaly, and the populace of Larissa went over to the Venizelos Government. M. Jonnart, the High Commissioner of the protecting powers, issued a proclamation guaranteeing popular liberty.

MISCELLANEOUS

A revolt occurred in China as the result of the dismissal of Premier Tuan Chi-jui. The rebellious provinces, under the leadership of General Chang-Hsun, demanded the dismissal of the National Assembly, the revision of the Constitution, the dismissal of the President's advisers, the reinstatement of Tuan Chi-jui, and war against Germany. The United States Government sent a friendly message to the Foreign Office urging tranquillity.

The Spanish Cabinet headed by Marquis Prieto resigned and a new one was formed by Eduard Dato. A revolution in the army was averted by the Premier granting infantry officers the right to form committees of defense.

Count Tisza resigned as Premier of Hungary after a struggle over electoral reforms. Count Esterhazy succeeded him.

An attempt to form a Coalition Ministry in Canada failed. E. P. Patenaud, Secretary of State, resigned because of his opposition to conscription.

Lord Devonport resigned as Food Controller in England and was succeeded by Baron Rhondda. Colonel Churchill succeeded Viscount Cowdray as Chairman of the British Air Board.

The Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and Macklenburg-Strelitz consented to far-reaching revision of the Constitutions of the duchies.

The French Chamber of Deputies, in secret session, adopted a resolution declaring that peace conditions must include the liberation of territories occupied by Germany, the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, and just reparation for damage done in the invaded regions.

Italian Offensive on the Carso and Isonzo Fronts

[See rotogravure map opposite Page 31]

DURING the latter half of May, 1917, General Cadorna's forces on the Isonzo and Carso fronts made one of the most remarkable drives of the year—an assault that lasted eighteen days, with all its original fury. The fighting took place amid the peaks and chasms north of Gorizia, and on the volcanic Carso plateau to the south, a region of desolate rocks and caves, where all the water for the soldiers had to be brought by building an aqueduct, bit by bit, as the army advanced. This land of caves and hiding places had been fortified by the Austrians and complicated with broad areas of barbed wire, behind which enormous 10-inch guns and innumerable machine guns swept every path of approach.

The Italians won victories despite these odds. They took heavy guns up mountains hitherto ascended only by Alpine climbers who roped themselves together. They swung bridges from one peak to another. They built trenches, fortifications, roads, tunnels, retaining walls 10,000 feet above sea level; all this in the face of an enemy fighting desperately on the defensive.

When the campaign on the Isonzo closed last November the town of Gorizia and 43,000 Austrians had been captured, and the Italian front, from Plezza on the north, just over the frontier, skirted the Monte Nero heights of the Julian Alps to the bridgehead of Tolmino, (Monte Cucco,) swung along the same range east of Gorizia, passed over the plain south of that city, and, crossing the Vipacco, struck across the northwest corner of the Carso plateau to the sea, two miles from Duino, the Summer home of Prince Hohenlohe, and fourteen miles northwest of Trieste.

This was the situation when the Italians on May 12 began a heavy bombardment of the Austrian positions from Tolmino to the sea, which two days later became concentrated across the Isonzo, five miles north of Gorizia, where the Austrians by their defenses on the Kuk, 611 meters high, and on the Vodice, 524 meters, still kept the Italians on the right bank of the stream. On May 13 there was also a concentration of fire on the Carso front, south from the Italian positions of Volkovniak, 343 meters, and Dosso Faiti, 432 meters, against which the Austrians later made counterattacks.

Then on Monday morning, May 14, the Italian infantry crossed the river in several detachments, deployed on the left bank, and stormed the ascent of Monte Cucco. The following day they advanced east of Gorizia and also on the Carso to the south. On the 16th they captured the wooded heights on the east bank of the Isonzo and took several small villages with more than 3,000 prisoners. The 17th found the Italians fighting their way toward the mountain crests of Vodice and Monte Santo. Heavy British artillery had been added to the Italian armament. Duino was captured that day. Perceval Gibbon, an eyewitness of part of the fighting, wrote:

"The picturesque point is Monte Santo. It is a steep cone, with slopes like the side of a roof, and on the summit straggle white buildings of a monastery long since shot to ruins. A single cypress, black and monumental, stands not far from the shattered walls of the close, clear-cut against the shell-vexed sky. About it a frenzy of shells roars and blazes. Our barrage and theirs mingle in a hellbroth of fire and smoke, through whose tempestuous fog emerges at moments that single statuesque tree, monumentally and tragically faithful to its duty of sentinel over the graves of forgotten saints. But slowly the Italian lines are crawling uphill, paying with their valorous lives for every yard of progress. If in England anybody doubted Italy's ca-

pacity for liberal sacrifice or her intention toward victory at all costs, he is now answered."

By stubborn and sustained assaults on the Carso the Italians on May 23 finally broke through the Austro-Hungarian lines on a front of six miles from Castagnavizza to the sea, taking more than 9,000 prisoners, with the town of Jamiano and the strong heights east of Pietrarossa and Bagni. The next day enlarged this success, and on the 25th the Italians took the heights between Flondar and Medeazza and a strong network of trenches extending from the mouth of the Timavo River to a point east of Jamiano.

On May 27 General Cadorna's forces smashed through the Austro-Hungarian positions between Jamiano and the Gulf of Trieste, passing the Monfalcone-Duino Railway northeast of San Giovanni and establishing themselves within a few hundred yards of Medeazza. North of Plava they carried the heights at the head of the Palliova Valley, thus joining their Monte Cucco lines with those of Hill 363. This day's work brought the Italians within eleven miles of Trieste. The next day these results were consolidated by crossing the Timavo estuary and occupying the village of San Giovanni. In the northern section the Austrians were hunted out of their subterranean chambers and many prisoners added to the total, which, by this time, amounted to about 25,000.

The Austrian losses in killed, wounded, and missing between May 14 and 29 were estimated at 85,000, and included five Generals and forty high officers. A hundred cannon were taken or destroyed. Perceval Gibbon, writing on the 29th, described the scene on the Carso:

"Everywhere there is evidence of the ghastly Austrian losses. There are whole areas of ground over which the fight stamped its way southeast of Jamiano and Hudilog and along the battleground parallel with Castagnavizza Road which are littered with bodies clad in that dull gray which is Austria's fighting color. There, for the first time during this offensive, one sees what was so common on the Somme—steel helmets of the enemy lying about, many smashed or drilled by bullets."

Two days later the same correspondent added a curious bit of authenticated history:

"The Italians have just completed examination of two railway tunnels upon the line to Trieste, one 200 yards long, the other slightly less. Both had been turned into shelters for troops and very completely equipped. The roofs are pierced with long ventilating shafts, and water mains have been carried in. There is a mass of arms and ammunition here, and numbers of machine guns.

"It is here that they discovered what was never certainly known upon this front, though frequently rumored, namely, machine gunners chained and padlocked to their guns. I understand they have been officially photographed. Each man has a light steel chain of twisted links, like a dog chain, shackled around one ankle and fastened to the tripod of the gun, and a similar chain padlocked around his waist and linked up to the barrel. These prisoners state that the object is to prevent them leaving the gun in Italian hands when falling back before an attack. Another explanation is suggested by the fact that the chief forces on this southern edge of the Carso consist of Rumanians."

With the beginning of June the Italian offensive abated and the Austro-Hungarians began a series of heavy counter-attacks, in which the daring Honveds did some terrific fighting and took many prisoners—Vienna claimed 27,000.

The net result of the month's fighting, however, is a considerable gain for the Italian forces.

The Battle of Messines Ridge

A British Victory That Began With the Explosion of Enormous Mines

THE action of June 7, 1917, in which the British by one terrific blow smashed the strong German salient south of Ypres, was one of the most spectacular and thrilling episodes of the war. It took place in the little corner of Belgium where the allied armies had held the enemy checkmated for two and a half years, and where, all that time, they had been harassed by German guns on the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge.

For nearly two years several companies of Australian, New Zealand, and British sappers had been patiently burrowing under this low range of hills, placing beneath them nineteen powerful mines containing a total of more than 1,000,000 pounds of ammonite. Great charges of this new explosive had been in a firing position for fully twelve months, yet the secret was kept and the dangerous work went on under the German fortifications. At 3:10 in the morning of June 7 the whole series of mines was discharged by electric contact, blowing off the hilltops in a vast flame-burst of volcanic fire, rocking the ground for miles as in an earthquake, and emitting a roar that was distinctly heard in England by Lloyd George, listening for it at his country home 140 miles away.

At the same time the whole salient was subjected to the most intense shellfire of the whole war, the climax of nearly two weeks of artillery preparation. In the wake of this infernal rain came the infantry battalions of General Haig under Sir Herbert Plumer, dashing forward with rifle and bayonet. Before the day was over the whole of Messines Ridge was securely in British hands, with more than 7,000 prisoners and many guns. The German casualties were estimated at 30,000. Those of the British were about 10,000.

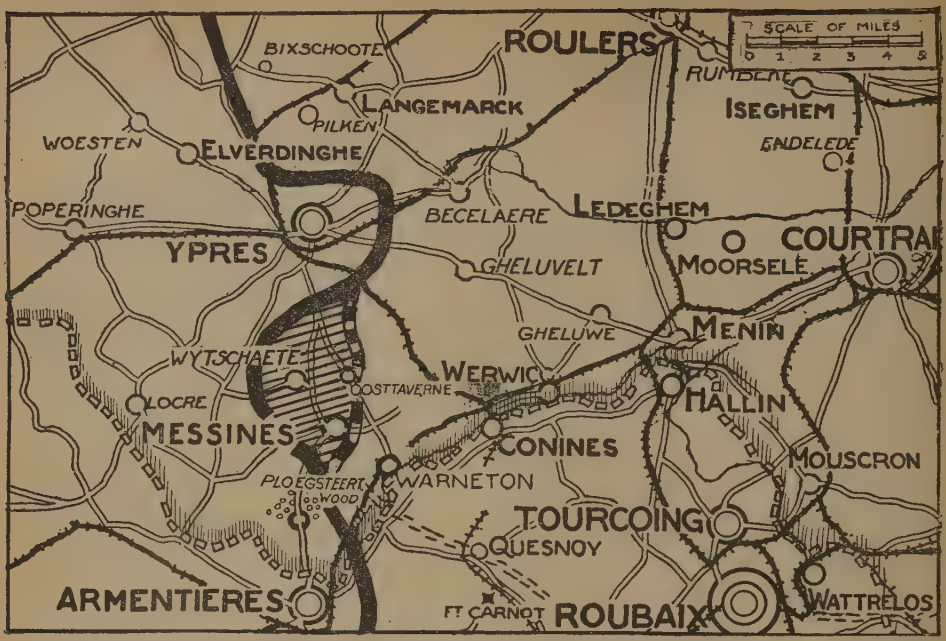
The attack was divided into three phases. The battle opened with the explosion of the mines at dawn, which was the signal for the artillery. Large portions of the German front and support trenches, dugouts, and mining systems went up in smoke. The German front line over the entire distance of ten miles was captured in a few minutes.

The second phase was the storming of the Messines-Wytschaete Ridge, which was accomplished with little loss three hours after the attack began. The British went forward in a concerted rush along the whole sector south of Ypres, from Observation Ridge to Ploegsteert Wood, north of Armentières. The third and final phase, later in the day, was the assault of the rear defenses, which ran across the base of the salient formed by the ridge itself. Here the British found the enemy in greater strength, and the fighting was very fierce. Nevertheless, by nightfall the village of Oosttaverne and the whole rear position—along a front of five miles and at a depth of nearly three miles—had fallen into British hands. The day's work was the largest since Vimy Ridge. It was achieved by the British Second Army, under General Sir Herbert C. O. Plumer, and his force included English, Irish, Australian, and New Zealand troops.

Official Report of Battle

The British War Office summarized the action as follows in its report of June 8:

> The position captured by us yesterday was one of the enemy's most important strongholds on the western front. Dominating as it did the Ypres salient and giving the enemy complete observation over it, he neglected no precautions to render the position impregnable. These conditions enabled the enemy to overlook all our preparations for attack, and he had moved up reinforcements to meet us. The battle therefore became a gauge of the ability of the German troops to stop our advance under conditions as favorable to them as an army can ever hope for, with every advantage of ground and preparation and with the knowledge that an attack was impending.



MAP OF YPRES REGION SHOWING GROUND GAINED BY BRITISH IN BATTLE OF MESSINES RIDGE

The German forward defenses consisted of an elaborate and intricate system of well-wired trenches and strong points forming a defensive belt over a mile in depth. Numerous farms and woods were thoroughly prepared for the defense, and there were large numbers of machine guns in the German garrisons. Guns of all calibres, recently increased in numbers, were placed to bear not only on the front but on the flanks of an attack. Numerous communicating trenches and switch lines, radiating in all directions, were amply provided with strongly constructed concrete dugouts and machine-gun emplacements designed to protect the enemy garrison and machine gunners from the effect of our bombardment. In short, no precaution was omitted that could be provided by the incessant labor of years, guided by the experience gained by the enemy in his previous defeats on the Somme, at Arras, and on Vimy Ridge.

Despite the difficulties and disadvantages which our troops had to overcome, further details of yesterday's fighting show that our first assault and the subsequent attacks were carried out in almost exact accordance with the timetable previously arranged. * * *

Following on the great care and thoroughness in preparations made under the orders of General Sir Herbert Plumer, the complete success gained may be ascribed chiefly to the destruction caused by our mines, to the violence and accuracy of our bombardment, to the very fine work of the Royal Flying Corps, and to the incomparable dash and courage of the infantry. The whole force acted in perfect combination. Excellent work was done by the tanks, and every means of offense at our disposal was made use of, so that every arm of the service had a share in the victory.

"The British had to level many bits of woodland, and then they sprayed these woods with drums of blazing oil, which burned them away and made attacking across what would be considered impregnable natural defenses almost an easy matter. The communication trenches were so damaged that it was impossible for the Germans to make their way along them in daylight except on all fours. Ration parties attempting at night to come up over the open were badly cut up by the constant British fire.

Described by Philip Gibbs

Philip Gibbs, the war correspondent, cabled a vivid story on the day of the battle, saying in part:

"For five days at least many Germans were pinned to their tunnels as prisoners of fire. No food reached

them. There was no way out through these zones of death. A new regiment, which tried to come up last night, was broken and shattered. A prisoner says that out of his own company he lost fifty to sixty men before reaching the line. For a long way behind the lines the British heavy guns laid down belts of shell fire, and many of the enemy's batteries kept silent.

"The British gunners smothered the German batteries whenever they were revealed to the airmen. Those flying men have been wonderful. A kind of exaltation of spirits took possession of them, and they dared great risks and searched out the enemy's squadrons far over his lines. In five days from June 1 forty-four separate machines were sent crashing down, and this morning very early flocks of airplanes went out to blind the enemy's eyes and report the progress of the battle.

"In the darkness queer monsters moved up close to the lines, many of them crawling singly over the battle-fields under cover of woods and ruins. They were the tanks, ready to go into action on the great day of the war, when their pilots and crews have helped by high courage to a great victory.

"Last night all was ready. The men, knowing the risks of it all, (for no plans are certain in war,) had a sense of oppression, strained by poignant anxiety. Many men's lives were on the hazard of all this. The air was heavy as if nature itself was full of tragedy. A Summer fog was thick over Flanders and the sky was livid. Forked lightning rent the low clouds and thunder broke with menacing rumblings. Rain fell sharply, and on the conservatory of the big Flemish house, where officers bent over their maps and plans, raindrops beat noisily.

March Over Dark Roads

"But the storm passed and the night was calm and beautiful. Along the dark roads and down the leafy lanes columns of men were marching and brass bands played them through the darkness. Guns and limber moved forward at a sharp pace. "Lights out," rang the challenges of sentries to staff cars, passing beyond the last village and nearer to the line. Masses of men lay sleeping or resting in the fields before getting orders to go forward into the battle zone.

"All through the night the sky was filled with vivid flashes of bursting shells and with the steady hammer-strokes of guns. From an observation post looking across the shoulder of Kemmel Hill straight to Wytschaete and Messines Ridge I watched this bombardment for that moment when it should rise into a mad fury of gunfire, before the troops, lying in those dark fields, should stumble forward.

"The full moon had risen, veiled by vapors until they drifted by and revealed all her pale light in a sky that was still faintly blue, with here and there a star. The moon through all her ages never looked down upon such fires of man-made hell as those which lashed out when the bombardment quickened. That was just before 3 o'clock.

"The drone of a night flying airplane passed overhead. The sky lightened a little and showed great black smudges like ink blots on a blue silk cloth where the British kite balloons rose in clusters to spy out the first news of the coming battle.

Ridges Go Up in Fire

"The cocks of Flanders crowed, and two heavy German shells roared over Kemmel Hill and burst somewhere in the British lines. A third came, but before its explosion could be heard all the noise there had been, all these separate sounds of guns and high explosives and shrapnel were swept into a tornado of artillery which now began.

"The signal for its beginning was the most terrible, beautiful thing, the most diabolical splendor I have seen in the war. Out of the dark ridges of Messines and Wytschaete and that ill-famed Hill 60, for which many of Britain's best have died, there gushed up enormous volumes of scarlet flame from exploding mines and of earth and smoke, all lighted by flame spilling over into fountains of fierce color, so that the countryside was illuminated by the red light.

"Where some of us stood watching, aghast and spellbound by this burning horror, the ground trembled and surged violently, too. Truly the earth quaked. A boy, who came back wounded, spoke to me about his own sensations: 'I felt like being in an open boat in the rough sea. It rocked up and down, this way and that.'

"Thousands of British soldiers were rocked like that before they scrambled up and went forward to the German lines —forward beneath that tornado of shells, which crashed over the enemy's ground with a prolonged tumult.

"Just as the day broke with crimson feathers unfolding in the eastern sky and flights of airmen, following other flights above the troops, rockets rose from the German lines. They were distress signals, flung up by men who still lived in that fire zone—white and red and green. They were calling to their gunners, warning them that the British were upon them. Presently there were no more of them, but others, which were ours, rose in places which had been German."

The Scene of Destruction

Two days later the same correspondent visited Wytschaete Wood and looked down into the vast mine craters. Here is his description of the captured German trenches:

"They are horribly smashed, so that only bits of trench and a few traverses here and there and concrete emplacements, knocked sideways above the closed entrances of deep tunnels and dugouts, remained among the shell craters. Some bodies of German soldiers lie amid this vast midden of war, their dead faces as gray as their tunics—but not many of them. Most of those killed were buried as they died, buried under the masses of earth flung up by exploding shells, buried in their tunnels, which fell in upon them as they crouched under the drumfire of the British guns hiding deep in those subterranean chambers, buried by the wild upheaval of mines which opened the earth beneath them with yawning chasms a hundred yards wide and sixty feet deep.

"Bits of tunics, bits of rifles, rags and tatters of equipment, weapons and human flesh lie in holes and pools, protruding from rubbish heaps of the chaotic earth ravaged by British gunfire. Looking down into the mine craters, the vast Peckham crater or that by Maedelstede Farm, where the primitive blue clay had been flung up above the topmost strata, I agreed with that German officer who came back dazed as a prisoner and said: 'This is more than human nature itself can suffer.'

How the Mines Were Sprung

"On the night of June 7 the Australian tunnelers, who had waited for the moment when their year's work would be accomplished by the touch of a little spring on a metal plate from which an electric wire ran to a mine shaft below Hill 60, assembled in a dugout not far away. They waited for that moment at dawn with nerves strung tensely, deeply excited, though very quiet, at this frightful expectation. They knew exactly the explosive power of those tons of ammonal packed under the enemy's position. There was always the risk of misadventure, the appalling risk of failure, because it is tricky business, this work of a man-made earthquake.

"The metal disk was touched. In just one tick of time there was the noise of earth in travail, the rending, rushing noise breaking out into a vast roar, as though a cliff were falling down a precipice.

"Hill 60 opened and let forth a great eruption of flaming clods. Some English troops took Hill 60 after this explosion, which flung some of them to the ground as they rose at the signal of attack. Below Mount Sorrel and Armagh Wood groups of Württembergers and Jägers rose from holes in the stricken earth and held up trembling hands, asking for mercy. They still shook with terror of the mines. Not many of them showed any will to fight. Some of them had to be searched for below ground, cowering in dark pits which had been good, deep dugouts and observation posts with heavy concrete protection. Now all were smashed like those I saw by Wytschaete Wood.

"Just south of these men, astride the Ypres-Comines Canal, a number of London troops were fighting forward to the ruins of a famous white château south of the canal on the west of Hollebeke. It was the Château Matthieu. The Germans here did not surrender without a desperate resistance."

Fighting in Rear Trenches

Another correspondent, describing the fighting in detail, says that Dam Strasse, a street of houses built of great blocks of concrete six feet thick, gave the British officers great anxiety, as they expected to meet stiff resistance here; but they found that the shellfire had been so amazing as to shatter many of these blockhouses, so that the garrison was cowed and surrendered by hundreds.

The first check came outside the ruin of an estaminet, in which a party of Germans with machine guns and rifles were determined to sell their lives dearly. They poured fire into the British, who suffered a good many casualties here, but would not be balked, whatever the cost. They took what cover they could and used their rifles to riddle the place with shot. One by one the Germans fell and their fire slackened. Then the British charged the ruins and captured all those who still remained alive.

Fresh waves of men came up and went forward into Ravine Wood, with its tattered trunks and litter of broken branches. There was another fight, very fierce and bloody, between some South Country troops and German soldiers of the Thirty-fifth Division, who attempted a strong counterattack. The Englishmen had their bayonets fixed, and at a word from the officers they made a quick, grim dash at the Germans advancing upon them through Dead Wood with their bayonets ready also. So that morning sun gleamed upon all this steel. The bayonets crossed. The men of Kent went through the enemy, thrusting and stabbing, but, though they saw red in that hour, they gave quarter to the men who dropped their rifles and cried "Kamerad." The German losses here were very heavy.

An eyewitness gives this account of the armored tanks and the marvels achieved by aviators:

"Several tanks came up to share in the fighting and climbed over all this broken ground, but did not find much work to do. All along the battle line these brown beasts were nosing about, crawling through the slough, pitching and tossing over the cratered earth and rearing their long snouts over sandbag barricades. Their pilots and crews were out for any kind of adventure over any kind of ground. They did not have many casualties and would have been more successful if the infantry had wanted more help from them, but the guns had done most of the work beforehand.

"The completeness of this victory, the march through of the troops, and the utter despair of the German troops were due in an overwhelming way to the guns and the gunners who served them. It is only right and just that the highest tribute should be paid to these men, who worked day and night for nearly a fortnight under an intense strain and infernal noise, without sleep enough to relieve the nerve rack, and always in danger of death. The gunner officers are hoarse with shouting under fire.

"They were for the moment hollow-eyed with bodily and mental exhaustion. The ammunition carriers worked themselves stiff in order to feed the guns. They used up an incredible number of shells. The gunners of one division alone fired 180,000 shells with their field batteries and over 46,000 with their heavies. On the same scale has been the ammunition expenditure of all the other groups of guns.

Guns Move to New Positions

"A historic scene, intensely thrilling, took place after the troops gained the high ground of Wytschaete and Messines. An order was passed along to all batteries. Horses standing by were harnessed to the guns, and limbers of the field batteries were lined up. Then half way throughout the battle the old gun positions were abandoned after two and a half years of stationary warfare in a salient searched every day of that time by German shells fired by direct observation from the ground just taken.

"The drivers urged on their horses. They drove at a gallop past the old

screens, and out of camouflaged places where the men had walked stealthily, and dashed up the slopes. The infantry stood by to let them pass, and from thousands of men, these dusty, hot, parched soldiers who were waiting to go forward in support of the first waves of the assaulting troops, there rose a great following cheer which swept along the track of the gunners and went with them up the ridge, where they unlimbered and got into action again for the second phase of the fighting down the further slope. Never before in this war has there been anything like this in excitement and sense of victory.

Amazing Feats of Aviators

"As the scouts of the gunners, as their watchers and signalers, were the boys of the Royal Flying Corps. They were uplifted with a kind of intoxication of enthusiasm, and youthful madness took possession of them. One man's flight, told in his own dry words, is like a wild nightmare of an airman's dream. He flew to a German airdrome and circled around. A German machine gun spat out bullets at him. The airman saw it, swooped over it, and fired at the gunner. He saw his bullets hit the gun. The man ceased to fire, screamed, and ran for cover. Then the airman flew off, chased trains and fired into their windows.

"He flew over small bodies of troops on the march, stopped, fired, and scattered them. Afterward he met a convoy going to Comines, and he circled over them hardly higher than their heads and fired into them. Near Warneton he came upon troops massing for a counterattack and made a new attack, inflicting casualties and making them run in all directions.

"Another man found himself under fire by Archies mounted on lorries. He dived and fired on the gunners, who ran away and hid. One flying man attacked and silenced four machine-gun teams in strong emplacements. Others cleared trenches of German soldiers, who scuttled like rabbits into dugouts. They fired everything they carried, anything which would kill the enemy or destroy his material. Having used up all his Lewis gun ammunition upon the marching troops, one lad fired his signal rockets at the next group of men he saw.

"They flew at the field gunners and put them to flight, at heavy guns crawling along the roads on caterpillar wheels, at transport wagons, motor lorries, and one motor car, whose passengers, if they live, will never forget that sudden rush of wings four feet overhead, with a spasm of bullets about them. The airplane was so low that the pilot thought he would crash into the motor car, but he just planed clear of it as the driver steered it sharply into a ditch, where he overturned with the five occupants. The airman went on his journey, scattered 500 infantry, and returned home after a long flight, never higher than 500 feet above the ground.

"In this battle of Messines there was not anybody of the British Army who did not spend all his strength and take all risks with a kind of passionate exaltation of spirit. * * * It is the greatest and cheapest achievement of the British arms throughout this war, though the loss of so many gallant men is sad enough, God knows. And for the enemy it is as hard a blow as our taking of Vimy Ridge two months ago, when he was staggered by his losses."

The battle of Messines Ridge took from the Germans the last commanding natural position opposite the British lines. Bapaume and Vimy and Messines Ridges, as well as Monchy Plateau, five miles east of Arras, were all captured by the British within three months, and this has materially changed the military situation on the western front.

Storming of the Aisne Quarries

By Wythe Williams

[In a cable dispatch to THE NEW YORK TIMES, May 25, 1917.]

REGARDING the offensive on the Rheims-Soissons front, which began on April 16, 1917, I am permitted to state that it was the biggest concentrated effort yet made by the French Army, although at first glance it seemed to have accomplished less material result than any other offensive, except the long-ago offensive in the Champagne, which can be classified as a failure. I think all the army experts will admit that the result needs explanation. Yet, as the explanation was made to me while going over the ground, it was both logical and good, and in summing it up I believe that the offensive will in later histories be considered as a success.

In the first place, the ground chosen was the toughest proposition anywhere on the front, yet it was essential to take the offensive there, for the very reason that it was necessary to keep on bending back the line on which the Germans had already taken the initiative by their retreat.

I visited Soissons for the first time in September, 1914, just after the battle of the Marne and just at the beginning of the battle of the Aisne. * * * We talked confidently about when the Germans were once disengaged from their "quarries" and another retreat from the Aisne would begin, just as had happened from the Marne. But the Germans remained in those same quarries for two years and seven months. Day by day from September, 1914, more guns, bigger guns, concentrated their fire upon them; but they held out. Week by week, month by month, year by year, more guns and bigger guns and still bigger guns were added, until there was an unbroken line of guns that in April of this year opened the heaviest fire the world has ever known, pouring 18,000 tons of high explosives upon the quarries day after day; and still they held out—almost intact—until they finally were taken by storm by the French infantry going up on the hillsides wave after wave, driving out the Germans with bayonets and gas bombs.

I have often heard remarks in the last few weeks that the chief trouble with the recent offensive was that the artillery fire was ineffective. Yes, it was ineffective, but now that I have seen those quarries, I know why. Until the orders arrived for the infantry to advance and take those quarry heights "at all costs" the Germans were quite as safe there as in a submarine far below the surface of the sea.

Vast Underground Fortresses

I went down into one of the quarries. The opening was a tiny hole in solid granite. I went down and down in pitch blackness. The officer and I stumbled down, fumbling at solid rock walls. A soldier came up to meet us with an electric lamp, and below we could see a line of wooden steps, at least a hundred of them. Then we came into a great arched cavern that led into another similar one, and then to another, and then into long galleries and through dark, narrow passages, where we had to stoop low, only to come into other caverns with exits leading in various directions, and so on until, at least half a mile toward the German rear, from where we entered, we walked out again into daylight. That quarry alone was big enough to secrete 5,000 German soldiers, who poured from a dozen similar exits when the French infantry advanced.

Every gallery of these underground fortresses the Germans raked with machine guns when stormed. The artillery positions were so constructed that the guns could be whirled behind granite walls whenever necessary to avoid destruction by the concentrated French fire.

They were the strongest defenses I have ever seen. They made every other fortress, every trench line, every concrete

abri I have visited seem weak. And now they belong to the French—all of them. True, they were only a little way from the old front line, and now the front French line is just a little further beyond. The French paid dearly for them. Their orders were to capture them "at all costs." They simply had to have them, and now that they have them, it does not seem to me the offensive can in any respect be called a failure.

The positions on that front are now entirely reversed. Before the French had all the bad positions and the Germans the good ones in the quarries and on the hill crests. Besides, the French had the River Aisne at their backs, which was always an uncomfortable thought. Now the Germans have all the bad positions. They are down in the hollows and have another river—a branch of the Oise —behind them.

Also, in the offensive between Soissons and Rheims the French alone took 30,000 prisoners, while the entire offensive bagged 55,000 and a total of 600 cannon and 1,200 mitrailleuse.

In the light of the dwindling man power on both sides, 55,000 prisoners means nearly five divisions, and is considerable.

All along the line the French have undoubtedly got the upper hand. So far as I am able to learn their air service is once more supreme, and as for the artillery, both field and heavy guns are now positively dominant over the enemy, as has been the case, in fact, ever since the Somme.

Indeed so perfect is the munition organization that now every army corps has a supply station directly behind it, where there is a platform 350 yards long, just for discharging heavy shells, another platform the same length for light shells, another for engineers' supplies, another for macadam for roads, and another for food.

I was permitted to witness one of the engagements, beginning with the tuning up of the heavy guns until after the infantry had advanced—in this case up a steep hillside—and captured the positions. As drama it was the most superb I ever witnessed. On the opposite hillside, probably two miles distant, I stood with the General commanding the army corps who was conducting the operations. It was about 3 o'clock on a cloudy afternoon. I took a position sprawling on a grass patch at the top, with my back against a bush blending in color tone with my clothing, and got my glasses carefully adjusted for the performance about to begin. Although it was cloudy there was no haze, and the absence of sunshine made everything stand out more clearly.

An Impressive Stage Setting

The hillside dropped straight before us, and then, stretching away, was a great panorama of wooded valleys, meadows, a winding river, and a steep rise of a bare, shell-marked slope opposed. In the centre of the slope was the remnant of a town, but only a remnant. All we could make out was a few piles of stones against the red earth. Near the top of the hill ran a darkish line that marked the French trenches, and beyond, over the crest, were the Germans. In the valley at our feet, in the woods and meadows, were French cannon—but we could see none of them, all were so carefully concealed. Immediately overhead were a couple of large observation balloons, one attached by ropes to an automobile that guided it from a road on the side of our hill, the second guided from a boat in the river. All about circled airplanes, both observation machines and avions de chasse. There were at least a dozen, some keeping near the balloons and others swooping high and low over the German lines on the hill opposite.

There was a constant boom of cannon that, in connection with the cloudiness of the day, seemed more like the rolling of thunder than artillery—especially as the wind was away from us. We could not hear the sound of the shells leaving the guns until the reports first detonated across the valley. But we could constantly see the bursts of smoke where the shells were exploding beyond the crest.

But this thunder of guns was only a minor overture. The General explained that the real performance was scheduled to begin at exactly 3:30 P. M. I

asked how long it would last, and his laconic reply was: "Until we take their positions."

It is estimated that in that comparatively small sector of the contemplated attack—it was not more than a couple of miles in breadth—there were seven to eight hundred guns, but for this preliminary attack probably not more than 300 were in action. The remainder, reserved for the signal of infantry advance, would then turn on a barrage fire, so hot that the Germans could not bring up reinforcements.

The artillery had been pouring explosives into those German positions for several days, it was explained to me. Already they were all pretty badly demolished. It was not considered that the infantry would have much trouble—except from concealed machine guns. That was what the guns were hunting then. The Germans evidently knew what was coming, but I wondered, nevertheless, at the lightness of their artillery reply.

The day became darker, so dark, in fact, that down at our feet we could see bright flashes from the nearest guns. The General commanding the brigade leaned carelessly against a tree near me, holding a watch in his hand. * * *

I was fascinated by my watch as it ticked around to that fatal 3:30. At the very tick of the second a blast of fire went up that shook the hill we were sitting on. Those 500 remaining guns must all have been fired simultaneously, and then on until the end of the performance there was one continual, awful roar of explosive. The hillside opposite, which we could see so clearly a whole minute before, was now completely blotted out in a vast roll of heavy smoke. Even with the glasses we could distinguish absolutely nothing.

I looked down into the valley and the sparks of guns were so bright and fast I could not count them. The meadows and woods seemed alive with guns, distinguished only by rapid, short flashes of flame. I fixed my glasses on just one little portion of the open field and tried to count the flashes, but gave it up as quite impossible. There were too many flashes from different portions of the field at the same second. It looked as though the field were suddenly alive with a swarm of fireflies—that fire was the winking of the guns as they sent out their shells.

All in Motion at the Signal

I glanced overhead. Simultaneously with the signal of attack both balloons sailed majestically forward until they now hung out before us over the valley, guided by the ropes that attached them to the automobile and the river boat. The fleet of airplanes, doubled in number, still circled about them and now swooped low over the German positions to report back how the infantry was getting on.

I looked across at the hillside. Just at the crest I could see three rockets going up. The officer explained that it was the infantry's signal to the artillerymen, asking them to place shells just in advance of that spot. At another point on the crest three more rockets appeared, then three more still further on.

Through that impenetrable bank of heavy smoke I tried to visualize the companies of infantry going up to the crest, meeting the enemy, hurling hand grenades, and using bayonets, finding fierce resistance where the machine guns were hidden, and then sending up their rockets to show their gunners behind just where to send them aid. And I noted that wherever the signal rockets went up almost immediately after there would come a great spurt of black smoke.

I went forward late the following afternoon, not to lines which even then were too unsafe, but behind them through the forest from which the Germans had been driven. It was a strange, unforgettable sight. The entire forest bed was of long, slender green leaves and tiny white flowers, lilies of the valley. Resting on a bed of green leaves, as far as one could see, were the bodies of German soldiers. A strange, compelling, and arresting odor filled the air, an odor indescribably sweet and unspeakably horrible. It was a combination of the lilies of the valley and the dead.

Emperor Charles's Throne Speech

In the Austrian Reichsrat on May 31, 1917

For the first time since the beginning of the war the Austrian Parliament at Vienna was convened by the Emperor on May 31 in the Grand Hall of Ceremonies in the Imperial Hofburg. Many Deputies appeared in picturesque national costumes, and the entry of Emperor Charles was greeted with three enthusiastic "hochs," which were repeated when he took his seat on the golden throne under a red and gold canopy, while the Empress and Archduchesses ranged themselves on the daïs beside him. The Emperor read his speech in a resonant voice. It was his first Parliamentary address since his accession.

Emperor Charles began with an affectionate tribute to the memory of Emperor Francis Joseph, and continued:

SUMMONED in a fateful time to direct the State, I, from the beginning, have been conscious of the immense seriousness of the task Providence has laid on my shoulders. I feel, however, within me, the will and power loyally to discharge my duties as ruler, following the example of my illustrious predecessor, and to do justice, with God's help, to my sublime office.

The interests of the State shall no longer be deprived of that effective furtherance which zealous co-operation of a popular assembly rightly comprehending its power, judicious and conscientious, can provide. I have summoned you, honorable gentlemen, to exercise your constitutional activity, and I heartily welcome you today on the inauguration of your work.

In full consciousness of the constitutional duties taken over from my illustrious predecessor, and from my own deepest conviction, I desire solemnly to declare to you my unalterable will to exercise my right as ruler at all times in a truly constitutional spirit and to respect inviolably liberties according to the fundamental law and to preserve unabridged to the people that share in the formation of the State's will which the prevailing Constitution provides for.

In the loyal co-operation by my people and its representatives, I see support for the success of my activity, and I think that the welfare of the State, whose glorious existence has been maintained in the storms of a world war by the grim cohesion of its citizens, cannot in times of peace be more securely rooted than in the unassailable rights of a mature, patriotic, and free people.

Mindful of my obligation to the Constitution and adhering to my intention expressed immediately on my accession to fulfill this obligation freely, I must at the same time keep in mind the provisions of the fundamental law which places in my hands alone the decisions to be taken at the great moment of the conclusion of peace. I am, however, convinced that a happy development of our constitutional life after the unfruitfulness of the past years and after the exceptional political conditions of war time —apart from the solution of the Galician question, for which my illustrious predecessor has already indicated the way—is not possible without expanding the Constitution and the administrative foundations of the whole of our public life, both in the State and in the separate kingdoms and countries, especially in Bohemia.

I trust that recognition of your serious responsibility for the formation of political conditions and your belief in the happy future of the empire, splendidly strengthened in this terrible war, will give you, honorable gentlemen, strength, in union with me, speedily to create conditions giving scope to free national and cultural development of equally privileged people. From these considerations I decided to postpone taking the constitutional oath until the time, which I hope is not far distant, when the foundation of a new, strong, and happy Austria will again for generations to come be firmly consolidated internally and externally.

Today, however, I declare I shall always be the just, affectionate, and conscientious ruler of my dear peoples in

the sense of the constitutional idea which we have taken over as a heritage from our forefathers and in the spirit of that true democracy which, during the storms of a world war, has wonderfully stood the ordeal of fire in the achievements of the entire people at home and at the front.

We are still in the midst of the mightiest war of all times. Let me, from your midst, with thankful heart offer my imperial greeting to all the heroes who for nearly three years on our far-flung fronts have loyally discharged the heavy duty, and on whose iron resistance between the Alps and the Adriatic the renewed desperate enemy attack even now is breaking to pieces.

Our group of powers did not seek the sanguinary trial of strength of this world war. Aye, more than that, it has, from the moment when, thanks to the imperishable achievements of the allied armies and fleets, the honor and existence of our States no longer appear seriously threatened, openly and without ambiguity made known its readiness for peace, guided by the firm conviction that the true formula of peace can only be found in the mutual recognition that the positions have been gloriously defended.

The future life of the peoples should, in our view, remain free from animosity and thirst for revenge, and for generations there should be no need to employ what may be called the last resource of the State. But this high aim of humanity can only be attainable by such a conclusion to the war as will correspond to that peace formula.

The great neighboring people to the east, to whom old friendship united us, is gradually becoming conscious of its true aims and tasks, and it lately appears to approach this point of view and seek from an obscure impulse a direction of policy which will save the treasures of the future before they have been devoured by a senseless war policy. We hope that, in the interest of humanity, this process of internal reformation will manifest itself externally in a strong development of will, and that such enlightenment of the public mind will also extend to the other enemy countries.

While our group of powers is fighting with irresistible force for honor and existence, it is and remains toward every one who honestly abandons the intention to threaten us readily prepared to cease hostilities, and whoever wishes to reopen better and more human relations will certainly find our side ready in a conciliatory spirit. In the meantime, however, our fighting spirit will not relax; our sword will not become blunt.

In true co-operation with our old ally, the German Empire, and the allies whom our just cause won during the war, we shall remain ready to force, if necessary by arms, a good end to the war, which we should like to be able to attribute to a victory of reason.

I deplore the increasing sacrifices which the long duration of the war imposes on our population. I deplore the blood of my brave soldiers, the privations of brave citizens, and all the distress and hardships which are heroically endured for the sake of the beloved Fatherland. The efforts of my Government, supported by well-trained officials, are incessantly directed toward facilitating the maintenance of the population—whose loyalty to the State and public spirit find my thankful recognition—and toward guaranteeing that the stock of food will be made to go around by suitable organization. * * *

Always remember, however, that the strength of the monarchy is rooted not the least in its historic associations, and that only affectionate regard for it can maintain and develop its living strength. Therefore, I hope you will zealously cultivate a loyal sense of unity with the countries of my Hungarian holy crownland, which has recently proved itself one of the principal supports of the monarchy.

Honorable gentlemen of both houses, once again accept my cordial greetings. It is a great moment which brings a new ruler for the first time face to face with the people's respresentatives. May it be the beginning of a time of flourishing progress, a time of power and prestige for venerable Austria, and of happiness and blessings for my beloved peoples. God grant it!

War Aims of Allies Restated

RUSSIA'S revolution and the entry of the United States into the war brought about a restatement of the purposes of the war by the Allies. The Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates had previously forced the Russian Provisional Government to modify its original declaration of its war aims by forcing the retirement of Milukoff and the entire reconstruction of the Cabinet, with the more radical Socialists in control. The declaration of the new Government was summed up in the phrase, "Peace without annexations or indemnities on the basis of the rights of nations to decide their own destiny." On June 5 this policy was again announced in a call for an international Socialist peace conference issued by the Russian Central Federations and Socialist Parties, accompanied by a demand that Russia's allies in the war restate explicitly their war aims.

The first response to this demand was made in the British Parliament by Lord Robert Cecil in reply to a question from a pacifist member of the body, Philip Snowden.

The debate was originated by Mr. Snowden, who moved the following amendment on May 16:

> That this House welcomes the declaration of the new democratic Government of Russia, repudiating all proposals for imperialistic conquest and aggrandizement, and calls on his Majesty's Government to issue a similar declaration on behalf of the British democracy, and to join with the Allies in conformity with the Russian declaration.

Mr. Snowden wanted to know whether the treaty made with the old order in Russia was still binding or whether it had been rendered void by the revolution; also whether the British Government accepted the declared policy of the new Russian Government in regard to war aims.

Lord Cecil on Russia's Peace Program

The address of Lord Cecil in reply follows:

WHATEVER there may be in store for Russia in history, she will at any rate have the credit of having carried through, by practically the unanimous wish, so far as an outsider is permitted to judge, of the whole of her people and of every class of her people, a revolution which has been stained with far less bloodshed than any movement comparable with it in size. I am anxious to make that clear, because, of course, in dealing with this declaration, possibly some phrase might escape me which would appear to be a criticism. I am anxious to avoid any chance of that being said. It is quite true that the phrase which is thought to crystallize the new policy is the phrase, "No annexation and no indemnity." The honorable member for Leicester says that the word "annexation" is a mistranslation —at any rate, a completely wrong version of what is meant. I am disposed to agree with him.

But what would the real policy of "no annexation" mean? Take Arabia. Arabia has declared its independence from Turkey. No human being would suggest that we should use our power of influence to place Arabia again under the domination of Turkey. Take Armenia. I do not know whether it is yet realized what Armenia really meant and what crimes were committed upon Armenia. Here is a statement which says:

"Of the 1,800,000 Armenians who were in the Ottoman Empire two years ago 1,200,000 have been either massacred or deported. Those who were massacred died under abominable tortures, but they escaped the longer agonies of the deported. Men, women, and children, without food or other provisions for the journey, without protection from the climate, regardless of age or weakness or disease, were driven from their homes

WILLIAM GIBBS McADOO

The Secretary of the Treasury, the Man Officially Responsible for the Successful Flotation of the Liberty Loan of Two Billion Dollars

(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

KING ALEXANDER OF GREECE

Second Son and Successor of King Constantine, Who Abdicated on the Demand of France, Great Britain, and Russia

(*Photo American Press Association*)

and made to march as long as their strength lasted or until those who drove them drowned or massacred them in batches. Some died of exhaustion or fell by the way; some survived a journey of three months and reached the deserts and swamps along the middle Euphrates. There they have been abandoned, and are dying now of starvation, disease, and exposure"—I am afraid they are dead now, because this was written some months ago. "A recent report tells of a group of survivors at Abu Herrera, mostly women, children, and a few old men, who had been without food for seven days."

The most imperialistic annexation would be of benefit to the people who suffered such crimes as that. Take the case of Syria and Palestine. Although in Syria the numbers are not so great, yet there in substance the same thing has taken place. I confess I have some hesitation in denouncing annexation if it means that no territory which has been taken by force during this war is not to be restored to its original owners. If that is what is meant, then I am certainly unable to accept the policy of no annexation. May I give a few examples? The favorite example referred to is that of the German African colonies. I do not say that we attacked the German African colonies in order to rescue the native from misgovernment. We did it as part of the war against Germany. I do not say that it would have been right in any circumstances to go to war in order to rescue the African population from misgovernment by Germany. But having rescued them, are you to hand them back? That is a very different question, which requires to be carefully considered.

German East Africa

Just let me read one or two descriptions, because I am not sure that this is always realized. This, for instance, is from a description given to us this year as to the treatment of carriers in German East Africa:

"Many carriers are dying of cold. The treatment of carriers lately by the Germans has been terrible; their carriers include our Indian soldier prisoners of war, and many wretched villagers, young boys, old men, and women; in fact, they catch those who cannot run away. They chain them together, and just work them until they die of starvation and exhaustion. In following upon Wahle's track from Walangali to Lupembe we kept finding dead and dying carriers. Nor after an action do they trouble any more about their wounded Askari, but just leave them to die.

"The great aim of German policy in German Southwest Africa as regards the native is to reduce him to a state of serfdom, and, where he resists, to destroy him altogether. The native, to the German, is a baboon, and nothing more. The war against the Hereros, conducted by General Trotha, was one of extermination; hundreds—men, women, and children—were driven into desert country, where death from thirst was their end; those left over are now in great locations near Windhuk, where they eke out a miserable existence; labor is forced upon them, and, naturally, unwillingly performed. Again with the Hottentots—their treatment is still more barbarous, as the Germans are fully determined to root out that race lock,stock, and barrel."

I do not know, of course, and it is impossible to say, what we may not be forced to do at the end of the war, but if there is any measure of success I confess I should regard with horror the idea of returning natives who have been freed from a Government of that kind. What about Poland? I think we are all agreed that it was desirable to set up an independent Poland. Is there to be no annexation there? Are you to say really that Germany, having taken two provinces from France, they shall not be restored? Take Italia Irredenta. Are we really to commit ourselves to the proposition that under no circumstances would we restore to Italy provinces populated by Italians? I should regret any acceptance of short, misleading phrases. Mr. Whyte referred to another phrase—"No peace with the Hohenzollerns." There is a great deal in that that is very attractive to any ordinary British mind, but at the same time I agree with him that it is too attractive to be quite true—at any rate, to be quite prudent as a

definition of national policy. It may be quite true that it would not be a good ground for going to war to accomplish acts of justice and reparation such as I have described, yet it is quite a different thing to ask to resign and abandon the fruits which every one must recognize are desirable achievements.

"No Indemnity" Cry

About "No indemnity" I confess that for us to talk about not wishing for any indemnity seems to me a little difficult. What about Belgium? Does the honorable member say no indemnity to Belgium?

Mr. Snowden—We have always demanded as an essential of any settlement the restoration to Belgium of its independence, and not only that, but of all the damage that has been done.

Lord R. Cecil—What about Serbia? What about the northern provinces of France? Are we to rule out definitely all reparation for the destruction of peaceful merchant vessels by submarines? I certainly am not prepared to do it. Mr. Snowden said the allied Governments should rewrite their reply to Presidet Wilson and issue a new note in very different terms. He proceeded to give a description of the note, which, indeed, I read in the German papers, but which is altogether at variance with the terms of the note. The one statement in the note which I suppose is objected to is that referring to the turning out of Europe of the Ottoman Empire. I remember the time when it was one of the greatest doctrines of the most progressive forces in this country that the Turks were to go out bag and baggage. It was only we benighted Tories who ever said anything for the Turks in those days. We are all agreed there is nothing to be said for the Turks now. If that is the only sentence which the honorable member thinks conflicts with the general spirit of the declaration made by the Council of Workmen, I cannot see that there is any ground for saying there is any substantial difference of opinion between any of those who have spoken in this debate. I confess that at this moment it does not seem to me that it would be desirable for us to ask for terms of peace from Germany. There is a well-known French proverb, Que messieurs les assassins commencent, (let the murderers begin.)

Bethmann Hollweg's Speech

To judge by the German Chancellor's speech, there is no inclination on the part of the Germans even to state what terms of peace they are ready to accept. As far as I can see, what has happened in Germany now is what has happened in every domestic controversy in that country for the last forty or fifty years. There is a popular demand for some reform, an appearance by the Government that they are going to yield and make terms, a protest generally couched in very offensive terms from the Junker party, and an immediate surrender by the Government to the Junkers. That is really the meaning of Bethmann Hollweg's speech in the Reichstag yesterday, and until that spirit has been exorcised from Germany it appears to me to be ludicrous—apart from want of dignity—to suggest that we should ask for terms from the German Emperor.

We of the Allies are determined not to accept a peace that will be no peace. It must be a peace just and durable. I am a great adherent of the idea of a league of nations, but before there can be, in the most sanguine mind, the slightest expectation of its success, you must first establish a sound, just, equitable peace. The honorable member quoted some phrase about patriotism. I think the last word on that subject was said by Miss Cavell when she was under sentence of death. "Patriotism is not enough," she said. I agree; but you do not want less than patriotism; you want more—you want the condition, and this must be the foundation of any peace we make—justice, chivalry, respect for obligations, and respect for the weak. If we can secure peace founded on this central doctrine, I shall be glad to co-operate with any honorable member of the House to erect what barriers may be possible against the recurrence of a devastating war such as the present is.

President Wilson's Note to Russia

The Allies, however, seemed to have agreed that the formal reply should be made by the United States. This was done in a note cabled to Russia May 26, but its publication was delayed until June 10. The note follows:

IN view of the approaching visit of the American delegation to Russia to express the deep friendship of the American people for the people of Russia and to discuss the best and most practical means of co-operation between the two peoples in carrying the present struggle for the freedom of all peoples to a successful consummation, it seems opportune and appropriate that I should state again, in the light of this new partnership, the objects the United States has had in mind in entering the war. Those objects have been very much beclouded during the last few weeks by mistaken and misleading statements, and the issues at stake are too momentous, too tremendous, too significant for the whole human race to permit any misinterpretations or misunderstandings, however slight, to remain uncorrected for a moment.

The war has begun to go against Germany, and in their desperate desire to escape the inevitable ultimate defeat those who are in authority in Germany are using every possible instrumentality, are making use even of the influence of groups and parties among their own subjects to whom they have never been just or fair or even tolerant, to promote a propaganda on both sides of the sea which will preserve for them their influence at home and their power abroad, to the undoing of the very men they are using.

The position of America in this war is so clearly avowed that no man can be excused for mistaking it. She seeks no material profit or aggrandizement of any kind. She is fighting for no advantage or selfish object of her own, but for the liberation of peoples everywhere from the aggressions of autocratic force. The ruling classes in Germany have begun of late to profess a like liberality and justice of purpose, but only to preserve the power they have set up in Germany and the selfish advantages which they have wrongly gained for themselves and their private projects of power all the way from Berlin to Bagdad and beyond. Government after Government has by their influence, without open conquest of its territory, been linked together in a net of intrigue directed against nothing less than the peace and liberty of the world. The meshes of that intrigue must be broken, but cannot be broken unless wrongs already done are undone; and adequate measures must be taken to prevent it from ever again being rewoven or repaired.

Of course, the Imperial German Government and those whom it is using for their own undoing are seeking to obtain pledges that the war will end in the restoration of the status quo ante. It was the status quo ante out of which this iniquitous war issued forth, the power of the Imperial German Government within the empire and its widespread domination and influence outside of that empire. That staus must be altered in such fashion as to prevent any such hideous thing from ever happening again.

We are fighting for the liberty, the self-government, and the undictated development of all peoples, and every feature of the settlement that concludes this war must be conceived and executed for that purpose. Wrongs must first be righted, and then adequate safeguards must be created to prevent their being committed again. We ought not to consider remedies merely because they have a pleasing and sonorous sound. Practical questions can be settled only by practical means. Phrases will not accomplish the result. Effective readjustments will; and whatever readjustments are necessary must be made.

But they must follow a principle, and that principle is plain. No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who inhabit it a

fair chance of life and liberty. No indemnities must be insisted on except those that constitute payment for manifest wrongs done. No readjustments of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its peoples.

And then the free peoples of the world must draw together in some common covenant, some genuine and practical cooperation that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of nations with one another. The brotherhood of mankind must no longer be a fair but empty phrase; it must be given a structure of force and reality. The nations must realize their common life and effect a workable partnership to secure that life against the aggressions of autocratic and self-pleasing power.

For these things we can afford to pour out blood and treasure. For these are the things we have always professed to desire, and unless we pour out blood and treasure now and succeed, we may never be able to unite or show conquering force again in the great cause of human liberty. The day has come to conquer or submit. If the forces of autocracy can divide us they will overcome us; if we stand together, victory is certain and the liberty which victory will secure. We can afford, then, to be generous, but we cannot afford, then or now, to be weak or omit any single guarantee of justice and security. WOODROW WILSON.

Entente Peace Terms Defined

MORE precise definition of France's aims was given by the Chamber of Deputies on June 5, when, by a vote of 453 to 55, a resolution was adopted in the following terms:

The Chamber of Deputies, the direct expression of the sovereignty of the French people, salutes the Russian and other allied democracies, and indorses the unanimous protest which the representatives of Alsace-Lorraine, torn from France against their will, have made to the National Assembly. It declares that it expects from the war imposed upon Europe by the aggression of imperialist Germany the return of Alsace-Lorraine to the mother country, together with liberation of invaded territories and just reparation for damage.

Far removed from all thoughts of conquest and enslavement, it expects that the efforts of the armies of the republic and her allies will secure, once Prussian militarism is destroyed, durable guarantees for peace and independence for peoples great and small, in a league of nations such as has already been foreshadowed.

Confident that the Government will bring this about by the co-ordinated military and diplomatic action of all the Allies and rejecting all amendments, the Chamber passes to the order of the day.

Speaking to the resolution, Premier Ribot said:

When the hour for supreme decisions strikes it will be for representatives of the country to determine the conditions of peace. We wish to bring about the triumph of the rights of the peoples and the ideas of justice and liberty. Do not let us be deceived by formulae whose makers hide themselves and who wish to spread the conviction that we seek conquest. We ask only that what is ours be returned to us. We demand that the provinces which never ceased to be French be restored to us.

The resolution which the Government asks you to pass demands a reparation, which none can contest, for appalling damages. The universal conscience will ratify these pretensions.

Appealing to what has been said by the President of the great Republic of the United States, we wish to establish in stable fashion justice and right for all nations, guarantees for tomorrow, for our children against the renaissance of barbarism. If we fall back into our old differences the danger might be great, but France united cannot be vanquished.

I ask you in the name of the Government, in the name of France, that your vote be unanimous.

British and Italian Aims

The following note was forwarded on June 11 by the British Government to the Russian Provisional Government's request for a statement of war aims:

In the proclamation to the Russian people inclosed with the note it is said that free Russia does not purpose to dominate other peoples or take from them their national patrimony or forcibly occupy foreign territory. In this sentiment the British Government heartily concur. They did not enter the war as a war of conquest; they are not continuing it for such object. Their purpose at

the outset was to defend the existence of their country and enforce respect for international engagements. To those objects have now been added that of liberating populations oppressed by alien tyranny.

They heartily rejoice, therefore, that free Russia has announced her intention of liberating Poland, not only Poland ruled by the old Russian autocracy but equally that within the dominion of the Germanic Empires. In this enterprise the British democracy wish Russia godspeed.

Beyond everything we must seek such settlement as will secure the happiness and contentment of peoples and take away all legitimate causes of future war.

The British Government heartily join with their Russian allies in their acceptance and approval of the principles laid down by President Wilson in his historic message to the American Congress. These are the aims for which the British peoples are fighting. These are the principles by which their war policy is and will be guided.

The British Government believe that, broadly speaking, the agreements they have from time to time made with their allies are conformable to these standards, but if the Russian Government so desire they are quite ready, with the allies, to examine and, if need be, to revise these agreements.

An official communication, dated June 13, which was received in Washington from the Italian Government read:

In Italian political circles it is felt that the attitude of the Allies toward Russia warrants them in questioning the Russian Government concerning intentions of Russia.

The message of President Wilson has so thoroughly cleared the situation it is impossible honestly to connect the alleged democratic views of the Russian Government with the pacifist advances of the Central Powers.

The consent on the part of England, in the name of all the Allies, to revise the conditions of the alliance excludes every pretext whatsoever of the Russian extremists of evading the duty to fight against Germany and Austria.

In view of these declarations of the Allies, it is felt that the Russian Government cannot further delay its decision in order to render the pro-German tendencies of a part of the Russian population vain.

Russia must free herself from the dangerous position she is in now, especially for the sake of Russian freedom.

This was supplemented by an unofficial statement made in Washington to the effect that the Entente Powers had carefully examined the situation and reached these conclusions:

1. That the position occupied by Russia affects the entire plans of the Allies, especially as regards military operations in the near future contemplated by England, France, and Italy.

2. That nothing Russia does can irreparably damage the cause or the interests of the Allies.

3. That Japan can be counted upon to prevent Russia from forming an alliance with Germany or with giving aid to the Central Powers.

Allies' Position Unsatisfactory to Russian Socialists

The replies of the Allies to the request for the war aims was not satisfactory to the Russian Socialists. Their newspapers acutely criticised the replies. The most important and decisive comment was printed June 15 in the Ivestia, the official bulletin of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, in these words:

Mr. Wilson is mistaken if he thinks that such ideas can find reception in the hearts of a revolutionary people. The Russian revolutionary democracy knows very well that the road to the passionately awaited universal peace lies only through a united struggle of the laboring classes with the imperialists of the world. It is quite easy to understand what feelings will be called forth by the strange pretense of describing the ever-growing spirit of brotherhood and peace in the international Socialist, as also a German intrigue. The French and English notes will undoubtedly not call forth enthusiasm among the revolutionary democracy.

That these views represent the dominating thought of the party in control in Russia at the time was confirmed by the following reply to a letter from the Executive Committee of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council addressed to it by Albert Thomas, the French Minister of Munitions; Arthur Henderson, British Minister without portfolio, and Emile Vandervelde, Belgian Minister of Munitions, expressing surprise that a call had been issued by the council for an international conference to consider peace before the negotiations between the British, French, and Belgian delegations and the council had been concluded.

"The Russian revolution," says the statement, "which is a revolt of the people not only against the tyranny of Czarism, but also against the horrors of the world war, the blame for which falls upon international imperialism, has placed before all countries, with extraordinary acuteness, the urgent need of concluding peace.

At the same time the Russian revolution

has indicated to the nations a way for realizing this problem, notably a union of all the working classes to combat all attempts of imperialism to prolong the war in the interests of the wealthy classes and to prevent peace without annexations or indemnities.

The working classes of all countries can easily come to a speedy solid agreement only if they are inspired with their own interests and remove the aspirations of imperialists and militarists, who often hide their true face under a seductive mask. It is evident that the conference can become the turning point in the terrible epoch of fratricidal war only if the members of the conference are imbued with these ideas. And it is no less evident that all the questions you have raised cannot be the subject of discord or a motive for a continuation of the war.

Having recognized the right of nations to dispose of their destiny, the members of the conference will come to an understanding without difficulty regarding the future of Alsace-Lorraine and other regions. Moreover, the working classes, relieved of the mutual distrust with which the imperialists have envenomed them, will agree regarding the means of granting compensation and the amount of such compensation to the countries devastated by war, like Belgium, Poland, Galicia, and Serbia. But it goes without saying that such compensation must have nothing in common with the contribution which is imposed on the conquered country.

Regarding your statement that it is impossible for you to break the secret union—this statement evidently is based on a misunderstanding, for the Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates claims from no party as a preliminary condition the renunciation of the policy already pursued by it. The council expects from the conference of the Socialists of the belligerent and neutral countries the creation of an Internationale, which will permit all the working classes of the whole world to struggle in concert for a general peace and break the bonds which unite them by force to the Governments and the classes imbued with imperialistic tendencies which prevent peace.

The Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates also considers it futile for parties to make it an absolute condition of their taking part in the conference that the preliminary consent of other parties shall be obtained to any obligatory decision, for that would give rise to irreconcilable contradictions on questions an amicable discussion of which might lead to a solution acceptable to both parties.

Regarding your desire to obtain a previous complete agreement between the allied Socialists, the way in which we put the problem renders futile any such understanding. We consider that the conference can succeed only if the Socialists consider themselves, not the representatives of the two belligerent parties, but the representatives of a single movement of the working classes toward a common aim of a general peace.

Teutonic Efforts for Peace

The Central Powers' efforts to bring about a separate peace with Russia failed, despite the fact that the peace sentiment among the Russian people is both intense and widespread. One of the most daring peace moves made by Germany was that disclosed by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates on June 9. The council's statement read:

The Commander in Chief of the German armies on the Eastern front has sent to our troops a wireless message proposing to indicate to them a way toward an honorable peace and a means for ceasing to wage war without a rupture with the Allies. The German General talks this way because he knows that the Russian revolutionary troops would reject with indignation any overt proposal for a separate peace.

That is why the enemy Commander in Chief invites our armies to a separate armistice and proposes that we should enter into secret pourparlers with the German military leaders on the Eastern front. In his wireless telegram the German General declares that a separate armistice does not offer Germany any advantage. But this is untrue, for, in speaking of the inactivity of the German Army on the Russian front, the German General forgets what Russia cannot forget, notably the Russian defeat on the Stokhod. The German General has forgotten that the Russian troops know whither the divisions and heavy batteries are being taken from our front. The German General has forgotten that we in Russia hear the sound of the bloody battles which are being fought on the Franco-British front. He has forgotten that Russia knows that the overthrow of her allies would mean the overthrow of Russia and the end of her political liberty.

Further light was thrown on the peace manoeuvres of the Central Powers by the following dispatch, dated June 7, from Jassy, the temporary Rumanian capital, to The London Daily Chronicle:

Following up their earlier attempts in this region to seduce the Russian troops, the enemy on the Russo-Rumanian front has now sent delegates to demand an armistice preparatory to the discussion of peace terms. Over 100 delegates have arrived on the front of the Russian Ninth Army under the protection of a white flag. They include several officers—two of high rank, one being an Austrian Prince.

The delegates bore letters from General Roher, commanding the Austrian army group facing the Ninth Army, and also from German army commanders on the Rumanian

front, stating that the delegates are duly accredited, and that they have been dispatched with the full consent of the Austrian and German commanders. The peace envoys stated that they had been selected by the various Austrian divisions on the Rumanian front. There are no Germans among them.

The delegates, blindfolded, were taken into the Russian lines, where the regimental officers' and soldiers' committee claimed them, maintaining that it was the soldiers' right, under the new régime, to discuss and consider the question of an armistice. Ultimately the Russian soldiers' committee waived their claim, and the delegates were sent to the Ninth Army headquarters.

There the commander took a dignified attitude. He stated simply that he was a soldier and could therefore listen to no peace proposals, and said it was a matter for the Russian Government. He also refused the delegates' request that the Russians should appoint military delegates to arrange an armistice preparatory to the formulation by the Austrians of peace terms.

The Russian commander released two of the higher officers, including the Austrian Prince, and sent them back to the Austrian lines bearing a letter in which it was announced that he declined to entertain the request for an armistice, saying that he had no authority to negotiate, and adding that he intended to treat the envoys as prisoners of war.

Another peace move was that initiated by the German Catholic clergy. According to Mgr. Baudrillart, rector of the Catholic Institute in Paris, there was held at Olten on May 18 a meeting of Swiss Catholics summoned by the German Centre Deputy Erzberger, (Mathias Erzberger, leader of the Clerical Centre in the Reichstag.) The latter obtained the assistance of Swiss Catholics with a view to taking action with the Entente bishops in favor of an early peace. A professor of international law of Lausanne was charged with the task of sounding the French Catholics, and even some of the French bishops. Others declared themselves sure of obtaining the support of certain Italian bishops.

On the other hand, the newly appointed Governor General of Belgium, General von Falkenhausen, in an interview published in Berlin on June 5, took up the position that it was no time to talk peace.

The Kaiser, in a speech to the Brandenburg troops a couple of days later, said:

> The enemy is seeking a decision. We await it calmly, placing our trust in God, who heretofore has graciously protected and aided us. Our enemy will be compelled to sacrifice men until he is exhausted and lays down his arms.
>
> You must hasten his exhaustion. When this is accomplished you will have won for the German people the position which they are entitled to occupy. Peace will be dictated through you.

Russia's Perilous Transition Stage

The Paralysis of Military Operations

RUSSIA was the scene of dramatic episodes during the month ended June 20, 1917. At times the situation seemed so critical that all except the most sanguine lost hope of avoiding anarchy or civil war between the radicals and conservatives. The first comforting word came on May 26 in the report that the All-Russian Council of Peasant Deputies, which consisted of real agricultural workers, with no politicians or professional agitators as members, had declared against a separate peace and demanded the vigorous prosecution of the war under a firm Government. Kerensky, Minister of War, the outstanding figure of the revolution in the firmness, consistency, and courage of his efforts for law and order and for fidelity to the Entente Allies, rose to the crisis; his eloquent patriotism aroused a popular response and prevented the complete collapse of the army and navy.

Complete economic collapse was threatened at the beginning of June by the exorbitant demands of labor. In many of the factories the demands by the workmen for increased wages were actually greater than the entire profits of the factories under the best conditions of production. The workmen, through their committees, were in virtual command of

the factories, and all business had to be submitted to them for approval. Wages in a majority of the factories were increased from 100 to 150 per cent. But there has yet been no offset by an advance in prices of the output.

In one of the works in Petrograd the workmen demanded the immediate payment of 13,000,000 rubles—normally $6,500,000—to cover an increase of 15 kopecks per hour for each workman since the beginning of the war. The Directors of the organization immediately communicated with the Government and asked to be placed under voluntary arrest as protection against the threats of the workmen, which, as usual, accompanied the demand. The Directors were for two days housed in the Ministry of Justice. The Government finally informed the Directors that the matter would be considered, and, with the demand of the workmen held temporarily in abeyance, the Directors returned to the factory.

An eight-hour day was everywhere established. In eighteen metal establishments in the Donets district, with a capitalization of 195,000,000 rubles and annual profits of 75,000,000, the workmen had demanded an increase of 240,000,000 rubles. The owners had agreed to 64,000,000, but the workmen refused to accept this. In some of the works the owners decided to cede all the profits to the workmen, but this did not meet their exorbitant demands. The demands in Southern Russian factories aggregate 800,000,000 rubles. In the Urals the increase in wages demanded reaches 30,000,000 rubles, while the annual business does not exceed 200,000,000.

New Army Regulations

The disciplinary regulations of the Russian Army, as promulgated May 27 by the new Government, constitute a document of historic interest as betokening the attitude of advanced Socialists toward a national army. They are entitled "A Decree Regarding the Fundamental Rights of Men in the Fighting Services." The wording throughout is so chosen as to include every one, from Generals and Admirals down to drummer boys, in an absolute equality of rights. The decree is a document of eighteen paragraphs. The first three lay down that all fighting services men shall enjoy all the rights of free citizens, but must regulate their conduct by the requirements of the service and of discipline. They are to have the right to belong to any political party and to speak, write, or publish anything whatsoever on any political, religious, social, or other subjects, within the scope of the ordinary laws. The fourth paragraph gives full religious freedom; no man is compelled to attend any forms of prayer anywhere.

The next two safeguard correspondence and printed matter: "All printed matter, periodical or otherwise, without any exception, must be delivered without hindrance to the addressees." The seventh allows the uniform to be discarded except when on actual service, with some exceptions as to garrisons in the war zone. The eighth paragraph runs: "The relations between fighting services men must be based, with strict regard for military discipline, upon the sentiment or dignity of citizens of free Russia and upon mutual confidence, respect, and politeness." The next three paragraphs abolish various details of service as formerly practiced, such as fixed formulas for replies to superiors, the use of soldier servants, orderlies, &c. The twelfth runs: "The compulsory salute, whether for individuals or commands, is abolished. For all fighting services men, in its place, is instituted a voluntary mutual greeting." Exception is made for such cases as parades and ceremonial occasions. The thirteenth gives freedom outside duty hours to quit barracks or ships on merely announcing such an intention to superiors.

The fourteenth says that no one can be subjected to punishment without trial, but in actual fighting conditions the superior has the right, on his own personal responsibility, to take all measures, even to the use of armed force, against such as do not fulfill his orders. The next three paragraphs relate to punishments, which must nowise offend against the sense of honor or dignity. A special note abolishes the form of punishment known as standing under arms. The use of any form of punishment ex-

cept such as is indicated in the code is a criminal act, for which the offender must be put on trial. No fighting services men can in any circumstances be subjected to physical punishment of any kind. The last paragraph alone contains some hint that commanding officers exist to command. By paragraph eighteen superiors have the right to make appointments and temporarily remove from appointments, and to issue orders concerning fighting activity or the preparations therefor, but all matters concerning the internal economy of the regiment or ship are in the hands of elective committees. These, by the regulations already published, consist of men and officers, the latter being limited to one-fifth of the number of men elected to a company or regimental committee.

Action of Soldiers' Delegates

On May 30 the Congress of Delegates from the front voted the following resolutions:

First, the army in the trenches declares that it is indispensable to take every measure to put an end as quickly as possible to the international carnage and conclude peace without annexation or indemnities, on the basis of the right of all nations to dispose of themselves, proclaiming at the same time the watchword, " Whoever wishes for peace must prepare for war."

Second, the army, pointing out that the Russian soldiers have been fighting hitherto under conditions infinitely worse than those of the Allies, that the Russian soldier has had to march almost unprotected against the enemy's bullets and break with bare hands the barbed wire entanglements, which the Allies and the enemy pass freely after artillery preparation, declares that the Russian front must be provided with munitions and everything necessary to maintain the principle, " The more metal, the less gun fodder."

In conclusion the congress declared that the army appealed to all to whom free Russia is dear to rally around the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and the Provisional Government and not to permit " adventurers to let the army become manure for foreign fields."

The Cossacks in the Ural district held a convention and passed a resolution to give their unqualified support to the temporary Government. They also issued an appeal to all citizens of free Russia to follow their example. Among the declarations contained in the appeal were the following:

" You must remember that the enemy is watching our interior disorganization. Away with fraternization and disorders! We have only one front—our own and that of our allies. The army must not remain quiet, but must help the Allies by advancing."

Seizure of Kronstadt Fortress

A most serious step was taken June 1, when the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates defied the Provisional Government and decided to assume control of Kronstadt, the great fortress which defends Petrograd. Two days later it was announced that the Provisional Government had decided that firm measures must be taken to compel the seceders to yield, and two Cabinet Ministers were sent to Kronstadt.

A few days later it was announced that the matter had been adjusted and that the Provisional Government had re-established its authority there. The climax was reached in the crisis June 2, when a parade of armed anarchists calling for the Commune and war on capitalists marched through the streets of Petrograd carrying black banners inscribed: " Down with Authority! " " Long Live the Social Revolution and the Commune! " There was no interference from the authorities.

This seemed the turning point of the frenzy of unrest, for from that time the news became more reassuring.

On June 5 it was announced that General Michael V. Alexeieff, Commander in Chief of the Russian Armies, had resigned. General Brusiloff, Commander in Chief of the Armies of the Southwestern Front, was appointed to succeed him.

General Goutor replaced Brusiloff as commander on the southwestern front.

General Alexeieff was appointed Commander in Chief on April 15, soon after the retirement of Grand Duke Nicholas from that post. General Brusiloff a few weeks previously resigned from his position as Commander in Chief of the Armies on the Southwestern Front, but withdrew his resignation after a conference at Petrograd.

People's Call for Action

On June 8 the alliance of all Russian commercial, industrial, and banking institutions held its first meeting. After a discussion of the politcal situation and speeches by the Belgian Minister to Russia and representatives of the French Embassy it was unanimously resolved to address to the Entente Allies a declaration rejecting emphatically all possibility of Russia concluding a separate peace. The resolution also expressed confidence in an approaching decisive victory over the Central Powers.

A resolution calling upon the army to submit itself to discipline and defend revolutionary Russia was adopted by the Congress of Peasants in session on June 8, in these words:

> The peasants aspire to an equitable peace without humiliating annexation or indemnity and with the right of each nation to dispose of itself. International relations and treaties should be submitted to the control of the peoples interested. Disputes should be settled by an international tribunal, and not by force. The congress approves the union of workers and appeals to the peasants of all countries to force their Governments to renounce annexations and indemnities.
>
> The congress considers that it is its duty energetically to defend its country, recoiling before no sacrifices in order to sustain the fighting strength of the army and the struggle for the safety of the patrimony of the Russian people. The congress summons the army to submit itself to discipline and defend revolutionary Russia, of peasants, and workers. It grants its benediction to this war, and will not forget the blood which has been shed.

Minister of War Kerensky ordered that the resolution be read to all ranks of the army and navy. Two hundred girl students of the Petrograd Technical Institute entered their names on the rolls of a female regiment which was raised by Ensign Butchkareff. The aim is to start to the front and to fight in all respects under the same conditions as men. Scores of girls and women, anxious to fight, appeared at the offices of the League of Equal Rights for Women, which has expressed its approval of Lieutenant Butchkareff's plan.

The Constituent Assembly

On June 12 a council of sixty-one members under the Presidency of Kokashkine, a member of the Duma, met to prepare for the Constituent Assembly. This Assembly will not only draft Russia's permanent Constitution, but will also solve certain immediate problems, the chief of which are the questions of nationalities and the conditions of the transfer of the lands of the nobles to the peasantry. In this preparatory council sat a group of constitutional specialists, also deputies from the army and from all the political parties, representatives of Jews, Ukrainians, Poles, and other races, and also a representative of the women, the famous feminist, Mme. Shishkin Yavein.

The voting age was fixed at 20, with secret, direct voting by both sexes, and 18 years for soldiers.

An important reform proclaimed June 12 is the introduction of the small unit of local self-government, in which all classes may participate equally. Heretofore the smallest of such units was the district Zemstvo, which administered a very large area, cantons and communes having purely peasant administrations. Henceforth the cantons will be administered by representatives of all classes voting equally.

These reforms, though they were proclaimed autocratically by the Provisional Government, were enthusiastically received, as they satisfy the historic national demands, which the former Government repeatedly promised, but never fulfilled.

It was decided to allow the former Emperor and members of the imperial family the privilege of voting.

On June 14, as evidence of the growing confidence of the Government, a decree was issued declaring all acts of military disorder to be insubordination, including refusal to fight and also incitement to fight against the Government. Such acts, says the decree, are punishable by long sentence to servitude in the penitentiary and the deprivation of rights to property and also the right to receive land under the coming land redistribution.

General Denikine, former Chief of Staff, was nominated to succeed General Gurko who had resigned his command of the armies on the western front.

The conflict caused by Finland's claim that the rights of the former Emperor as Grand Duke of Finland did not pass automatically to the Provisional Government was satisfactorily settled by a new law which will be valid until Russo-Finnish relations are permanently regulated by the Constituent Assembly. The right to decide all State transactions, excepting affairs affecting Russian subjects, and also the right to fill the date for the opening and closing of the Finnish Diet is conceded to the Finnish Senate. Finland also gets the right of legislative initiative, the right to confirm the budget, revoke administrative decrees, summon the Ecclesiastical Council, and, finally, the right to pardon offenders, counted in almost all countries as a sovereign prerogative. The law practically confers on Finland complete internal autonomy.

The American Mission in Russia

THE American Commission to Russia headed by Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, reached Petrograd via Vladivostok on June 13. The commission was cordially received and housed in the former Winter Palace of the Czar.

On June 15 the American Ambassador, David R. Francis, presented the Root mission to the Council of Ministers in Marinsky Palace, explaining that the members of the mission had come to Russia to discover how America could best co-operate with its ally in forwarding the fight against the common enemy. The presentation was very informal. M. Kerensky, the Minister of War, just back from the front, wore the khaki blouse of a common soldier.

Mr. Root's First Address

The Ministers listened with rapt attention to Mr. Root's address, which was as follows:

Mr. President and Members of the Council of Ministers: The mission for which I have the honor to speak is charged by the Government and people of the United States of America with a message to the Government and people of Russia. The mission comes from a democratic republic. Its members are commissioned and instructed by a President who holds his high office as Chief Executive of more than 100,000,000 free people by virtue of popular election, in which more than 18,000,000 votes were freely cast, and fairly counted pursuant to law, by universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage.

For 140 years our people have been struggling with the hard problems of self-government. With many shortcomings, many mistakes, many imperfections, we still have maintained order and respect for law, individual freedom, and national independence. Under the security of our own laws we have grown in strength and prosperity. But we value our freedom more than wealth. We love liberty, and we cherish above all our possessions the ideals for which our fathers fought and suffered and sacrificed that America might be free.

We believe in the competence of the power of democracy and in our heart of hearts abides faith in the coming of a better world in which the humble and oppressed of all lands may be lifted up by freedom to a heritage of justice and equal opportunity.

The news of Russia's new-found freedom brought to America universal satisfaction and joy. From all the land sympathy and hope went out to the new sister in the circle of democracies. And the mission is sent to express that feeling.

The American democracy sends to the democracy of Russia a greeting of sympathy, friendship, brotherhood, godspeed. Distant America knows little of the special conditions of Russian life which must give form to the Government and laws which you are about to create. As we have developed our institutions to serve the needs of our national character and life, so we assume that you will develop your institutions to serve the needs of Russian character and life.

As we look across the sea we distinguish no party, no class. We see great Russia as a whole, as one mighty, striving, aspiring democracy. We know the self-control, essential kindliness, strong common sense, courage, and noble idealism of the Russian character. We have faith in you all. We pray for God's blessing upon you all. We believe you will solve your problems, that you will maintain your liberty, and that our two great nations will march side by side in the triumphant progress of democracy until the old order everywhere has passed away and the world is free.

One fearful danger threatens the liberty of both nations. The armed forces of a military autocracy are at the gates of Russia and the Allies. The triumph of German arms will mean the death of liberty in Russia. No enemy is at the gates of America, but America has come to realize that the triumph of

German arms means the death of liberty in the world; that we who love liberty and would keep it must fight for it, and fight for it now when the free democracies of the world may be strong in union, and not delay until they may be beaten down separately in succession.

So America sends another message to Russia—that we are going to fight, for your freedom equally with our own, and we ask you to fight for our freedom equally with yours. We would make your cause ours, and, with a common purpose and mutual helpfulness of a firm alliance, make sure of victory over our common foe.

Mr. Root then added: "You will recognize your own sentiments and purposes in the words of President Wilson to the American Congress, when on the 2d of April last he advised a declaration of war against Germany," and he quoted from that address, closing as follows:

That partnership of honor in the great struggle for human freedom the oldest of the great democracies now seeks in fraternal union with the youngest. Practical and specific methods and the possibilities of our allies' co-operation the members of the mission would be glad to discuss with the members of the Government of Russia.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Terestchenko, who rose from a sickbed to attend the presentation, responded without notes, expressing great joy in welcoming the commission from America. He said that Russia's revolution was based on the wonderful words uttered by America in 1776. He read part of the Declaration of Independence and exclaimed:

"Russia holds with the United States that all men are created free and equal."

M. Terestchenko sketched the history of the Russian revolution briefly, saying that the Russians, enslaved for centuries, threw off all the old order just as the wind blows Autumn leaves from the forest. Russia now faces two problems, said the Minister, the necessity of creating a strong democratic force within its boundaries and the fighting of an external foe. Then he declared for war and expressed unbounded confidence in the power of Russia to meet the situation.

The text of President Wilson's note to the Russian Government explaining the aims of the Root Commission was made public June 18, and is as follows:

The High Commission now on its way from this country to Russia is sent primarily to manifest to the Russian Government and people the deep sympathetic feeling which exists among all classes in America for the adherence of Russia to the principle of democracy, which has been the foundation of the progress and prosperity of this country. The High Commissioners go to convey the greetings of this Republic to the new and powerful member which has joined the great family of democratic nations.

The Commissioners who will bear this fraternal message to the people of Russia have been selected by the President with the special purpose of giving representation to the various elements which make up the American people and to show that among them all there is the same love of country and the same devotion to liberty and justice and loyalty to constituted authority. The commission is not chosen from one political group, but from the various groups into which the American electorate is divided. United, they represent the Republic. However much they may differ on public questions, they are one in support of democracy and in hostility to the enemies of democracy throughout the world.

The commission is prepared, if the Russian Government desires, to confer upon the best ways and means to bring about effective co-operation between the two Governments in the prosecution of the war against the German autocracy, which is today the gravest menace to all democratic Governments. It is the view of this Government that it has become the solemn duty of those who love democracy and individual liberty to render harmless this autocratic Government, whose ambition, aggression, and intrigue have been disclosed in the present struggle. Whatever the cost in life and treasure, the supreme object should be and can be attained only by the united strength of the democracies of the world, and only then can come that permanent and universal peace which is the hope of all people.

To the common cause of humanity, which Russia has so courageously and unflinchingly supported for nearly three years, the United States is pledged. To co-operate and aid Russia in the accomplishment of the task, which as a great democracy is more truly hers today than ever before, is the desire of the United States. To stand side by side, shoulder to shoulder against autocracy, will unite the American and Russian peoples in a friendship for the ages.

With this spirit the High Commissioners of the United States will present themselves in the confident hope that the Russian Government and people will realize how sincerely the United States hopes for their welfare and desires to share with them in their future endeavors to bring victory to the cause of democracy and human liberty.

Fruits of Diplomatic Missions

Closing Addresses of French and British Envoys, and Summary of Their Work

MARSHAL JOFFRE and Vice Premier Viviani, with the other members of the French diplomatic mission to the United States, sailed secretly from New York in the night of May 15, and the world knew nothing of their departure until their safe arrival at Brest was announced on May 23. They traveled on the same French steamer that had brought them over, and were convoyed by a French warship. The State Department at Washington issued a note of appreciation to the press, which had imposed a voluntary censorship on itself, for having successfully withheld every detail of news that might have jeopardized the safety of the visitors.

The series of eloquent speeches delivered in the United States by René Viviani, head of the French mission, was recorded at length in the June issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, with the exception of the final one in New York, delivered at the official dinner of the Mayor's committee at the Waldorf-Astoria.

Viviani's Waldorf Speech

After paying a graceful tribute to New York and to the American people, M. Viviani recalled again the deeds of Joffre at the battle of the Marne, and continued:

Well, what did we make manifest to the whole world? Two qualities: One which all men knew who know the glorious traditions of France throughout the ages—dash, intrepidity, valor, contempt of death; but another quality was denied us, that of endurance, that of patience, that of quiet courage; the steady heart and unshaken nerves under the storm of shot and shell. Now, in two battles we combined both qualities as if we would offer them up to the whole world as a homage and a lesson. In August, 1914, we showed what dash French troops possessed in spite of weariness, in spite of the heat of an endless Summer, the exhaustion of three weeks' incessant fighting. Suddenly, miraculously, the whole French Army stood at bay and turned upon its enemy.

And the man who commanded that army had remained calm and impassive. Every evening he telephoned to me, who was then Premier of France, the result of the military operations; at this very moment I can hear his voice come to me over the wires, quiet, grave, unbroken by the slightest emotion. And that voice spoke its unflinching confidence in final victory in spite of all. And when the hour had struck, the moment come, the order was issued, was forwarded to the armies, the Generals; every officer read it to his men: "My children, here we stand. Halt and face the barbarians. Die to the last man rather than retreat another step!"

Such was French dash, French valor. It counted for nothing in German eyes. But the day came when the other virtue was shown, that on which they relied yet less. One day they dreamed Verdun could be taken, not because it was in itself the greatest prize; it would have been no victory—but to drive into France and impose peace—for our enemies think they can let peace loose on the world as they unchain war. And so German armies were piled up on the French front. It was impossible for us to advance against such odds. Our Generals spoke: "Children, not one step back; if you yield a yard, let every yard have its bloody cost for your enemy." And through the endless days and nights, under shot and shell, under the avalanche of shells that tore up the very earth, among their falling comrades, led by their officers, our men held fast, contesting every inch of ground, fighting for months and months without an instant's respite, checking the whole weight of the German Army. And now when we leave our land, when we say those two names—the Marne and Verdun—we mingle in one the two master virtues of our race—valor and patience, courage and endurance.

What yet remains to be done? For three long years the English and the French, sword in hand, have fought, not for England alone, not for France alone, but for humanity, for right, for democracy. For three long years the Russian soldiers in the northern snows, victorious in southern Europe, have fought for the same ideal; for two years seductive, virile Italy has scaled the Alps and shattered with its hands the stony barrier that stifled its liberty; for three years Serbia, murdered, trampled under foot ruthlessly, has fought; for three years heroic Belgium has maintained her honor against a perjured foe. For three long years we have striven, face to face with our enemy, tightened our grasp upon her throat, held our own.

And now, when we are still strong and undismayed, neither worn out nor doubting, still full of force and resource, comes free America to our side, radiant with its democratic ideals and ancient traditions, to fight with us. She read in President Wilson's incomparable message which has gone to the heart of every Frenchman the deep reasons why she could not but enter into this war. Yes; doubtless you had your slaughtered dead to avenge, to avenge the insults heaped on your honor. You could not for one moment conceive that the land of Lincoln, the land of Washington, could bow humbly before the imperial eagle. But not for that did you rise; not for your national honor alone; do not say it was for that. You are fighting for the whole world; you are fighting for all liberty; you are fighting for civilization; that is why you have risen in battle. And just now Mr. Choate said: "The English and French Missions are here to tell us what to avoid and what to do."

And your Mayor expressed in an accurate formula his generous conception of our relations when he said: "America is founded on French idealism and English common law." Nothing could be truer; it is all the truth; I can add nothing to his words. But I will tell you what you can do. You are remote from our battlefields; no Zeppelins can fly above your towns and scatter their bombs over the cradles of your innocent children; German ships are blocked in the Kiel Canal; they cannot defile your waters; at this distance you cannot hear the roar of the cannon. But can you imagine that you are not, in sooth, as close to us, in spite of distance, as we are to you—that Germany is not as near you as she is to us, that the peril is remote! No. The menace of Germany lies where Mr. Balfour so philosophically defined it. He told you that the menace of Germany lies in her scientific organization, and I will attempt to interpret his words in the spirit that prompted them. We are all agreed Prussian militarism must be crushed; so long as the world contains it there is no safety in it for democracy. But what is Prussian militarism? It was not born yesterday; it was not born in 1914. It is an ancient sore. It is the bestial and inhuman expression of a philosophy, the outcome of a whole race so madly intoxicated with conceit, that it imagines it is predestined to dominate the world, and is amazed to see free men dare to rise and contest its rights. And if you had not risen against it, it is not with artillery, not with shells, not with submarines, not with Zeppelins, you would have been attacked.

It is by the methods and spirit of Germany gradually filtering into your brains, impregnating invisibly your hearts, and little by little violating your souls and consciences. That was the hidden danger, the menace of Germany. You realized the peril, and you have risen to face it, to fight a menace not to you alone, but to all civilization. Now all we free men are one in will. The hour for the liberation of all men has struck at last. All have risen in arms in the good fight, fought by us, by our children, to the bitter end. And we will never falter till victory crowns our aims. And when in far-off days after this war history shall tell why we fought, in days yet ringing with this strife, long after the voice of the cannon is silent, then impartial history shall speak. It will say why all the peoples arose in battle, why the free allied peoples fought. Not for conquest. They were not nations of prey. No morbid ambitions lay festering in their hearts and consciences.

Why then did they fight? To repel the most brutal and insidious of aggressions. They fought for the respect of international treaties trampled under foot by the brutal soldiery of Germany, they fought to raise all the peoples of the earth to free breath, to the ideal of liberty for all, so that the world might be habitable for free men—or to perish. And history will add: "They did not perish. They vanquished. They shattered the ponderous sword that German militarism aimed against the conscience and the heart of all free men." And thus together we shall have won the moral victory and a material one. It is that dawn I greet, that hour of fate I bow my head before. May the soul of Washington inspire our souls; may the great shade of Lincoln rise from its shroud. We are all resolved to battle till the end for the deliverance of humanity, the deliverance of democracy. Rise then, brother citizens, and lift your brows to the level of your flag!

Results of Conferences

Arthur J. Balfour, head of the British mission, delivered his farewell address before the National Press Club at Washington on May 24. The next day he and the other Commissioners crossed into Canada on their way home, after having spent six fruitful weeks in the United States, a longer period than any other Foreign Secretary had been away from London since the Napoleonic wars.

The situation in France depicted by M. Viviani and Marshal Joffre is believed to have been largely responsible for the American Government's decision to send at once an expeditionary force of about 25,000 men, a division of nine regiments of railroad engineers, and six base hospitals. The British visitors, having faced the same problems that now confront America in training large armies for foreign service, were able to clear away many doubts in technical matters.

The most important understandings arrived at were in trade matters. In general it was decided that the United States should give the Allies preferential treatment in commerce. It was agreed that all shipping, so far as possible, should be devoted to emergency transportation, with a view to defeating the German submarine campaign. British trade experts have worked out accurately the amount of ship tonnage needed to continue the flow of life necessities to England and France, and the Federal Shipping Board has a detailed program for meeting that need, with a priority schedule showing the order of importance of the various commodities and the minimum amounts necessary. A definite understanding was reached to cover both American and Canadian wheat for sale to the Allied Wheat Executive Committee, and arrangements were made for full Canadian co-operation through the proposed Food Administration Bureau.

Munitions control and purchase were similarly centralized through the Allied Buying Committee, although without price control. The Council of National Defense charged itself with so increasing manufacture as to provide for the American war army without cutting off exports vitally needed abroad.

It was agreed that the United States would co-operate as far as possible in maintaining the British blockade, and would participate through Consuls in the rationing of Holland and Scandinavia, with a view to preventing American products from reaching firms dealing regularly with the enemy.

The shipping problem, in view of the April ravages of submarines, was the most urgent of all, and the American shipbuilding program was speeded up as a direct result of the British representations on this subject. One of England's greatest shipping experts was summoned across the seas to supply more technical details than the mission possessed. Three members of the British party were left in Washington to continue work on trade problems. Conferences with General Goethals and Mr. Denman of the Federal Shipping Board helped to shape the plans of that body. Many of the seized German ships were turned over to the French, Italians, and Russians upon the British statement that England had enough tonnage for herself and was strained only to meet the needs of her allies. The Shipping Board, however, decided not to pool all American shipping with the other allies in the International Committee in London, owing to the need of American imports from outside the war zone. Means for curtailing the wasteful use of ocean tonnage, which were communicated by the British envoys, have been embodied in a bill on that and kindred subjects now before Congress.

Balfour in Canada

The British mission remained in Canada until the end of May. The most striking address delivered there by Mr. Balfour was the one before the two houses of Parliament at Ottawa, in which he declared that the British Empire had "staked its last dollar on democracy," and continued:

> I know the democraries of the Old World and the New will come out of this struggle, not merely triumphant in the military sense, but strengthened in their own inner life, more firmly convinced that the path of freedom is the only path to national greatness.
>
> Foreign speculators about the British Empire, before the war began, said to themselves that this loosely constructed State resembled nothing that ever existed in history before, that it was held together by no coercive power, that the mother country could not raise a Corporal's guard in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or wherever you will; that she could not raise a shilling by taxation.
>
> She had no power except the power which a certain class of politician never remembers—the moral power of affection, sentiment, common aims, and common ideals. Even those of us who believed the new experiment of the British Empire was going to succeed felt it was difficult that so vast an empire, so loosely knit, should be animated by one soul, or that the indirect thrill of common necessity should go from end to end.
>
> No greater miracle has ever happened in the history of civilization than the way in which the co-ordinated British democracies worked together with a uniform spirit of self-sacrifice in the cause in which they believed not merely their own individual security but the safety of the empire and the progress of civilization and liberty itself were at stake.

The Italian Diplomatic Commission

THE Italian War Commission, headed by the Prince of Udine, a cousin of the King, was officially received by President Wilson May 24. The members included the following: Prince Udine, eldest son of the Duke of Genoa; Senator Guglielmo Marconi, the inventor of wireless telegraphy; Marquis Birsarelli, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Enrico Arlotta, Minister of Maritime and Railway Transportation, a leading banker of Italy; General Gugliemetti, Military Attaché; Commander Vannutelli, representing the Italian Navy; Alvise Bragadini of the Transportation Department; C. Pardo of the Department of Industry and Commerce; Gaetano Pietra of the Agricultural Department, and Deputies Ciufelli and Nitti, former Ministers.

In his formal address to the President, the Prince of Udine said:

I am proud, indeed, Mr. President, belonging as I do to a house which has never conceived royal power otherwise than associated with the most complete liberty of the people, to have been chosen, together with the gentlemen of this commission, to greet you on behalf of my King and cousin. You will read the message which the King of Italy, a faithful interpreter of our country's thought, has addressed to you. Permit me, however, to express the great sympathy and deep admiration which I feel for this great and noble country.

As an Italian, a sailor and a Prince, I consider it a happy omen that I and my colleagues, who have been chosen by the Government from among the worthiest, should be the symbols of the fulfillment of a sincere aspiration of ours. I rejoice that Italy is now united in a brotherhood of arms with the American people and that it will always in the future be united with them by common ideals for the carrying out of the work of liberty and of civilization.

The first conferences with the American Government were held May 28.

The problem of transporting coal to Italy was the most important feature of the discussions. Italy, it was said, needed coal to assure the continued manufacture of guns and ammunition and the maintenance of war industries which had been created since the outbreak of hostilities with Germany. Italy, it was asserted at the conference, was not in urgent need of foodstuffs, but did need coal, iron, lumber, agricultural machinery, locomotives, and railroad equipment.

If Italy could obtain coal in the United States it was said that her problem of making brick for use in the construction of mountain dugouts and trenches would be solved. She had heretofore imported brick from the United States because she could not afford to utilize her meagre coal supply in their manufacture.

The American representatives were informed that the industries of Italy had grown during the war. Italy, it was said, was at this time making her own guns, and they had proved to be as effective as those manufactured by the French and Austrians.

Following the conference it was announced that an ample quantity of coal and some other supplies had been assembled at certain ports and were ready for shipment whenever vessels could be obtained.

Prince Udine to the Senate

The Prince of Udine and the Italian mission were received on the floor of the United States Senate May 31. In his address to the Senate he said:

The message of your President, as our sovereign has said, is worthy, by the nobility of its conceptions and the dignity of its form, to rank with the most inspiring pages in the history of ancient and immortal Rome. It was greeted with the enthusiasm of faith when it made clear the objects of the war and defined the aims of American action.

By proclaiming that right is more precious than peace; that autocratic Governments, supported by the force of arms, are a menace to civilization; by affirming the necessity of guaranteeing the safety of the world's democracies; by proclaiming the right of small nations to live and to prosper, America has now, through the action of her President, acquired a title of merit which history will never forget.

Italy entered into the war with aims equal to those which you pursue. Her territory had not been invaded, her insecure boundaries had not been violated. Our people understood that the sacrifice of free nations was the prelude to their own sacrifice, and that we could not remain indiffer-

ent without denying the very reasons of our existence.

Italy wants the safety of her boundaries and her coasts, and she wants to secure herself against new aggressions. Italy wants to deliver from long-standing martyrdom populations of Italian race and language that have been persecuted implacably, and are nevertheless prouder than ever of their Italian nationality. But Italy has not been and will never be an element of discord in Europe, and as she willed her own free national existence at the cost of any sacrifice, so she will contribute with all her strength to the free existence and development of other nations.

By increasing the ruthlessness of submarine warfare and thus rendering navigation unsafe and dangerous, our enemies hope to win the war by increasing misery and suffering. They hope that our powerful ally, Great Britain, will lack food; that France will lack food and men, and that Italy will lack especially food, and that which is more important, coal for the war, for industries, and for railways. The problem of shipping is for all of us the greatest problem of the war.

With our united efforts we shall vanquish all these difficulties, and that which the force of arms, secretly prepared and unexpectedly employed, was not able to accomplish, will not be accomplished by disloyal means on land and water. We shall triumph over all these difficulties if we continue our efforts in brotherly agreement, united by the great duty which we now have voluntarily taken upon us for a cause which is superior to all worldly interests, and which partakes of an almost divine nobility.

The mission of which I have the honor to be the head and in which there are representatives of the Senate of the kingdom, of the Chamber of Deputies, and members of the Government, desires to express through me the liveliest sympathy to the representatives of the American people.

The mission was officially received by the House of Representatives June 2 and the Prince delivered an address expressing warmest appreciation of America's entry into the war, which gave an assurance of victory. An address was also delivered by Senator Marconi.

The mission was hospitably entertained in various cities.

State of Italian Finances

A résumé of the Italian financial condition before the United States entered the war and granted a loan of $100,000,000 to the Government at Rome showed that Italy had spent up to Dec. 31, 1916, $2,783,075,040 for the War Department and $156,198,335 for the Navy. For the departments of Commerce, Agriculture, Transportation, Colonies, Interior, and Treasury the expenditures amounted in the same period to $3,200,000,000.

Comparing the future expenditures and the income of the nation, it was calculated that the income would be about $80,000,000 larger than the expenditures. This result was attained by sound financing, together with the imposition at that time of new taxes. The total loans raised by Italy up to June 15, 1917, during the war is about $3,000,000,000, chiefly at 5 and 5½ per cent.

Viterio Scialoia, a member of the Italian Chamber, in an address to the American people delivered at Rome June 7, expressed the warmest appreciation of the reception given the mission by the American people, closing with these words:

"The alliance between Italy and America will lead to new and greater commercial relations, new sympathy in spirit and in common political actions with a view to realization of conditions of liberty for the peoples who still suffer from the violence imposed upon heir nations by tyrannical Governments, such as Austria, or from violent conquest, such as the conquests of Germany. All this will be a solid basis for the relations of the future, which can never be shaken, as it is impossible to see how even the slightest of differences could arise.

The Facts Supporting President Wilson's War Message

THE historic message of President Wilson, delivered before Congress on April 2, 1917, has been officially published by the Government, with annotations giving the leading facts on which the rupture with Germany was developed, citing the issues in international law, and contrasting the spirit of Prussianism and Americanism. This publication is to be distributed to the schools throughout the country.

In a foreword it announced that the editorial annotations are the work of Professor William Stearns Davis of the History Department of the University of Minnesota, assisted by Professor C. D. Allin and Dr. William Anderson. The official sponsor for the publication adds:

The message is the best possible preparation for all loyal Americans who are studying the causes and justification for the present war, and who are trying to discover the proper mental attitude they themselves should take toward the personal part which they may be called to play in the struggle. * * * Mr. Wilson contrasts the American and Prussian political philosophy and methods of doing things in a way that would become even more convincing if he had been allowed time to enter into specific details. Solemn official promises made only to be broken, conspiracies to burn and blow up American industries, to hamper our manufactures and cripple our Government by strikes and riots, spies in every centre of political and industrial activity, plans made on American soil and financed by German funds to dynamite canals, bridges, and munition factories in Canada, invitations to Mexico in times of peace to join with Germany in dismembering our Union, have led people and President alike to see submarine warfare as but a more flagrant expression of a German State policy running amuck in absolute disregard of every sense of national and international morals and decency and callous to the claims of common humanity.

A military autocracy astride the ruins of Europe and dominant on the seas by virtue of an arm that both serves and reveals its ambitions and irresponsibility has forced America to accept its challenge. A new Monroe Doctrine must be defended on the pathways of the seas and in the fields of Flanders if the Western World is to be preserved as the citadel of a free-developing, forward-looking democracy.

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, May, 1917, published the official text of the President's war message. Professor Davis's annotations are here reproduced, with brief references to the sentences commented upon. Thus the annotations are here woven into a consecutive thesis, elucidating and amplifying the war message. In explaining the President's opening reference to his choices of policy, which he could not adopt constitutionally without Congressional advice, the editors remark:

There had been only two other periods in the history of the country equally serious—1776 and 1861. Nobody can pretend that there have been any other crises in American history (barring the Revolution and the civil war) when so much that citizens of this country count dear has been at stake. The War of 1812, the Mexican and Spanish wars seem as child's play beside the present exigency. Now, as this message makes clear, the very liberties of the world and the possibilities of peaceful democracies are at stake. If Germany should win this war, and thus become supreme on land and sea, the very existence of free democracies would be imperiled.

President Wilson had the sworn duty to lay the facts before Congress and recommend to it the needful action. The Constitution of the United States prescribes his duties in such emergencies.

It is worthy of note that the Constitution lays this duty and power of declaring war directly upon Congress, and that it can not be evaded by Congressmen by any referendum to the voters, for which not the slightest constitutional provision is made.

Congress performed this duty by voting on the war question as requested. The vote of the Senate was 82 to 6 for war; of the House 373 to 50. Such comparative unanimity upon so momentous a question is almost unparalleled in the history of free nations.

Beginning of Ruthless Policy

The President's reference to the adoption of unrestricted submarine warfare by the German Government is commented upon as follows:

The German Chancellor in announcing this repudiation of all his solemn pledges in the Imperial Parliament, [Reichstag,] on Jan. 31, frankly admitted that this policy involved "ruthlessness" toward neutrals. "When

the most ruthless methods are considered the best calculated to lead us to victory and to a swift victory * * * they must be employed. * * * The moment has now arrived. Last August [when he was, as he himself here admits, allowing the American people to believe that in response to its protest he had laid aside such ruthless methods] the time was not yet ripe, but today the moment has come when we can undertake this enterprise."

And the promise of the German Government, withdrawn on Feb. 1, is referred to in these terms:

The broken Sussex pledge. On May 4, 1916, the German Government, in reply to the protest and warning of the United States following the sinking of the Sussex, gave this promise: That "merchant vessels both within and without the area declared a naval war zone shall not be sunk without warning, and without saving human lives, unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance."

Germany added, indeed, that if Great Britain continued her blockade policy, she would have to consider "a new situation."

On May 8, 1916, the United States replied that it could not admit that the pledge of Germany was "in the slightest degree contingent upon the conduct of any other Government," (i. e., on any question of the English blockade.) To this Germany made no reply at all, and under general diplomatic usage, when one nation makes a statement to another, the latest statement of the case stands as final unless there is a protest made.

The promise made by Germany thus became a binding pledge, and as such was torn up with other "scraps of paper" by the German "unlimited submarine warfare" note of Jan. 31, 1917.

Regarding the President's references to the "cruel anl unmanly business" of sinking merchant ships, and the "certain degree of restraint" observed at that time, the editors cite these facts:

As to the proper usages in dealing with merchant vessels in war, here are the rules laid down some time ago for the American Navy, (a fighting navy, surely,) and these rules hardly differed in other navies, including the Russian and Japanese:

United States Naval War Code, on treatment of merchant vessels stopped or captured by American men-of-war, (1900 ed., P. 48:)

"The personnel of a merchant vessel captured as a prize are entitled to their personal effects.

"All passengers not in the service of the enemy, and all women and children on board such vessels, should be released and landed at a convenient port at the first opportunity.

"All persons in the naval service of the United States who pillage or maltreat in any manner any person found on board a merchant vessel captured as a prize shall be severely punished."

United States Naval War College, "International Law Topics," 1905, Page 6: "If a seized neutral vessel cannot for any reason be brought into court for adjudication it should be dismissed."

United States Naval War Code, on safety required for persons on a captured vessel, (United States Naval War College, "International Law Topics," 1913, Page 165:) "The destruction of a vessel which has surrendered without first removing its officers and crew would be an act contrary to the sense of right which prevails even between enemies in time of war."

And also Lawrence, (standard authority on international law,) "International Law," Page 406: "It is better for a naval officer to release a ship as to which he is doubtful than to risk personal punishment and international complications by destroying innocent neutral property."

Sinking of Hospital Ships

The President's reference to the sinking of hospital and relief ships was elaborated as follows:

Mr. Wilson was undoubtedly thinking of the cases of the British hospital ships Asturias, sunk March 20, and the Gloucester Castle. These vessels had been sunk although protected by the most solemn possible of international compacts. The Germans seem to have acknowledged the sinking of the Asturias and to have regarded their feat with great complacency. Somewhat earlier in the war the great liner Britannic had been sunk while in service as a hospital ship, and the evidence seems to be it was torpedoed by a U-boat, although the proof here is not conclusive. Since this message was written the Germans have continued their policy of murdering more wounded soldiers and their nurses by sinking more hospital ships.

The Belgian relief ships referred to were probably the Camilla, Trevier, and the Feistein, but most particularly the large Norwegian steamer Storstad, sunk with 10,000 tons of grain for the starving Belgians. Besides these sinkings, two other relief ships—the Tunisie and the Haelen—were attacked unsuccessfully.

And to his words, "I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any Government that had hitherto subscribed to humane practices of civilized nations," this note was added:

No nation assuredly has made prouder claims than Germany to a superior "kultur," or made louder assertions of its desire to vindicate "the freedom of the seas."

His sentence referring to the "wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of

noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate," is elucidated in these words:

Mr. Wilson could have gone further back than "modern history." Even in the most troubled period of the Middle Ages there was consistent effort to spare the lives of non-belligerents. Thus in the eleventh century not merely did the Church enjoin the "truce of God" which ordered all warfare to cease on four days of the week, but it especially pronounced its curse upon those who outraged or injured not merely clergymen and monks, but all classes of women. We also have ordinances from this "dark period" of history forbidding the interference with shepherds and their flocks, the damaging of olive trees, or the carrying off or destruction of farming implements. All this at a period when feudal barons are alleged to have been waging their wars with unusual ferocity.

Contrast also with the German usages this American instance:

On May 12, 1898, Admiral Sampson with the American fleet appeared before Santiago, and conducted a reconnoissance in force to see if Cervera's squadron was in the port, but he did not "subject the city to a regular bombardment" because that "would have required due notice" for the removal of the women, children, and the sick. He did this notwithstanding the fact that a sudden attack, well driven home, would probably have given him the city. In the attack on the forts alone, which he actually made, his ship Captains were carefully charged to avoid hitting the Spanish Military Hospital. (See H. Doc. No. 12, Fifty-fifth Congress, Third Session, Page 368.)

No one certainly has ever accused the American Navy of "hitting soft" or of being unwilling to wage the most strenuous kind of honorable warfare.

American Vessels Destroyed

President Wilson's brief reference to the sinking of American ships calls for this definite list:

American vessels sunk by submarines following German decree of ruthless submarine policy, Jan. 31, 1917.

Following eight or more American vessels which had been sunk or attacked earlier, in most cases in contravention to international law, these ships also had been sunk following the repudiation of her pledges by Germany:

Feb. 3, 1917, Housatonic.
Feb. 13, 1917, Lyman M. Law.
March 16, 1917, Vigilancia.
March 17, 1917, City of Memphis.
March 17, 1917, Illinois.
March 21, 1917, Healdton, (claimed to have been sunk off Dutch coast, and far from the so-called "prohibited zone.")
April 1, 1917, Aztec.
March 2, 1917, Algonquin.

Furthermore, no American should forget the sinking of the William P. Frye on Jan. 28, 1915, by a German raider. This act under normal circumstances would be a casus belli. The raider, the Prinz Eitel Friedrich, then impudently took refuge in an American port.

And the American lives lost in such sinkings are summarized as follows:

American lives lost on the ocean during the war. (See Cong. Rec., 65th Cong., 1st sess., p. 1,006.)

American lives have been lost during the sinking of at least twenty vessels, whereof four were American, one Dutch, and one Norwegian. In one or two cases the vessel tried to escape and made resistance, and the loss of life was possibly excusable for the Germans. In the bulk of the cases the destruction was without fair warning and without reasonable effort to give the passengers and crew chance to escape.

Among the more flagrant cases were:

May 7, 1915, Lusitania, 114 Americans lost.
Aug. 19, 1915, Arabia, 3 Americans lost.
Sept. 4, 1915, Hesperian, 1 American lost.
Oct. 28, 1916, Marina, 8 Americans lost.
Dec. 14, 1916, Russian, 17 Americans lost.
Feb. 26, 1917, Laconia, 8 Americans lost.
March 16, 1917, Vigilancia, 5 Americans lost, (United States.)
March 21, 1917, Healdton, 7 Americans lost, (United States.)
April 1, 1917, Aztec, 28 Americans lost, (United States.)

Some on Aztec probably not American citizens, although she was a regular American ship.

In all, up to declaration of war by us, 226 American citizens, many of them women and children, had lost their lives by the action of German submarines, and in most instances without the faintest color of international right.

Losses of Other Neutrals

The President's reference to the destruction of "ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations" is supplemented with these facts:

The Norwegian Legation at London has announced that during February and March, 1917, 105 Norwegian vessels of over 228,000 tons have been sunk, and 106 persons thereon killed, and 222 are missing.

On Feb. 22, 1917, seven Dutch vessels which left an English port on promise of "relative security" from the Berlin authorities, were all attacked by German U-boats and six of them were sunk. Germany has admitted that its boats did the deed, and has expressed "regrets" to Holland, although adding blandly "the incident proves how dangerous it is to navigate the prohibited zone, and gives expression to our wish that neutral

navigators remain in their ports." As a result of this policy of terrorism, the ships of Holland have been practically driven off the seas. Many of them have taken refuge in the harbors of the United States.

Spaniards have been exasperated by the destruction of their vessels, the most recent instance being that of a Spanish ship, with a Spanish cargo, sunk in Spanish waters. Swedish oversea commerce is practically ruined by the fear of their owners at the indiscriminate ruthlessness of the submarine.

The United States Government made an official estimate that by April 1, 1917, no less than 668 neutral vessels had been sunk by German submarines since the beginning of the war. This did not include any American vessels. (New York Times History of the War, May, 1917, pp. 241 and 244.)

"The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it." To these words of the President's war message Professor Stearns adds this summary of what other nations have done:

Practically all the civilized neutral countries of the earth have protested at the German policy. Some, like Brazil, China, Bolivia, and Guatemala, have broken diplomatic relations with Germany.

The neutral States of Europe, fearful of being caught in the horrors of the great war, have protested just as far as they have dared. Holland and Denmark may, of course, at any time see a German army over their borders. Norway and Sweden are hardly in a safe position, but they have made their vehement protest at the German outrages. Spain, which had exercised a forbearance similar to that of the United States, has finally, after futile protests, been obliged (May 18, 1917) to send Germany a note in the nature of an ultimatum, demanding reparation for the past and guarantees for the future.

The statement that the motive of the United States in going to war would be "only the vindication of right" is elucidated thus:

Submarines are such exceptional instruments of warfare that it is held by authorities on international law that they ought never to submerge in neutral waters, otherwise it is impossible for a neutral to control them and be responsible for them as with ordinary visiting warships.

Says Professor Theodore S. Woolsey of Yale, a very high authority:

"I think there can be no doubt that the U-boat is to be regarded as a surface cruiser with no additional rights and privileges and with the same duties and liabilities. Hence in neutral waters it should not submerge. Submergence imperils neutrality by making the performance of neutral duties more arduous and the evasion of neutral rights easier." (American Journal of International Law, January, 1917, p. 139.)

Arming Merchant Vessels

Concerning armed neutrality and its present impracticability in defending our right to use the seas without suffering "unlawful violence," this comment is offered:

In 1798, on account of the attacks on our commerce by French cruisers and privateers, Congress empowered President John Adams to arm merchant vessels, to let them defend themselves, and to let our warships attack the offending French vessels.

There were several really serious naval battles, (especially when the U. S. S. Constellation took the French frigate L'Insurgente, 1799,) and international experts are of the opinion that very probably an actual state of war existed. In any case the country was headed straight into war, and preparations were being made to raise a strong army with Washington again as commander, with Alexander Hamilton under him, while an alliance was being discussed with England. Then at the last moment Napoleon, who had just come to power, had the wisdom to offer terms President Adams could accept. The German Imperial Government had no such wisdom or restraint.

"The German Government," said the President, "denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend."

Editor's annotation:

Before the outbreak of the war the following were the standing orders in the German Navy for dealing with even enemy merchant vessels, and if that was the case how much more consideration should be given to neutrals. The new German orders are a brazen contradiction of their own previous precepts. (German Prize Code, p. 75.)

General orders of German Admiralty staff, Berlin, June 22, 1914. (Note date.)

"If an armed merchant vessel of the enemy offers armed resistance, such resistance may be overcome with all means possible. The crew are to be taken prisoners of war. The passengers are to be left to go free unless it appears that they participated in the resistance." (German Prize Code, p. 68, par. 116.)

"Before proceeding to the destruction of the (neutral) vessel (which has been seized for proper reason) the safety of all persons on board, and, so far as possible, their effects, is to be provided for."

Dr. Wehberg, (great German authority on international law, quoted in American Journal of Int. Law, Oct., 1916, p. 871.)

"The enemy merchant ship has the right of defense against enemy attack, and this right it can exercise against 'visit,' (i. e., being stopped and investigated,) for this indeed is the first act of capture. The attacked merchant ship can indeed itself seize the overpowered warship as a prize."

And still again—

In Oxford, 1913, at a meeting of the Institute of International Law, at which the representatives of Germany, as well as of all other great nations, were present, it was decided as a firm principle:

"Private vessels may not commit acts of hostility against the enemy; they may, however, defend themselves against the attack of any enemy vessel." (American Journal of International Law, vol. 10, 1916, p. 868.)

The President's words, "we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated," are supported with these citations:

Right of American citizens to protection in their doings abroad and on the seas no less than at home. Decided by Supreme Court of United States. (Slaughter House Cases, 16 Wall., 36.)

"Every citizen has the right to demand the care and protection of the United States when on the high seas or within the jurisdiction of a foreign Government."

See Cooley's "Principles of Constitutional Law," third edition, page 273, (standard authority.)

Obviously a Government which can not or will not protect its citizens against a policy of lawless murder is unworthy of respect abroad or obedience at home. The protection of the lives of the innocent and law-abiding is clearly the very first duty of a civilized State.

Declaration of War

In regard to the President's advice that Congress pronounce Germany's action to be "nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States," the editors remark:

Wars do not have to be declared in order to exist. The mere commission of warlike or unfriendly acts commences them. Thus the first serious clash in the Mexican war took place April 24, 1846. Congress "recognized" the state of war only on May 11 of that year. Already General Taylor had fought two serious battles at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma.

Many other like cases could be cited; the most recent was the outbreak of the war between Japan and Russia. In 1904 the Japanese attacked the Russian fleet before Port Arthur, and only several days after this battle was war "recognized."

If the acts of Germany were unfriendly, war in the strictest sense existed when the President addressed Congress.

With reference to "the granting of adequate credits":

Bills passed by Congress, with dates on which they were presented to President:

April 5, S. J. Res. 1—Declaration of war.

April 17, H. R. 12—Deficiency Appropriation bill for the year ending June, 1917.

April 23, H. R. 2,762—Bond Issue bill.

April 23, H. R. 2,339—Increasing number of midshipmen at Annapolis.

April 23, H. R. 2,008—Extending minority enlistments in the navy.

April 23, H. R. 2,338—Authorizing additional officers for Hydrographic Office.

April 23, H. R. 2,300—Increasing age limit for officers in Naval Reserve.

April 23, H. R. 1,771—Amending Naval Appropriations act for the year ending June, 1917.

May 5, H. R. 2,893—Permitting foreign Governments to enlist their nationals residing in the United States.

May 10, S. J. Res. 42—Authorizing seizure of interned German ships.

May 11, H. R. 13—Army Appropriation bill for the year ending June, 1918.

May 15, H. R. 2,337—Enrollments of aliens in the Naval Reserve.

May 16, H. R. 3,330—Increasing Navy and Marine Corps to 150,000 men.

May 18, S. 1,871—Conscription bill.

Bills in conference on May 17:

April 16, H. R. 11—Sundry Civil Appropriations for the year ending June, 1918.

April 16, H. R. 10—Military Academy Appropriations for the year ending June, 1918.

May 15, S. 2—Espionage bill.

Bills awaiting action of one house:

S. 383—Passed Senate April 9, punishing the destruction of war material.

H. R. 328—Passed House May 9, car shortage.

H. R. 3,971—Passed House May 2, Special War Appropriation bill.

The President said of the Entente Allies: "They are in the field, and we should help them in every way to be effective there." The editors make this comment:

To any one who will reflect upon the subject, it will soon appear to be preposterous folly to suggest that we "go it alone" against Germany, and to fail to give all possible aid to her original enemies. Obviously unless we send munitions, troops, submarine chasers, &c., to France, England, and possibly Russia, since the German high sea fleet does not at present come out, the war for us will mean little more than calling names across the Atlantic—until the European war is ended, and then if Germany has a pound of strength left (and very possibly she might be victorious) she can vent on us all her hate and fury, and exact from us the indemnities

she can not wring from a bankrupt Europe. So obvious is the military necessity of giving every possible help to the present enemies of Germany that those who try to thwart this are almost open to the very grave criminal charge of giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States.

Regarding the President's reference to his previous utterances:

On Jan. 22 Mr. Wilson spoke in favor of a league to secure peace. On Feb. 3 he announced he had broken diplomatic relations with Germany, but expressed the earnest hope that issues would not proceed to a clash of arms. On Feb. 26 he asked for "armed neutrality," but still avoided an actual state of war.

Menace of Autocracy

The reference to the menace of "autocratic Governments, backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people," calls forth the following:

Contrast these two standards: Bethmann Hollweg addressing the Reichstag, Aug. 4, 1914:

"We are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied (neutral) Luxemburg and perhaps already have entered Belgian territory. Gentlemen, this is a breach of international law. The wrong—I speak openly—the wrong we hereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained.

"He who is menaced as we are, and is fighting for his highest possession, can only consider how he is to hack his way through."

Or Frederick the Great again, the arch prophet of Prussianism, speaking in 1740 and giving the keynote to all his successors: "The question of right is an affair of Ministers. * * * It is time to consider it in secret, for the orders to my troops have been given," and still again: "Take what you can; you are never wrong unless you are obliged to give back." ("Perkins, France Under Louis XV.," vol. 1, pp. 169-170.)

Against this set the words of the first President of the young American Republic, speaking at a time when the nation was so weak that surely any kind of shifts could have been justified on the score of necessity.

Said George Washington in his first inaugural address, (1789:) "The foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality. There exists in the course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between honest policy and public felicity" [and] "the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a union [or government] that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained."

The present war is for a large part being waged to settle whether the American or the Prussian standard of morality is valid.

The phrase applying the same standards of conduct to Governments as to individuals calls forth a brief statement of the nature of the evil in Germany:

The autocratic spirit of the German Emperor is clearly revealed in his own utterances, (cf. p. 11.) The Imperial Government is in form a Government by the Emperor and the Imperial Diet. The dominant factor in the latter is the Federal Council, (Bundesrat,) appointed by the Kings and Princes. Here, as King of Prussia, William II. can make or break any policy. Prussia is the controlling factor, political, economic, and military, in modern Germany. In area it constitutes two-thirds of Germany, and five-eighths of its population and two-thirds of the members of the lower house of the German Congress are Prussians. Within Prussia there is little limit on the power of William II. In a Constitution which his great uncle "decreed" in 1850 the rights of the King and of the Junkers (the feudal military nobles east of the Elbe) are carefully guarded.

The Constitution of Prussia has remained practically unchanged and the electoral districts and three-class voting system of nearly seventy years ago still exist. Liberal industrial and socialistic elements in the great modern cities and manufacturing areas are without adequate representation in the Prussian Diet, and the old country districts are practically "rotten boroughs," where the peasant who votes by voice, not written ballot, is at the mercy of his feudal noble landlord. It is the latter who back the throne and its autocratic power so long as the policy suits their narrow provincial militaristic views formed in the days of Frederick the Great and his despotic father and revived and glorified by Bismarck.

Attitude of German People

It was not upon the impulse of the German people that the Kaiser's Government acted in precipitating the war. The editors of the war message cite the following evidence:

When the crisis was precipitated late in July, 1914, there was a strong peace party in Germany, and earnest protests were made against letting Austrian aggression against Serbia start a world conflagration. In Berlin on July 29, twenty-eight mass meetings were held to denounce the proposed war, and one of them is said to have been attended by 70,000 men. The Vorwärts (the great organ of the Socialists) declared on that day, "the indications proved beyond a doubt that the camarilla of war lords is working with absolutely unscrupulous means to carry out their fearful designs to precipitate an international war and to start a worldwide fire to devastate

Europe." On the 31st this same paper asserted that the policy of the German Government was "utterly without conscience." Then came the declaration of "war emergency," (Kriegsgefahr,) mobilization, martial law, and any expression of public opinion was stilled in Germany.

The German people had not the slightest share in shaping the events which led up to the declaration of war. The German Emperor is clothed by the imperial Constitution with practically autocratic power in all matters of foreign policy. The Reichstag has not even a consultative voice in such matters. The German Constitution (Art. 11) gives to the Emperor specific power to "declare war, conclude peace, and enter into alliances." The provision that only defensive wars may be declared by the Emperor alone puts the power in his hands to declare this and any other war without consulting any but the military group, for no power in modern times has ever admitted that it waged aggressive warfare. William II. declared this war without taking his people into the slightest confidence until the final deed was done.

The whole tendency of responsible German statesmen has been to ignore the people in foreign affairs. The retired Chancellor, Prince von Bülow, defended this policy bluntly on the ground that the Germans were not capable of self-government, saying, "We are not a political people."

As for William II., speeches without number can be cited to show his sense of his own autocratic authority—e. g., speaking at Königsberg, in 1910—"Looking upon myself as the instrument of the Lord, regardless of the views and the opinions of the hour, I go on my way." And another time: "There is but one master in this country; it is I, and I will bear no other." He has also been very fond of transforming an old Latin adage, making it read, "The will of the King is the highest law."

Other Wars of Aggression

"It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old unhappy days," continued the President, "when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow-men as pawns and tools." The editors add:

President Wilson probably had in mind such wars as those of Louis XIV., waged by that King almost solely for his own glory and interest and with extremely little heed to the small benefit and great suffering they brought to France. The War of the Spanish Succession (begun in 1701) was particularly such a war. History, of course, contains a great many others begun from no worthier motive, including several conducted by Prussia and earlier by Philip II. of Spain.

There is abundant evidence that the situation in Europe in July, 1914, was regarded by the German "jingo" party—von Tirpitz, Bernhardi, et al.—as peculiarly favorable. Russia was busy re-arming her army, and her railway system had not yet been properly developed for strategic purposes. France was vexed with labor troubles, a murder trial was heaping scandal upon one of her most famous statesmen, and her army was reported by her own statemen as sadly unready. England seemed on the point of being plunged into a civil war by the revolt of a large fraction of Ireland.

Such a convenient crippling of all the three great rivals of Germany might never come again. The murder of the Archduke of Austria at Serajevo came, therefore, as a most convenient occasion for a stroke which would either result in great increase of Teutonic prestige or enable Germany to fight with every possible advantage.

There is official Italian evidence that Serbia would have been attacked by the Teutonic powers in August, 1913, if Italy had consented to help the scheme. Her refusal made the Austro-German war lords wait until July, 1914, when they felt the situation favorable enough to be able to strike without waiting for the aid of Italy. (Signor Giolitti, in Italian Parliament, Dec. 5, 1914.)

Ems Incident Recalled

In confirmation of the statement that "a steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations," the method used by Germany to provoke the war of 1870 is cited:

The willingness of Prussian rulers to precipitate war and to throw aside ordinary considerations for peace is best illustrated, of course, by the famous "Ems incident" of 1870.

At that time Bismarck had decided that the quickest way to promote German unity and serve his political schemes was to precipitate a war with France. The inflamed state of public opinion in France against Prussia made the task easy for him. On July 13, 1870, he received a telegram from King William I., telling of an interview he had had with the French Ambassador about a very ticklish matter, and leaving it to Bismarck to decide what facts it was wise to give to the press.

Bismarck, after consulting von Moltke as to the state of the army, deliberately cut down and sharpened the wording of the telegram, very moderately phrased, from the King so as to make it appear that a deliberate insult had been offered the French Ambassador, and then gave out this text of the dispatch for publication. This so enraged Paris public opinion, that war was immediately declared.

Bismarck took great pride in this stroke, and the facts are related in all the standard German histories, as well as many others which copy them.

Bismarck always regarded the manner in which he precipitated this war as a masterpiece of statecraft. It remained a kind of glorious example of true public policy for the next generation of public men in Germany. (See the account by Bismarck himself in his memoirs translated as Bismarck: The Man and the Statesman.)

Germany at The Hague

"Only free people can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end, and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own."

The great humanitarian aims of The Hague peace conferences of 1899 and 1907 were the limitation of armaments and the compulsory arbitration of international disputes. Unanimity among the world powers was essential to the success of both. None dared disarm unless all would do so. The great democracies, Great Britain, France, and the United States, favored both propositions, but Germany, leading the opposition, prevented their adoption. She agreed with reluctance to a convention for optional arbitration, but refused at the second conference even to discuss disarmament. (See Scott, James Brown, "The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907," I., index, "Armaments" and "Arbitration.")

The President's statement that the Russian autocracy, now fallen, was not Russian in origin, character, or purpose, is confirmed with these facts:

The whole autocratic régime has been imposed on a people whose instincts and institutions are fundamentally democratic. The deposed Romanoff dynasty began in an election among the nobles. Peter the Great and the more despotic of his successors created largely by imitation and adaptation of German bureaucracy the machinery with which they ruled. Underneath this un-Russian machinery of despotism Russian communal and local life has preserved itself with wonderful vitality.

During the Russian revolution of 1905-1906 it was perfectly evident that the German Government was doing its uttermost to help the Czar and the old régime. The passage of revolutionary exiles into Germany was constantly hindered; many were arrested by the Prussian police, and all who succeeded in entering Germany were kept under constant espionage.

The Czar and the Kaiser were hand in glove to a large extent before the war broke out. The German White Paper, which was published at the outbreak of the war, containing telegrams which passed personally between Nicholas II. and Wilhelm II., gives repeated appeals from one to the other as representatives of a common interest.

Intrigues in United States

The reference to the Prussian autocracy's spies and intrigues in the United States is thus elaborated:

Besides undoubtedly many matters which from reasons of public policy the Government has still kept hidden, the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs when it presented the war resolution following the President's message, went on formal record as listing at least twenty-one crimes or unfriendly acts committed upon our soil with the connivance of the German Government since the European war began. Among these were:

Inciting Hindus within the United States to stir up revolts in India, and supplying them with funds for that end, contrary to our neutrality laws.

Running a fraudulent passport office for German reservists. This was supervised by Captain von Papen of the German Embassy.

Sending German agents to England to act as spies, equipped with American passports.

Outfitting steamers to supply German raiders, and sending them out of American ports in defiance of our laws.

Sending an agent from the United States to try to blow up the International Bridge at Vanceboro, Me.

Furnishing funds to agents to blow up factories in Canada.

Five different conspiracies, some partly successful, to manufacture and place bombs on ships leaving United States ports. For these crimes a number of persons have been convicted, also Consul General Bopp of San Francisco (a very high German official accredited to the United States Government) has been convicted of plotting to cause bridges and tunnels to be destroyed in Canada.

Financing newspapers in this country to conduct a propaganda serviceable to the ends of the German Government.

Stirring up anti-American sentiment in Mexico and disorders generally in that country, to make it impossible for the United States to mix in European affairs.

[N. B.—This last, from a humanitarian standpoint, seems peculiarly outrageous. Germany had not the slightest grievance against the helpless Mexicans. To incite them to revolt against their own Government and to make war on the United States simply involved their misery and probable destruction, in return for a very doubtful and roundabout gain for Germany. The greatest wrong was not to the United States but to Mexico.]

German military usage has been quite in this spirit, however, and approves of such doings. (See German War Code, standard translation, p. 85.)

"Bribery of enemies' subjects, acceptance of offers of treachery, utilization of discon-

tented elements in the population, support of pretenders, and the like, are permissible; indeed, international law is in no way opposed to the exploitation of crimes of third parties."

This, of course, is an outrageous travesty of international law. As Holland ("Laws of War on Land," p. 61) said, speaking of such acts, The Hague Conference "declined to add to the authority of a practice so repulsive" by legislating upon the subject. What would the German people say of America, if our Government hired assassions to murder Kaiser Wilhelm or von Hindenburg?

The Zimmermann Note

The German Government's intrigues, including the attempt to embroil us with Mexico, "have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us, and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience." The facts underlying this statement are cited as follows:

A Prussianized Germany, triumphant in Europe and dominant on the seas, would find its occasion to strike down America in its isolation and make of us the overseas tributary of a new Roman Empire. There can be no question that the future of democracy and of independent national life is hanging in the balance in this struggle.

The famous "Zimmermann note," exposed by our Government March 1, is a document that should stick in the memories of all Americans. Remember, it was composed on Jan. 19, 1917, at a time when Germany and America were officially very good friends, and the date was just three days before Mr. Wilson appeared in the Senate with his scheme for a league to assure peace and justice to the world.

Zimmermann admitted the authenticity of the note, and only deplored that it had been discovered. The significant parts were these:

"Berlin, Jan. 19, 1917.

"On Feb. 1 we intend to begin submarine warfare unrestricted. In spite of this, it is our intention to keep neutral the United States of America.

"If this attempt is not successful, we propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona. The details are left to you for settlement."

The rest of the dispatch tells the German Minister in Mexico to open secret negotiations with Carranza the moment war with us is certain, and to get Carranza to draw in Japan.

Germany has attempted to apologize for this note by saying that they did not intend to do anything unless we first declared war. It is a complete retort that decent nations do not go around preparing schemes for the dismemberment of other nations with which they are at peace, and that Zimmermann's whole proposal sprang out of an evil conscience, because he realized that the submarine policy projected was so vile that the United States could not submit to it without utter loss of self-respect, and he did us the justice of believing we were not such extreme cravens as to refuse to fight.

The whole dispatch was so gross a revelation of international immorality that German-American papers immediately denounced it as a forgery, only to have its genuineness brazenly acknowledged and defended by Berlin.

In the presence of such an organized power "there can be no security for the democratic Governments of the world. * * * The world must be made safe for democracy." Comment:

It is worthy of note that although nearly all the nations opposed to Germany concluded the so-called "cooling off" arbitration treaties with the United States, negotiated by Mr. Bryan, Germany, although indulging in certain meaningless talk about "approving the principle" of arbitration, &c., declined to join in the compacts.

There was no arbitration treaty that could be invoked when trouble arose with Germany.

On March 30, 1911, the German Imperial Chancellor had stated openly in the Reichstag that no general arbitration treaty would be useful for Germany, since it afforded no guarantee for a permanent peace. If conditions changed, from the time it was made, he said, then, "every arbitration treaty will burn like tinder and end in smoke." (Quoted in Bernhardi, "Germany and the Next War," p. 33.)

Germany and Fair Play

"We shall, I feel confident," said the President, "conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for." The editors add:

"Fair play" has small part in the Prussian military usage, however. (See German War Code, Introduction, par. 3; authorized translation, p. 52.)

"A war conducted with energy cannot be directed merely against the combatants of the enemy State, and the positions which they occupy, but will in like manner seek to destroy the total intellectual and material resources of the latter. Humanitarian claims, such as the protection of men and their goods, can only be taken into consideration in so far as the nature and object of the war permits."

See also Clausewitz, (the Prussian military authority and oft-quoted oracle.) Treatise "On War" (Vom Kriege,) V.: Kap. 14, (3.)

Speaking of the desirability of crushing down a hostile country by requisitions, &c., he commends it because of "the fear of responsibility, punishment, and ill-treatment, which in such cases presses like a general weight on the whole population." This recourse (of requisitions) has "no limits except those of the exhaustion, impoverishment, and devastation of the country."

By this Prussian gospel, not merely is war inevitably "hell," but it is to be made deliberately the lowest stratum of hell, and the means of rendering it such are to be worked out with scientific precision.

Concerning Austria-Hungary's attitude on the submarine issue:

Austria had a serious clash with the United States in the Ancona case late in 1915, when Americans perished, thanks to the ruthless action of an Austrian submarine. In reply to American protests Austria promised to order her commanders to behave with humanity, and (compared, at least, to her German allies) she kept her word with reasonable exactness.

On April 8, however, Austria, probably acting under German pressure, broke off diplomatic relations with the United States without waiting for action by our Government, and the same was done a little later by Germany's other obedient vassal, the Sultan of Turkey.

The President's avowal of our sincere friendship for the German people, as distinguished from their Government, receives this annotation:

There are now two Germanies—the old noble idealistic Germany; the new hard, materialistic nation, created by Prussia. Americans would fain love and recall the former.

Here is what two of their own writers said, men of leadership and insight, speaking very shortly before the war:

Professor Rein of Jena: "A one-sidedness which only esteems material values and an increasing control over nature is destructive in its influence, and this one-sidedness set in during the nineteenth century in Germany. We Germans have ceased to be the nation of thinkers, poets, and dreamers, we aim now only at the domination and exploitation of nature."

And again Professor Paulsen of Berlin: "Two souls dwell in the German Nation. The German Nation has been called the nation of poets and thinkers, and it may be proud of the name. Today it may again be called the nation of masterful combatants, as which it originally appeared in history."

Proofs of President's Patience

"We have borne with their present Government through all these bitter months, because of that friendship, exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible." The facts back of this passage are thus arrayed:

No one can accuse Mr. Wilson of the least precipitancy in bringing matters to an issue. Of course, on the contrary, his persistent attempts to bring the German Government to recognize the claims of reason and humanity have caused him to be bitterly criticised. Despite this criticism he has patiently and steadily held to the policy announced a year ago, "to wait until facts became unmistakable and were susceptible of only one interpretation." (Sussex note, April 18, 1916.)

Here is a partial list of the stages in the U-boat campaign:

1. Dec. 24, 1914. Admiral von Tirpitz throws out hints in a newspaper interview of a wholesale torpedoing policy. He directly asks, "What will America say?" This was considerably before the so-called English blockade was causing Germany any serious food problem.

2. Feb. 4, 1915. German Government proclaims a war zone within which any ship may be sunk unwarned.

3. Feb. 10, 1915. Mr. Wilson tells German Government it will be held to "strict accountability" if any American rights were violated in this way.

4. April 22, 1916. German Embassy publishes in New York papers warning against taking passage on ships which our Government had told their people they had a perfect right to take.

5. May 7, 1915. Sinking of Lusitania.

6. May 13, 1915. Mr. Wilson's "first Lusitania" note.

7. May 28, 1915. Germany's reply defending the sinking of the Lusitania.

8. June 9, 1915. Mr. Wilson's "second Lusitania" note.

9. July 21, 1915. Mr. Wilson's "third Lusitania" note, (following more unsatisfactory German rejoinders.)

10. Aug. 19, 1915. Sinking of the Arabic, whereupon von Bernstorff gave an oral pledge for his Government that hereafter German submarines would not sink "liners" without warning.

11. February, 1916. (After still more debatable sinkings,) Germany makes proposals looking toward "assuming liability" for the Lusitania victims, but the whole case is soon complicated again by the "armed ship" issue.

12. March 24, 1916. Sinking of the Sussex, passenger vessel with Americans on board.

13. April 10, 1916. Germany cynically tells United States she cannot be sure whether she sunk the Sussex or not, although admitting one of her submarines was active close to the place of disaster.

14. April 18, 1916. President Wilson threatens Germany with breach of diplomatic rela-

tions if Sussex and similar incidents are repeated.

15. May 4, 1916. Germany grudgingly makes the promise that ships will not be sunk without warning.

16. Oct. 8, 1916. German submarine appears off American coast and sinks British passenger steamer Stephano with many American passengers (vacationists returning from Newfoundland) on board. Loss of life almost certain had not American men-of-war been on hand to pick up the refugees.

[From this time until final break several other vessels sunk under circumstances which made it at least doubtful whether Germany was living up to her pledges.]

17. Jan. 31, 1917. Germany tears up her promises and notifies Mr. Wilson she will begin "unrestricted submarine war."

18. Feb. 3, 1917. Mr. Wilson gives Count von Bernstorff his passports and recalls Ambassador Gerard from Berlin.

In all modern history it may be doubted if there is another chapter displaying such prolonged patience, forbearance, and conciliatoriness as that shown by Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lansing in the face of a long course of deliberate evasion and prevarication to them personally, as well as outrage after outrage upon the property, and, still more, upon the lives of very many American citizens.

Germans in America

"We shall happily still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live among us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it toward all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test."

On April 6, 1917, President Wilson issued a proclamation in which he asserted that "alien enemies" who preserved the peace, kept the laws, and gave no aid to the enemies of the United States "shall be undisturbed in the peaceful pursuit of their lives and occupations, and shall be accorded the consideration due to all peaceful and law-abiding persons, and toward such [persons] all citizens of the United States are enjoined to preserve the peace and to treat them with all such friendliness as may be compatible with loyalty and allegiance to the United States."

In May the Attorney General issued a statement congratulating the country on the friendly relations between Americans and German residents, the absence of disorders, and the necessity of interning only a very small number of persons, (about 125,) an insignificant fraction of the whole number of German citizens in this country.

At almost the same time the cables carried dispatches that the German police had ordered strict measures of oversight and restraint for the few Americans remaining in Germany, although all such persons were probably people whose ties with Germany made them almost more at home there than in their nominal country.

"If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression":

The treason statutes of the United States have seldom been invoked, but they exist and possess teeth.

It is treason to "levy war against the United States, adhere to their enemies, or give them aid or comfort." (Ch. 1, sec. 1, Rev. Stat.) The penalty is death, or imprisonment for at least five years, and a fine of at least $10,000.

It is "misprision of treason" to know of any treasonable plots or doings and fail to report the same to the authorities. The penalty is seven years' imprisonment. The penalty for inciting a rebellion or insurrection is ten years, and the crime of entering into any correspondence with a foreign Government to influence it in any dispute with the United States, or to defeat any measures taken by our Government, calls for three years' imprisonment. (Ch. 1, sec. 5.) There is also a penalty of six years' imprisonment for any seditious conspiracy to oppose the authority of the United States.

All these laws President Wilson has, by recent proclamation, (April 6, 1917,) reminded the people are in full force.

"Giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States" has been defined in the courts (30 Federal Cases, No. 18272,) as:

"In general, any act clearly indicating a want of loyalty to the Government and sympathy with its enemies, and which by fair construction is directly in furtherance of their hostile designs." Such deeds are, of course, liable to all the penalty of treason.

In extreme cases, also, of "rebellion and invasion" the Constitution specifically gives the Government power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, (Constitution, Art. I., sec. 9, par. 2;) in other words, to arrest and imprison on mere suspicion without trial, and this was actually done in the civil war.

In support of the President's statement that "the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts," the editors cite the following contrast:

Abraham Lincoln, (second inaugural address, 1865:)

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us finish the work we are in—to bind up another's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and

lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Friedrich von Bernhardi, (German Lieutenant General, and acceptable mouthpiece, not of the whole German Nation, but of the Prussian military caste which holds the German Nation in its grip:)

"Might is at once the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war," (p. 23.)

["It is outrageous to presume that] a weak nation is to have the same right to live as a powerful and vigorous nation," (p. 34.)

"Which of these two national viewpoints," the editors ask, "is to be allowed to dominate the world?"

A Cry From the Canadian Hills

By LILIAN LEVERIDGE

The author of these heart-searching lines, a Canadian, wrote them for The Daily Ontario as a tribute to her brother, Private Frank Leveridge, a member of the Thirty-ninth Canadian Battalion, who died of wounds in France.

Laddie, little laddie, come with me over the hills,
Where blossom the white May lilies, and the dogwood and daffodils;
For the Spirit of Spring is calling to our spirits that love to roam
Over the hills of home, laddie, over the hills of home.

Laddie, little laddie, here's hazel and meadow rue,
And wreaths of the rare arbutus, a-blowing for me and you;
And cherry and bilberry blossoms, and hawthorn as white as foam,
We'll carry them all to Mother, laddie, over the hills at home.

Laddie, little laddie, the winds have many a song
And blithely and bold they whistle to us as we trip along;
But your own little song is sweeter, your own with its merry trills;
So, whistle a tune as you go, laddie, over the windy hills.

Laddie, little laddie, 'tis time that the cows were home,
Can you hear the klingle-klangle of their bell in the greenwood gloam?
Old Rover is waiting, eager to follow the trail with you,
Whistle a tune as you go, laddie, whistle a tune as you go.

Laddie, little laddie, there's a flash of a bluebird's wing,
O hush! If we wait and listen we may hear him caroling.
The vesper song of the thrushes, and the plaint of the whip-poor-wills,
Sweet, how sweet is the music, laddie, over the twilit hills.

Brother, little brother, your childhood is passing by,
And the dawn of a noble purpose I see in your thoughtful eye.
You have many a mile to travel and many a task to do;
Whistle a tune as you go, laddie, whistle a tune as you go.

Laddie, soldier laddie, a call comes over the sea,
A call to the best and bravest in the land of liberty,
To shatter the despot's power, to lift up the weak that fall.
Whistle a song as you go, laddie, to answer your country's call.

Brother, soldier brother, the Spring has come back again,
But her voice from the windy hilltops is calling your name in vain;
For never shall we together 'mid the birds and the blossoms roam,
Over the hills of home, brother, over the hills of home.

Laddie! Laddie! Laddie! "Somewhere in France" you sleep,
Somewhere 'neath alien flowers and alien winds that weep.
Bravely you marched to battle, nobly your life laid down,
You unto death were faithful, laddie; yours is the victor's crown.

Laddie! Laddie! Laddie! How dim is the sunshine grown,
As Mother and I together speak softly in tender tone!
And the lips that quiver and falter have ever a single theme,
As we list for your dear, lost whistle, laddie, over the hills of dream.

Laddie, beloved laddie! How soon should we cease to weep
Could we glance through the golden gateway whose keys the angels keep!
Yet love, our love that is deathless, can follow you where you roam,
Over the hills of God, laddie, the beautiful hills of Home.

The New Phase of Air Raids On England

BETWEEN May 23 and June 16, 1917, there were five aerial attacks on England in nearly all of which the Germans used airplanes instead of Zeppelins. Two of the raids were particularly serious in the number of civilian lives lost. The first of the series took place on May 23, when four or five German aircraft flew over the eastern counties of England and dropped bombs, killing one man. The second attack, on May 25, resulted in the killing of 76 persons and the injuring of 174; practically all the casualties occurred at Folkstone, on the southeast coast. The principal victims were women and children who had been standing in a long line in the town's busiest street waiting to buy potatoes.

It was 6:30 P. M. when a peculiar humming noise in the sky warned the people of the approach of danger. The German airplanes, numbering about sixteen, were not more than three minutes over the town before they passed away in the direction of the sea. Most of the bombs were dropped on Folkestone. Of the killed twenty-seven were women and twenty-three children; and of the injured forty-three women and nineteen children.

Airplanes of the Royal Flying Corps immediately went in pursuit and the German aircraft were also engaged by the Royal Naval Air Service from Dunkirk on their return journey. The Admiralty reported that three of the enemy airplanes were shot down in mid-Channel.

The attack was methodically organized. The first squadron of five airplanes was followed after short intervals by a second squadron and then a third and fourth, each of which repeated the tactics of the first. Scarcely any part of Folkestone escaped injury. At least sixty bombs were dropped, falling in a shower all over the town. The worst damage done was from a group of bombs which struck the business thoroughfare thronged with people. At one spot here sixteen women, eight men, and nine children were killed, and forty-two persons were injured. The intervals of comparative quiet after the departure of each squadron of raiders were only broken by the sound of distant firing of naval guns out at sea and were even more harrowing to the populace than were the brief periods when the bombs were actually bursting in the town.

After each visit the people in shelters or cellars asked each other whether this was the last. Hours after the last raider had gone many people kept to their shelters in the belief that more raiders were coming. There was much employment for voluntary relief workers. The hospitals were crowded not only with injured, but with women and children suffering from shock, while the police and constables had their hands full patrolling the devastated districts and attending to the work of rescue, identification, and the hundreds of odds and ends which such a crisis brings to an unprepared town.

Reports from the surrounding district indicated that there were some bombing of neighboring villages, even at some distance, inland. The bombs were dropped, for the most part, as the German airplanes were making a wide circle to approach from the land side.

The third of this series of air raids took place on the evening of June 5, when sixteen German airplanes came over the North Sea and dropped many bombs on the small towns and villages in Essex and Kent. Only fourteen of them returned to their home base, for two were brought down by British guns. Only two persons were killed and twenty-nine injured in the bombarded districts. The raiders met with a lively reception, extra precautions having been taken by the British authorities after the previous raid. The Germans were attacked by British aviators before they had an opportunity to carry out their raiding

intentions to any great extent, and the British anti-aircraft guns were very effective. The official statement said that the raiders also attacked the naval establishments in the Medway. A considerable number of bombs were dropped and a certain amount of damage was done to house property, but the damage done to naval and military establishments was practically negligible.

The worst raid of all was that made upon London on June 13 in the broad daylight of noon. A squadron of German airplanes bombed the East End and the business sections of the city, killing 97 persons and injuring 437. Many of the victims were women and children, 120 of the latter being either killed or injured. The large number of casualties was due to the fact that the eating places in the East End were crowded at the hour of the raid, schools were still in session, and large numbers of people were on the streets. Of the victims, an official announcement stated 55 men, 16 women, and 26 children were killed, while the injured comprised 223 men, 122 women, and 94 children. No damage of a military or naval nature was done. Only one of the attacking airplanes was brought down.

A supplementary official report stated: "The first bombs were dropped on the eastern outskirts of London at about 11:30 A. M. Numerous bombs fell in rapid succession in various districts in the East End. One bomb fell in a railway station, hitting an incoming train. Seven persons were killed and 17 injured here. Another bomb fell on a school, killing 10 and injuring about 50 children. A number of warehouses were damaged and fires were caused. A few bombs also were dropped near North Foreland and opposite the banks of the Thames, four persons being injured. The air raid over London lasted about fifteen minutes. The raiders were engaged by guns of the East London defenses and a large number of airplanes of the Royal Flying Corps and Royal Naval Air Service were sent up as soon as the enemy was reported off the coast. Several engagements took place in the air."

The most tragic episode of the attack was the bombing of a London County Council School, of which the following graphic description was given by a soldier who went to assist the teachers:

"I found the class mistress, who had got the uninjured children into a passage where, if there came another bomb, they would be less likely to be hurt. She was all alone until I came. Then we both set to get out the uninjured. She brought down two or three from the upper room first, then we went into the classroom where the bomb had sunk into the earth when it exploded. The sight was a terrible one, and but for the excitement it would have been unbearable. Many of the little ones were lying across their desks, apparently dead, and with terrible wounds on heads and limbs, and scores of others were writhing with pain and moaning piteously in their terror and suffering.

"Many bodies were mutilated, but our first thought was to get at the injured and have them cared for. We took them gently in our arms and laid them out against a wall under a shed. I didn't count them, but I should think there were twenty or thirty. I was just wondering what we should do next when some more people came to help, including soldiers, naval cadets, police, and special constables. We were frantic for ambulances and it was impossible to carry them to the hospital, which was half a mile away. Just then two lorries drew up and the driver suggested that he should help. We packed the poor little souls on the lorries as gently as we could and he drove as if he was afraid of something giving away and so at last we got them to the hospital.

"While they were gone I put a sentry on the door, and I can tell you it was a tough job. The women were not in the slightest degree panicky, but they were selfish in their love at first and in their earnestness to get at their own babies endangered by others who were lying on the floor. Some mothers were almost insane with grief, and when they couldn't find their own children would rush through the bodies looking for them, and when you remember that there was a hole in the roof four feet deep and covering the whole area of the classroom it

will be understood what that meant. The worst part of our task was the last—that of picking up the mutilated fragments of humanity."

Two Zeppelins made an attack on the east coast of England in the night of June 16. The official report said that one of the airships crossed the Kentish coast at 2 A. M. and dropped bombs on a coast town, killing two persons, injuring sixteen, and wrecking a large number of houses. The second airship attacked a coast town of East Anglia, but did no damage before it was engaged by the Royal Flying Corps, brought down in flames, and destroyed.

Thousands of people witnessed the end of this Zeppelin. The attack by anti-aircraft guns on the dirigible lasted fully half an hour, and people ran from their houses half dressed to watch the fight. When the black object, drifting across the sky from the southeast to the northwest, was seen to burst into flames the spectators cheered tumultuously. It had been first winged by a land gun, and was then finished by an airplane, which the Zeppelin fought to the last with her guns. The dirigible dropped in a field of corn, far from any habitation, and was entirely destroyed. All of the crew were killed and their bodies badly charred. Some of the men appeared to have jumped from the airship.

1,430 Airplanes Shot Down in Two Months

THE intensity of the aerial warfare on the western front is indicated by the figures showing the number of airplanes lost in April and May. A compilation from the British, French, and German official reports shows that 717 airplanes were shot down during April, the Germans losing 369, the French and Belgians 201, and the British 147. During May 713 airplanes were shot down on the western front. The Germans lost 442 and the British and French 271, of which 86 were admitted to have been British and the remainder, by inference, French. Thus, in two months, 1,430 airplanes were destroyed.

How the British and French have gained the supremacy of the air was described by Major L. W. B. Rees of the British Flying Corps, during a visit to Washington. While the Allies' operations are conducted almost entirely beyond the German lines, the Major said, the German machines now cross over the allied lines only rarely in raiding parties. The British fly on three levels with three kinds of machines. The lowest are the artillery directors, who circle about in big figure eights about 6,000 feet above the enemy trenches and flash back directions to the British gunners by wireless. Above them, at 10,000 feet, are the heavy fighters with two men to a machine and able to keep the air for four hours at a speed of 110 miles per hour. At a height of 15,000 feet are the single-man light fighters, capable of 130 miles an hour and of ascending the first 10,000 feet in ten minutes.

The Germans have given up all attempts to guide their artillery by airplane and seek only to smash up the allied reconnoissance over their lines. Their machines are largely of one class, therefore, fast, heavy fighters, generally biplanes, which are continually seeking to swoop down on the British artillery observers and send them to the ground before the British fighting patrols can reach them. Recently, however, the Germans have developed another light fighting machine, which by climbing to 20,000 feet seeks to overtop the British light fighters and clear them out.

British losses have been running recently as high as thirty to forty machines a day, because of the extraordinary chances taken over the enemy's lines. As a rule they go out in squadrons of six, divided into three pairs and prepared to swoop down in unison on any German machine that may come up.

Major Rees gave it as his opinion that the British had defeated the Germans in every way in the air and deprived them of invaluable reconnoissance power. The

AMERICA'S CALL TO ARMS

One of the Most Striking Posters Used in Recruiting the United States Army Up to War Strength

(Poster by Frances Adams Halsted and V. Aderente)

THE NAVY'S APPEAL FOR MEN

A Poster Used by the Navy Recruiting Department to Obtain the Increased Personnel Required for the War Fleet

(Poster by James Montgomery Flagg)

Zeppelin is now practically useless as a military weapon. Germany's whole artillery observation is conducted by means of captive balloons. A short time ago the British and French made a combined attack at 4 P. M. and knocked down every captive balloon from the North Sea to Switzerland. Not for three days did another balloon appear in sight.

Pilots can be trained in about three months, according to Major Rees, and should be from 19 to 25 years old, weighing not much over 160 pounds. The supreme consideration he gave as intelligence and reliability, as the task intrusted to the airmen is of vital importance. Many American machines are in use in England for training purposes, but none on the fighting line.

The most brilliant of British military aviators has been officially reported killed. He was Captain Albert Ball, D. S. O., who was reported missing early in May and is now known to be buried at a place named Annoeullin. Captain Ball had brought down over forty enemy machines. He was only 21 years of age, was absolutely fearless, but never a reckless flier. General Trenchard of the Royal Flying Corps described him as the most daring, skillful, and successful pilot the Royal Flying Corps ever had.

The Death of Prince Karl Friedrich

When Prince Karl Friedrich, the Kaiser's nephew and royal airman, was brought down on the French front and held prisoner until he died of his wounds, he was visited every day by the Rev. M. Caldwell, a British Baptist minister, who is serving as official Chaplain to the German prisoners in France. The young Prince talked freely to him, describing his capture in these terms:

"I was doing important work for my commander when I was attacked by British aeronauts. I kept on my course at first, but soon found I had to defend myself against their determined onslaught. The contest was keen and exciting. I was hit on my foot, and the pain was intense, but that was not my undoing. My machine was hit in a vital part, and, although I did my utmost to get back to my lines, I was compelled to descend in full view of the Australians. I saw the predicament I would be in when I landed, so decided to burn my machine and run for it. The Australians were too clever for me, and gave me a warm time when I took to my heels. I had a sporting chance, and took it, but I was not a winner. I felt a twitching sensation in my back, and fell forward, done for. The Australians, whose prisoner I became, treated me with the greatest kindness. They are sportsmen, and great men. I have a wonderful admiration for them. If I am anything, I am a sport. I have played tennis with Wilding and other first-class players. I shall never forget the jolly time I had in England when I played them all."

The dying man added: "God is with me. When I was christened the pastor read out a text from the Bible, which he repeated at my confirmation, and gave me as my lifelong message from God. I fear I did not value it enough before I was wounded, but since then it has been a source of consolation to me. It keeps returning to my thoughts. It is, 'If God be with us, who can be against us?' What greater evidence could I have of its truth than the kindness which has been shown me? Now you come daily to speak of God and pray for me. I am grateful to you and all who wish me well. I lie here a helpless prisoner, but I have no regrets. I did my best for my country, and I am not sorry I am finished with the war. I want to live. I am young, and when the war is over, I shall go back and help to build up my nation again."

A Great Fight in the Air

Described by a British War Correspondent at the Front

THIS is the story of how five British airplanes fought twenty-seven Germans and beat them, sending eight to earth crashing, crippled or in flames. It was on Saturday, May 5, 1917, a day of great heat, when there was a haze so thick that you could hardly see the ground from a height of 2,000 feet. Our men had started fairly late in the afternoon, and at 5 o'clock were well over in enemy country, when, with the sun at their backs, they saw two enemy machines ahead. They tried to close with the enemy, who made some show of giving fight. It was only a show, however, for as our leading machine drew near the Germans turned and made with all speed for home.

The tactics suggested that the two enemy machines were only decoys, intended to lure our little flotilla as far as possible from its base—and the suspicion was soon confirmed. Even as we started to chase the two flying enemies, out of the haze and void on all sides new fleets came closing in.

The new arrivals flew in three formations, two of which contained eight machines, and the third contained nine, making twenty-five German airplanes, all of a uniform fighting type, to whom the other two, which now ceased to run away, joined themselves, making twenty-seven enemy machines in all.

One of the enemy fleets, taking advantage of the thick air, had passed behind our little squadron and came at it, as from the direction of our own lines, straight between it and the sun—an awkward direction from which to have an enemy flying at you in the late afternoon, when the sun is getting fairly low. The other two fleets came from the southeast and northeast. As they approached they spread out so that our men were ringed around with enemies on every side.

The fight began at about 11,000 feet; but in the course of the things that followed it ranged anywhere from 3,000 to 12,000, up and down the ladders of heaven. And an extraordinary fact is that, all the while that it went on, the German anti-aircraft guns below kept at work. Usually, as soon as airplanes engage overhead, the "Archies" are silent for fear of hitting the wrong man; and whether the German gunners were drunk with excitement at what was going on above them, or whether it was that our machines formed so isolated and compact a mass in the heart of the great maelstrom that it seemed still possible to shoot at them in safety, is not known. At all events, the tumult in the skies was increased by the constant pumping into the tangled mass of shells from the ground.

The actual fighting lasted for a full hour, from 5 to 6 o'clock, an extraordinary time for such a thing, and during all that hour our men fought tooth and nail. And the fight had lasted but a few minutes when we drew first blood, and an enemy machine which Captain A. had attacked went down in flames, with the wings of one side shot away. Then it was Lieutenant B.'s turn. He caught his adversary at close range fairly, and the German airplane went down, turning over and over as it fell straight down 11,000 feet, leaving a trail of smoke behind. Lieutenant C. scored next, his enemy's machine spinning plumb down to where, somewhere below the haze, it must have crashed.

Then, for a moment, it seemed that our luck was turning. Lieutenant B.'s engine gave out and he was "compelled to leave the formation." It is a simple phrase, but what it means is that, helpless and with engine still, the airplane dropped out of the fight from 11,000 feet down to 3,000 feet. It was a dizzying drop, and as he fell, an enemy, seeing him defenseless and scenting easy prey, went after him.

But other eyes were watching. Lieutenant C. saw his crippled comrade slipping downward and saw the German div-

ing after. Quick as a flash he followed, and before the German could do his work the British airplane was almost touching the tail of his machine, and in another second the German turned clean over in the air and then crashed nose foremost down into the abyss.

Then, almost by a miracle, B.'s engine caught its breath again. Once more the machine was under control, and B., who was one of those who were new to the game, climbed and rejoined formation. Some 8,000 feet he had to climb, with the baffled "Archies" blazing at him from below, up into the inverted hell above, where his four comrades were fighting enemies who outnumbered them six to one. Just as he "rejoined" another German fell. It was A.'s second victim of the day, and friend and foe alike saw the machine go, sheeted in flames, down into the gulf.

Then once again it seemed that a throw had gone against us, for, still under control, but with flames bursting from its reserve petrol tank, one of our machines began to drop. Again an enemy, glimpsing an easy quarry, dived for the flaming ruin as it fell, but, quicker than he, A. also dived, and while our crippled machine, still belching flames, slid off, with its nose set for home, the German, mortally hit, dropped like a stone.

It was just retribution. The unwritten laws of this marvelous game prescribe that no honorable fighter attack an enemy in flames. Such an enemy is out of the fight, and has trouble enough for a brave man. The German who dived for our burning machine knew that he was doing an unchivalrous thing, and it may be that that knowledge unnerved him so that he paid the penalty.

Strangely enough, our burning airplane got home. I have seen the wreckage, with the reserve petrol tank on the roof bearing two bullet holes on one side and great ragged tears on the other where the bullets passed out. The whole tank is scorched and crumpled. The flames had burned away the whole central span of the upper plane. The thick rear main spar was charred and burned through, and two ribs were completely severed and hung with loose, blackened ends. Yet, like a great blazing meteor, it crossed our lines and came to earth, not, indeed, at its own home, but on safe and friendly ground; and, as another airman said to me in admiration, "He made a perfectly topping landing."

Meanwhile the wonderful fight was drawing to a close. The British pilot, Lieutenant D., emptied a belt from his machine gun into an enemy when so close that his wings almost brushed the other's rudder; and the enemy turned turtle, clear over on his back, and, spurting out a thick column of black smoke, went down.

Some of the enemy were already drawing off, but our men were in no mood to let them go. It is harder to get out of a losing fight than it is to begin it, and before the enemy mob could disentangle itself from the battle two more of their machines had gone to earth—one, his third in the fight, falling to Lieutenant C. and one to Lieutenant E.

Then the last four of our machines, still lords of the air, came home.

How American Aviators Saved Verdun

The demand of the United States Government for the production of 3,500 *airplanes before the end of* 1917, *the output to be doubled each succeeding year, as announced by the Council of National Defense, lends added interest to this statement of Leon Cammen, Vice President of the American Aeronautical Society:*

ALL we hear of over here are the exploits of the daredevils of the air, the men who have brought down their nineteenth or their twentieth Boche. We don't hear of the less spectacular but fully as valuable work of the men who fly in squadrons against squadrons of the enemy, who do recon-

noissance work or who act as the eyes of the big guns and hover over the section under bombardment spotting the falls of shells and directing the gunners. And it isn't generally known that American fliers are ideal for such work, just as they are unsurpassed for the more thrilling task of single combat.

The point is that the French are not so. There is in France a class of men who are pre-eminent as individul fliers, whose skill and daring may be matched but cannot be excelled even by an American. But this class is limited in number, and back of it the average Frenchman does not make an ideal aviator. It is the American who has shown himself especially adapted to this work.

It was a group of American fliers, the Escadrille Lafayette, who saved Verdun. That surprises you? But it is true. I have it on authority of Frenchmen themselves, army men and fliers, and there is no doubt of the truth. It was at Verdun, too, that military men first realized the value of the airplane for something more than bomb-dropping work. For, you must remember, aviation abroad was not much further advanced at the outbreak of war than it is here today; not so far. At first the planes, just ordinary exhibition machines, were employed to carry bombs to be dropped on enemy territory. It was Verdun that taught their value for reconnoissance and gun sighting.

The attack on Verdun came so suddenly and so unexpectedly that for three or four days the French thought it a feint designed to force the withdrawal of their men from about Ypres so that the Germans might break through to Calais. When the French found that it was a genuine attack they faced, the Germans already had sent their airmen scudding over Verdun and its environs. They had mapped the two railroads—one a broad gauge, one a narrow gauge — that entered Verdun from the southwest and provided the only mechanical road for the entrance of munitions into the fortress and town. How thoroughly they had done their work has been disclosed to me by French officers, who have shown me photographs of the district, revealing that the German shells fell in squares, clearly mapped out by their aviators, so that almost undamaged sections of the town were surrounded by ruins where storehouses and depots had stood, the uninjured parts being residential sections on which the Germans had not wasted a shell.

But they destroyed the railroads, or, rather, made them incapable of service by almost continuous fire, so that when General Pétain undertook the defense of Verdun he found at hand munitions for less than ten days, and the only means of introducing more a motor road running south from Verdun to Buc. The salvation of Verdun, and probably of France, depended on keeping this road open, yet the German fliers had already begun to speed past Verdun, directing the shell fire of their big guns against just this road. Pétain sent an urgent call for aviators to drive off the German fliers and to confound their artillerymen by depriving them of the services of their flying "spotters."

And they sent him the Escadrille Lafayette, the American fliers who already had made a name for themselves by their daring and hardihood. The Americans went aloft over Verdun and gave battle to the Germans. They drove them back and kept them back so that no man might direct a gun against that road to Buc—"La Voie Sacrée," or the Sacred Road, as the French now call it.

And over it rolled the trains of motors bringing the munitions and supplies that made Verdun a turning point in the war. So much the Escadrille Lafayette accomplished. Do you wonder they want American aviators?

Downfall of King Constantine

THE long diplomatic struggle between King Constantine of Greece and the Entente Allies culminated on June 12 in the abdication of that monarch. He was at once succeeded by his second son, Prince Alexander, as King of the Hellenes.

The opposition of the Entente Allies to Constantine was based upon the allegation that he was not only pro-German in his sympathies, but that he repeatedly tried to bring Greece into the war on the side of the Central Powers. The ex-King, on the other hand, declared that his sole aim was to preserve Greek neutrality and to spare his people from the horrors and miseries of war.

Early in June the Entente Allies had arrived at the conclusion that the time for decisive action had arrived. M. Jonnart, a former Foreign Minister and now a member of the French Senate, was appointed High Commissioner to represent France, Great Britain, and Russia, the three protecting powers of Greece. After visiting Saloniki, the Allies' headquarters and seat of the Provisional Government headed by M. Venizelos, M. Jonnart proceeded to Athens and, on June 11 placed before the Greek Premier, Alexander Zaimis, the demands of the allied Governments. The abdication of King Constantine was insisted upon, and the Crown Prince George was also ruled out on the ground that he shared his father's pro-German leanings. The second son, Prince Alexander, was indicated as acceptable. Alexander, who is only 24 years old, is amenable to the ideas of the protecting powers in regard to the part which Greece should play in the war. M. Jonnart informed the Premier that troops had been placed at his disposal, but that they would not be landed until the King had given his answer.

Premier Zaimis, in his reply to M. Jonnart, said that he recognized the disinterestedness of the protecting powers, whose sole object was to reconstitute the unity of Greece under the Constitution, and that a decision would be taken by the King after consulting with the Crown Council, composed of former Premiers. On the morning of June 12 Premier Zaimis communicated King Constantine's decision in the following letter to M. Jonnart:

The Minister and High Commissioner of France, Great Britain, and Russia:

Having demanded by your note of yesterday the abdication of his Majesty, King Constantine, and the nomination of his successor, the undersigned, Premier and Foreign Minister, has the honor to inform your Excellency that his Majesty the King, ever solicitous for the interests of Greece, has decided to leave the country with the Prince Royal, and nominates Prince Alexander as his successor.

ZAIMIS.

The deposed monarch's proclamation announcing his abdication, which was posted throughout the streets of Athens, reads:

Obeying the necessity of fulfilling my duty toward Greece, I am departing from my beloved country with the heir to the throne and am leaving my son Alexander my crown. I beg you to accept my decision with calm, as the slightest incident may lead to a great catastrophe.

Before King Constantine's decision was announced, many Greeks, loyal to the Crown, gathered for the protection of the sovereign. On the evening of June 11 2,000 reservists formed a cordon around the palace in his defense, if that should be necessary, and a delegation headed by Naval Commander Mavromichaelis was received by Constantine and pledged the devotion of the army and the people to his cause. The King's only reply was an appeal that they should remain calm. All efforts of agitators to start a manifestation failed, and the army officers announced their intention to obey the order of the Government to take no part in any demonstrations and to maintain peace.

The announcement of King Constantine's abdication made in the British House of Commons by Andrew Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was received with cheers, but a less favorable reception was given his statement that Prince Alexander had succeeded his father. The Chancellor said that Alexander had taken the oath as King of

Greece. "We hope," added the Chancellor, "that this change may make for the restoration of the Constitutional Government of that country. Mr. Bonar Law was asked by Arthur Lynch, member for West Clare: "What does the Government expect to gain by the abdication of the King when it is perpetuating the same abuses under another name?" Mr. Bonar Law replied: "What we hope to gain is a Constitutional Government representing the whole of Greece." John Gordon Swift MacNeill, member for South Donegal, asked if in fact permission had been given to Constantine to abdicate and if, in regard to the fact that he had practically been expelled from the throne, he should be allowed to nominate his successor. The Chancellor replied that it would not be in the public interest to give any more information at present, but that Mr. MacNeill was wrong in saying that his successor had been nominated by Constantine."

Premier Ribot, addressing the French Chamber of Deputies on June 14, said conditions in Greece had become intolerable; that the attitude of Constantine had nullified the Constitution of Greece and amply justified the protecting powers in intervening in such manner as to secure the indispensable unity of the country. "Greece," said M. Ribot, "was divided into two hostile camps, one hostile to the Allies and the other supporting them courageously with Eleutherios Venizelos bearing aloft the real flag of Greece." Great applause greeted the mention of the name of M. Venizelos. M. Ribot then proceeded to explain to the Chamber the advantages which would arise from the new régime in Greece.

Military measures by the Allies were taken simultaneously with M. Jonnart's action at Athens. French and British troops were landed in Thessaly and Corinth, the French War Office announcement on the subject being:

> The troops charged with control of the harvests in Thessaly have penetrated that province without difficulty as far as the region of Elassona.

The ex-King and all the members of his family, except the new King, left Athens on June 13, embarking at the Piraeus on a British warship. One of Constantine's private secretaries had previously arrived at Lugano, in Switzerland, to look for a large villa suitable for the exiled royalties. Prince von Bülow, the former German Imperial Chancellor, and several other German diplomatists are staying at Lugano.

A telegram from Berlin on June 15 stated that Emperor William had sent the following message (not confirmed) to one of the Greek diplomatic representatives abroad for transmission to former King Constantine:

> I have heard with wrath of the infamous outrage committed by our common enemies upon you and upon your dynasty. I assure you that your deprivation can be only temporary. The mailed fist of Germany, with further aid from Almighty God, will restore you to your throne, of which no man by right can rob you. The armies of Germany and Germany's allies will wreak vengeance on those who have dared so insolently to lay their criminal hands on you. We hope to welcome you in Germany at the earliest opportunity. A thousand cordial greetings from your WILLIAM.

M. Jonnart, the High Commissioner who brought about the abdication of King Constantine, published on June 16 the following proclamation to the Greek people:

> France, Great Britain, and Russia desire the independence, greatness, and prosperity of Greece. They intend to defend the brave little land they have liberated against the united efforts of the Turks, Bulgarians, and Germans. They are here to checkmate the manoeuvres of the hereditary enemies of the kingdom. They will put an end to the repeated violations of the Constitution, of treaties, and the diplorable intrigues which led up to the massacre of soldiers of the Allies.
>
> Yesterday Berlin was in command of Athens and was gradually leading the people under the yoke of the Bulgarians and Germans We resolved to re-establish the constitutional rights and unity of Greece. The protecting powers, therefore, demanded the abdication of the King. They have no intention of tampering with the constitutional prerogatives; they have other aims, namely, to assure the regular and constitutional progress of the country, to which the late King George, of glorious memory, had always been scrupulously faithful, but which King Constantine had ceased to respect.
>
> Hellenes, the hour of reconciliation has arrived. Your destinies are closely associ-

ated with those of the protecting powers, your ideals are the same as theirs, your hopes are identical. We appeal to your good sense and patriotism.

Today the blockade is raised. Any reprisal against Greeks, to whatever party they belong, will be pitilessly repressed. No breach of the peace will be tolerated. The liberty and prosperity of every one will be safeguarded. This is a new era of peace and labor which is opening before you. Know that, respectful of the national sovereignty, the protecting powers have no intention of forcing upon the Greek people general mobilization.

Long live Greece, united and free!

Following the ex-King's departure from Athens, Entente troops were landed at Piraeus and Castella. Some of the troops occupied the heights near Phalerum Bay, while others marched to Athens. The landing at Piraeus was effected in perfect order. At the suggestion of Premier Zaimis, the Greek superior officer was placed at the disposal of General Sarrail to facilitate the housing of the troops. Senator Jonnart said that they would remain ashore pending their return to resume the struggle against "Greece's traditional foes." He also informed Premier Zaimis that when the war was over and order which the Allies would exact had been re-established, Constantine would be permitted to resume his throne if such was the will of the Greek people.

The entrance of the United States into the war, it was stated on high authority in London, had a direct and important influence in bringing about the solution of the Greek difficulty. American influence was characterized by the authority in question as a fresh breeze of democracy sweeping out the corners where the autocracies which disregard the claims of their peoples have been sheltering.

Plans for dealing with the situation which King Constantine provoked first began to assume definite shape at the British, French, and Italian conference held in Savoy, when Premier Lloyd George and Paul Painlevé, the French War Minister, found themselves in entire agreement, and the Italian representative was seen to be nearly of the same mind. The execution of the details of the plan was placed in the hands of the French, of course in full collaboration with their allies, and Senator Jonnart was selected to take on the work with whatever support might be necessary from General Sarrail and the Admiral commanding the allied fleets in Greek waters.

Two Offers of Autonomy for Albania

AFTER the occupation of Serbia and Montenegro by the Central Powers in 1916 the northern portion of Albania was overrun by Austrian troops, while the Italian troops continued to hold the southern portion, including the important port of Avlona, (or Valona,) on the Adriatic. Both powers have since issued proclamations offering autonomy to Albania. On March 10, 1917, the official announcement was made in London that Austria-Hungary had issued a manifesto granting the Albanians autonomy under an Austrian protectorate. The London statement asserted that the purpose was to justify a levy upon Albanians for the Austrian armies.

Dispatches from Rome on June 4 contained the first intimation that Italy also was making a definite offer of this kind to Albania. A semi-official statement informed the world that a proclamation of the unity and independence of Albania—under an Italian protectorate—had been issued "in support of the principle of nationality, which is one of the objects of the Allies in the war." The statement added:

"Since the cessation of Ottoman dominion, Italy has aimed to reconstruct Albania, while Austria has used Albania

as a means to exercise dominion through the Balkans. She promised a deceiving autonomy, which, if accepted, would soon put the country under the Austrian yoke."

Italy has been co-operating in recent months with the British, French, and Serbian forces in the Balkans, and now

WHERE AUSTRIANS AND ITALIANS ARE FIGHTING FOR ALBANIA

has 300,000 men on that front, chiefly beyond the Albanian boundary, in Serbia, where the Allies' Saloniki forces confront the Austro-Bulgarians north of Monastir. This large army was transferred across the Adriatic into Southern Albania with the loss of only one transport and 400 men. Early in June the Italian forces renewed active operations against the enemy at Berat in Albania.

An Italian Deputy, Eugenio Chiesa, who recently journeyed across Albania and Northern Epirus to Saloniki, made this statement to a correspondent in Rome:

"The Italian occupation in Albania and Northern Epirus extends well into the Greek Kingdom. Not only have the Italians occupied Valona and its hinterland, but they have passed a long way to south of the boundary between Greece proper and Northern Epirus at Cape Stylos, and have extended in a northern direction as far as the River Kalamas, opposite the south end of Corfu, which was intended by the thirteenth protocol of the Berlin Congress of 1878 and by the Berlin Conference of 1880 to have been the northwestern frontier of Greece, but which, since the last Balkan wars, has been well within the enlarged northwestern boundary."

The trilingual proclamation of General Ferrero, of which Signor Chiesa gave the correspondent a copy dated April 1, informed the inhabitants that for purely military reasons the Allies had ordered their troops to occupy the region south of the frontier fixed by London. To the north of Valona the Italian occupation goes as far as the River Vojusa, while inland the Italian outposts are at Kalibaki, on the road from Janina to Premeti.

"I am opposed," said Chiesa, "to the permanent occupation of these places, nor do I believe the Italian Government intends to retain them. I consider as sincere the manifesto of the commandant of Valona, but Valona Kanina, the old Arta, north of Valona, the surrounding districts and the Isle of Saseto must remain Italian, not only for strategic but for sanitary reasons, owing to the necessity of draining the pestilential marshes which affect the health of Valona. Venizelos, with whom I spoke at Saloniki, frankly recognized this occupation of Valona, Saseto, and the territory of Valona.

"The Italians have already constructed over 400 kilometers of roads and opened over 125 schools where both Italian and Albanian are taught."

The New Republic of Koritza

Reorganization in Albania

FEW people know that the process of remaking the map of Europe has been begun already by the Entente Allies in Albania. As long ago as Dec. 12, 1916, they established the capital of a free and independent Albanian Republic in the Koritza district. This district at present marks the limits of the embryo State, for the Austrians still hold most of Albania; but it possesses all the machinery of a modern Government—a ruling council, an army 600 strong, postage stamps, paper money, a national flag, foreign alliances, even a budget that covers expenditures.

The French Army was the sponsor of this new-born State. The aim of its foundation was as much strategical as political. At the end of 1916 the Bulgarians were in occupation of the whole district south of Lakes Ochrida and Prespa, and their patrols came as far south as Koritza. The Greeks were in control of the town. They were Royalists, and Koritza was a centre of espionage and contraband. The German mail to and from Athens used to pass through there several times a week. The Austrians had bands of paid komitadjis (irregulars) ranging the whole district.

When the French patrols first reached Koritza they soon found that the hostility of the local Albanians was not so much love of the Austrians as resentment of any fresh incursion of foreigners into their country. By ousting the Royalist Greeks and allowing the proclamation of the independence of Albania with Koritza as capital, the French converted enemies into allies.

Themistocles Germeni, a Christian Albanian Nationalist, who was one of the principal chiefs of irregular bands in the pay of the Austrians, was won over so rapidly by this measure that he became Prefect of Police of the new republic. Authority is exercised by an elected council of fourteen members, seven Mussulman and seven Christian. They raise money by taxation—$9,000 a month; $7,000 of this goes to pay their Albanian gendarmerie, of whom a part are fighting by the side of the French against the Austrian paid bands and showing themselves of great use as guides.

The success of the measure of proclaiming, or rather reproclaiming, the independence of Albania is said to be complete. In fact, every power involved in Albania seems to be driven to the conclusion that the Albanians must be humored rather than dragooned. The Italians have proclaimed Albanian independence at Premeti, in their sphere, and the Austrians appear to have done something of the same kind on their side in the north.

It was the Conference of London in 1913 that first founded an independent Albania and put it under the Prince of Wied. He was driven out in May, 1914, by revolution, and succeeded by Essad Pasha as President of the Albanian Republic. In September, 1914, Essad declared war on the Austrians, and has throughout remained a loyal ally of the Entente, though, like other rulers of small States, he has temporarily lost his country and is now in Saloniki. Five hundred Albanians who have followed him are fighting at the front, brigaded with the French.

Though recognized as President of Albania and flying his standard—a black star on a red ground—over his house in Saloniki, Essad Pasha constantly maintains that the present is not the time to decide about the future of Albania. The task of the moment is to eject the Austrian invaders from the country, and the congress of allied powers who settle the terms of peace will do the rest. But he holds strongly the view, nevertheless, that the only satisfactory Albania will be one where the Albanians rule themselves.

Shipping Sunk by Submarines

Record From May 14 to June 13, 1917

THE destruction of merchant shipping by submarines continues to be very considerable. Adequate figures are not available, but the estimates of allied Government officials are alarmingly high. Thus, in the French Chamber of Deputies on May 25, M. Cels, a member of the Marine Committee, gave the following striking figures to show the growing menace of submarine warfare:

	Tons of Shipping Sunk.
1915	1,204,000
1916	2,079,000
1917—first four months only	2,400,000

M. Cels said that one method of meeting the submarine menace was to build ships, but in 1916 the whole world's shipbuilding only reached 1,780,000 tons.

Admiral Lacaze, the Minister of Marine, the same evening made a statement supplementing that of M. Cels. With the captured enemy tonnage and the tonnage purchased and constructed, he said, the allied and neutral tonnage at the beginning of 1917 was about the same as at the beginning of the war. For the first four months of 1917 the total losses might be put at 2,500,000 tons. Taking into account the rate of construction, without being unduly optimistic, the losses for the year, if the submarine warfare continued with the same intensity, would be 4,500,000 tons out of a tonnage of over 40,000,000. With what the Allies were doing in restricting imports they could, with their present tonnage, meet the requirements of the country and assure the transport of war material. The Minister pointed out that the figures of tonnage sunk up to May 23 showed a marked decrease, being only 290,000 tons, and he then gave statistics proving that the German blockade had never been effective, since up to the present the French ports had received as many ships as they could accommodate. These vessels had brought everything of which the country stood in need. During the month of March 4,200,000 tons of goods entered French ports, and during April 4,300,000 tons.

The most recent British Admiralty figures show that while there was a decrease in the number of ships sunk for a few weeks, there has been a fresh burst of destructive activity on the part of the German submarines. Continuing the official weekly record of British merchant ships destroyed, as published in the June issue of this magazine, we find:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended May 20..	18	9	3
Week ended May 27..	18	1	2
Week ended June 3..	15	3	5
Week ended June 10.	22	10	6
Total for four weeks.	73	23	16

For the previous four weeks the totals were: Ships over 1,600 tons, 120; under 1,600 tons, 55; fishing vessels, 36.

Norway's losses in May also showed a decrease as compared with March and April, the number of ships sunk being 49. Denmark's losses since the war, according to a Copenhagen dispatch of May 22, place the number of ships sunk by submarines or mines at 150, with the death of 210 Danish seamen. A number of Swedish ships have been sunk during the month, but details of size are not available. The Athens newspaper, Patris, on May 28, printed a list of 102 Greek ships, with an aggregate tonnage of 300,000, which had been sunk by German submarines, thus leaving to Greece only 149 ships with a total tonnage of 500,000.

Among the larger ships reported sunk during the month have been the British transport Transylvania, 14,000 tons, with the loss of 413 lives, mainly soldiers; the British steamer Southland, 11,899 tons; the British transport Cameronia, 10,963 tons, with the loss of 140 soldiers, and the British hospital ship, Dover Castle, 8,271 tons.

Among American ships sunk were three sailing vessels: The Dirigo, 3,005 tons, with a cargo valued at $500,000, on

May 31; the Frances M., 1,229 tons, on May 18, and the Barbara, 838 tons, on May 24. According to the skipper of the American schooner Margaret B. Rouss, after that vessel was torpedoed in the Mediterranean, the crew of the German submarine robbed him and his crew of every article they possessed when they were in the lifeboat.

Methods of Fighting U-Boats

Admiral Lacaze, in the French Chamber of Deputies, May 26, threw some light upon the methods employed to counterattack the submarines. He said:

I see no reason why I should not speak of these methods in public. It would be childish to think they are unknown to the enemy. They consist of a system of patrol boats, of arming merchantmen with guns, and fitting them with wireless; of seaplanes, nets, mines, smoke-raising devices, and dragnets.

I sought to get patrol boats built here and buy them abroad. I scoured the world over with missions, covering the ground from America to North Cape, from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan, but England had been beforehand. When I entered the Ministry I found 243 patrols. Now we have 552. I have drawn up a scheme which will increase the figure to 900. I continue to buy in London, the world's centre for shipping. I am obliged to do so because our shipyards had been almost completely abandoned; because, as a result of that short-war theory which weighed so regrettably upon all decisions taken at the outset of the war, the yards had been transformed into war material factories to meet the pressing need of the national defense. We have now got back most of the arsenals and a number of private yards, together with skilled workmen.

The guns we mount on the patrol boats have been referred to disdainfully, but you cannot put ten-centimeter guns on a small vessel. A patrol boat on guard, armed with 95-millimeter guns, met two submarines armed with 105-millimeter guns, sank one and put the other to flight.

We have 1,200 dragnets as well as 170,500 curtain nets and 5,000 20-foot float nets, which indicate the presence of submarines. We have special bombs for submarines and apparatus to throw them.

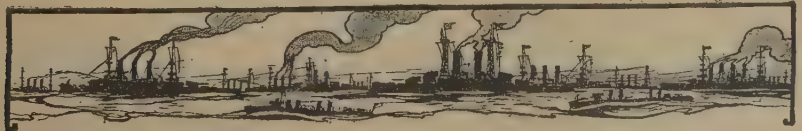
We have organized seaplane posts all around the coasts, so that the zone of action of each post joins that of its neighbor on either side. By October all merchantmen and patrollers will be fitted with wireless and all merchantmen supplied with guns of as heavy calibre as possible, for which measures programs have been drawn up even beyond what was thought possible.

For building the plates and frames required M. Loucheur, Under Secretary for Munitions, in charge of the manufacturing sections, has started up again all the rolling mills. They will be able to supply us with the plates I asked for, and we hope that the merchant marine will also be able to obtain the quantity of plates to which it is entitled.

Speaking in the Chamber of Deputies again on June 7, Admiral Lacaze said that the proportion of submarines sunk had increased to a marked extent. "We are employing," he added, "a very efficient method, and we are able to see the possibility of developing this method so as to render it more efficacious." The Minister, reviewing the submarine situation, said that Germany had announced a blockade and had fixed a certain date. The result had been that the Allies were not blockaded. Their ships had gone wherever it was necessary to go. At no moment could any one say that France had been blockaded, either near at hand or at a distant point.

The Navy Department at Washington has received reports stating that more submarines are being run down, captured, and destroyed than ever before, and although the exact details cannot be divulged, it is known that the American destroyer flotilla, under Rear Admiral Sims, has been playing an active part in the work with the British and French fleets. Recently twenty-eight German submarines were captured or destroyed in a single week.

The increased success of the campaign against the U-boats is attributed more to improvements in organization than to any new devices. It is said the presence of American destroyers has enabled the British and French to send some of their small craft to their bases for docking and sorely needed repairs, after virtually continuous service for the last two years.



Hardships of the U-Boat Service

Captain L. Persius, Leading German Naval Critic, Praises the Men Who Torpedo Merchant Ships

This article from the Berliner Tageblatt has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, both on account of its human interest and because it reveals the prevailing German mental attitude toward ruthless submarine warfare.

AT present the crews of the German submarines are the objects of particularly warm interest. Of course, their heroic activities have been followed with undiminished attention ever since that notable 22d of September, 1914, when the never-to-be-forgotten Weddigen sent three English armored cruisers to the bottom of the North Sea with well-aimed torpedoes from the U-9. That the "David," the little submarine, is able to give the deathblow to the huge "Goliath," the battleship, and that it possesses powers far exceeding the expectations placed upon this most modern instrument of battle before the war, has been proved by the torpedoing of the ships of the line before the Dardanelles, which put an end to the entire Anglo-French undertaking, in particular, and furthermore by the sinking of many other enemy warships.

But the U-boats have made themselves the centre of attraction only since they have shown their effectiveness in the warfare on commerce. Here an entirely new field was opened to them. On Oct. 26, 1914, the British merchantman Glitra fell a victim to a U-boat (U-17) southwest of Skudenaes on the Norwegian coast. This was the first destruction of a merchant ship by a submarine. Soon others followed on the Atlantic coast of France, in the Irish Channel, &c. The world stared in surprise. The U-boats were attacking the enemy's commerce. That was a novelty never anticipated. During the two and a half years that have passed the feeling of certitude has grown more definite from month to month that the U-boat may be destined to cut off the main artery even of Great Britain, ruler of the seas, through the tying up of her imports, and that thus the U-boat points to the way in which the "freedom of the seas" may be insured in the future.

If the nation whose existence is most closely connected with the uninterrupted importation of foodstuffs sees that for its own life it must move for the undisturbed peaceful use of the seas even in war times, then the last barrier will fall—i. e., all the paragraphs contrary to civilization, those speaking of prizes, privateering, contraband, &c., must be removed from sea law; in short, the principle that ought to be taken for granted by civilized nations that private property may not be destroyed on the water, as it may not be infringed upon on land in time of war, will be recognized.

The men who are helping create this condition desired in the interests of humanity and the development of culture are the crews of the U-boats. Of course, in order to carry out their task, they need instruments, vessels, and weapons of the most cunning construction. The creators of these things, the shipbuilders and engineers, must not be forgotten when the triumphs of the submarine weapon are brought to mind. Only after the war will the world recognize to its full extent what the German people owes to its U-boat builders and to the constructors of the many pieces of machinery concealed in the U-boats, and what almost incredible technical progress has been made in Germany since the Fall of 1914, not only in the perfection of products, but also in the rapidity with which the desires of the front have been fulfilled. Any one who might be permitted to raise the curtain just a little and to penetrate the veil that now naturally covers everything

connected with U-boat construction would be overwhelmed with the extent of what has been created by German science in every necessary line.

A seaman's lot is never easy. Night and day he is separated from a watery grave only by a thin plank. And yet his existence seems like paradise compared with that of the U-boat man. This man dispenses with what every one regards as indispensible for life—light and air. When the road to hades gapes for the U-boat man it leads through darkness and torment. He knows that he is threatened most by a slow death through suffocation. Everybody else—with exceptions like stokers, men in the magazines, and some others—enjoys the fresh air and looks up and sees above him the broad canopy of heaven when in the roar of the battle he must enter the gates of the Great Beyond. Indeed, in every case, "Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori." But our sympathies will be more deeply moved when we think of the death of the U-boat man.

Of course the U-boat man also sees some of the bright side of life, and it would be wrong to pass by without noting this. On board a big battleship the individual is more or less lost in the crowd. He is only one among the more than 1,100 men composing the crew of a modern ship of the line. On board the U-boat every one is an important personality. There are rarely more than thirty men in a high seas U-boat. So every one, be he sailor or oiler, has several duties to perform; so every one is fully acquainted with all the numerous mechanisms and expert in their use. The commander, watch officer, and chief engineer know every one of their men thoroughly. They stand in a comradely relationship to them, they share their sufferings and joys in every way. Their food is all cooked in the same kettle and gift cigarettes of the same brand are found between their lips when the boat bobs up for a brief rest and the weather permits. Below decks smoking is not allowed. To be sure, the commander has a tiny room of his own—in which to write his official reports, &c.

But the lack of light and air, the absence of every comfort, the dangers that menace them every hour, yes, every minute, are the common lot of all U-boat men. There is, however, greater responsibility upon the officers and the chief engineers, although every single U-boat man, sailor and oiler alike, knows that oftentimes a slight oversight or a false move will seal the fate of himself and his comrades.

The most careful selection among the volunteers, who are always offering themselves in great numbers for the U-boat service, is just as important as the long period of training during which the U-boat aspirants are schooled in every branch of their difficult service. They must all be in superior health and be what they call "fixe Kerle"—i. e., quick in perception and decision, never timid or hesitating, skilled, and also infinitely serious in their conception of duty, dependable and steadfast. The sailor must be a "thoroughbred seaman," the oiler a perfect mechanic.

The members of the crews are trained at the U-boat school. There they became acquainted with all the complicated apparatus, the expert use of which forms the basis for every success. The pupils are made familiar with the instruments that show the condition of the atmosphere, the trim of the boat and the height and depth, with the functions of the numerous valves, slides and levers, &c., and with the safety and life-saving apparatus, a thorough knowledge of which is indispensable for every U-boat man. In addition to these general points, the submarine sailor must have skill in navigation, in signaling, in serving and launching torpedoes and in handling the deck guns and their ammunition, while the oiler must understand the care of the engines that drive the U-boat above and below the water well enough to enable him, in case of necessity, to take the place of the engineers and, if possible, that of the chief engineer.

Correspondingly greater demands are made upon the officers and the engineers. Every U-boat commander is almost a "superman." He must possess extraordinary gifts of both an intellect-

ual and physical kind if he wants to fill his post with success. To him belongs a quite special talent. The officers' corps of the German Navy includes a number of such "supermen." These commanders are reinforced by an excellent body of engineers, whose loyalty and knowledge already in times of peace had more than once demanded unlimited recognition.

The U-boat commander and chief engineer, manager of the boat and commander of the weapons on board and manager of the engines—that is, the forces that give life to the boat—are supported by a personnel of sailors and oilers capable and filled with the joy of service. They all blend in a whole that firmly binds "a row of brothers" in danger and distress, and that, if a pitiless fate so decides, maintains its firmness in loyal comradeship in death itself.

The Heroic Men of the Athos

By Hughes Le Roux

To the soul of America, on the eve of her entry into the world war, this stirring tale of heroism was dedicated. Printed in Le Matin, Paris, it has been specially translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

IT is not enough to say: "Such a liner has sunk, gutted by a German torpedo. * * * The conduct of the crew and of the passengers was splendid. * * *" It is necessary to go further and set forth before the eyes of the world certain explanations which will show what, in this third year of the war, the expression "splendid conduct" means in French.

I wish to place on record the story of how the Athos died, with the tricolor floating from her mizzenmast. The affair took place on Feb. 17, 1917. Launched by an attacking submarine which remained unseen, the torpedo penetrated the liner. The Captain calculated that he had ten minutes to save whatever could be saved.

A torpedoed steamship does not simply sink; she often blows up. She tosses into the air men's bodies, smashed, dismembered, shot forth by the explosion like stones from a sling. On board the Athos there was an engineer officer who made up his mind: "At least, I will prevent that!"

The liner was listing frightfully. By the narrow steel stair, slimy with oil, the officer, whose hand was already mutilated, made his way down into the engine room, from which he knew he would never come forth again. He shut off the valves; he handled the control levers; he checked the explosion. He sleeps now in the abysses of the sea. This was his choice. His name was Donzel. Let us salute him!

At Hongkong the Athos had embarked a thousand Chinese coolies, the sallow-faced workers who come to France to replace our lacking workmen. They begin their journey under contracts worthy of France and of themselves—a part of their earnings is kept back for their wives, their parents, their children, those whom they love as we love our own kin. These Asiatics were in charge of a French Captain and a dozen Corporals and interpreters.

These officers and interpreters did not say to themselves: "There are four hundred million more Chinese in China! Let us think first of our own lives. They are more valuable." Until the last second they worked to secure the safety of these foreign laborers who had intrusted themselves to Fance. For themselves, the ship was their coffin. We salute Captain Silvestre and his valorous aids!

The Athos was bringing back to France three German prisoners. They had been taken aboard at the port of Indo-China. They had wormed their way into our colony to whisper words of treason and of hate in the ears of the natives whom France is governing in friendship, guiding them toward a higher justice. Pris-

oners below decks, they were in charge of a Sergeant.

At the moment when the German torpedo pierced the hull of the French ship, this Sergeant thought: "These Germans are human beings. I will not leave them in their cells simply because their fellow-countrymen are infamous." He went below. He had time to open two cabins. He set free two Germans, who succeeded in getting up on deck and jumping into the sea. They were picked up. He, the French Sergeant, was drowned while opening the door of the third cabin to save the third of his enemies.

Dear friends in America, would you not wish, in the list of your Laconia dead, to write the name of Sergeant Moujeau between those of Mrs. Hoy and Miss Hoy—of Sergeant Moujeau, who died in order to bear witness, before the world, that France is the fatherland of honor for all men, good and evil equally?

Further, the Athos had taken aboard a battalion of Senegalese sharpshooters, under the orders of Major Colonna d'Istria. Paris and France know them well today and love them, these black soldiers. In our field hospitals, the hands of our wives and of our daughters have dressed their wounds. France has taught them to live and die with joy, for a bit of ribbon, for a ray of honor.

They were in numbers on the Athos, and inevitably in the ship's boats and on the rafts there was not room for every one. Their officers organized the work of rescue under rigid discipline. Naturally, these officers elected to remain with those for whom there would not be room, and to go first into the abyss. This, then, is what happened: At the moment when the liner sank, drawn up in ranks as though on parade, Major Colonna d'Istria's Senegalese sharpshooters presented arms. They sank with their hands upon their rifles, with bayonets fixed. They were saluting France. Commandant Dorise, Captain of the Athos, had not left the bridge. He dominated this scene of death by the calmness of his voice and orders. When the sinking ship went under he was thrown from a height of sixty feet. But his soul remained with his ship. He was already a dying man. He was kept afloat in the water by Maurel, the supervisor of the mails, and Ensign Verdelhan, as a bit of glorious wreckage. He was dead when they landed him in Malta, where his grave will be.

This, then, is what did not sink with the Athos!

A Harrowing Sea Story

Captain Chave's Report

ONE of the most heroic and terrible sea episodes of the war is enshrined in the report made by Captain Benjamin Chave to the owners of the British merchant steamer Alnwick Castle, which he had commanded. The Alnwick Castle was torpedoed without warning by a German submarine 320 miles at sea, off the Scilly Isles, in April, 1917, and the crew were left in six open boats at the mercy of wild North Atlantic gales. Some of these boats were never heard of again. The one with Captain Chave contained twenty-nine men, and their awful sufferings are an index to what the missing ones endured before they perished.

The Captain's boat soon lost sight of the others. There were only three men with him who could help him to steer, and one of these soon became delirious. The wind and waves were unsafe for sailing. There was a terrible fight with the sea, and the men were constantly soaked with spray and pierced with the bitter north wind. Water was served out twice daily—each portion about one-third of a condensed milk tin. A can of milk was divided among four men once a day, and a six-pound can of beef was apportioned daily among twenty-nine persons. The men's thirst became terrible, and pitiful appeals for water were made. An

extra ration was served to a few of the weaker men.

The ship had been sunk on a Monday, and on Thursday morning the wind fell for a couple of hours, and several showers of hail fell. The Captain continues:

"The hailstones were eagerly scraped from our clothing and swallowed. I ordered the sail to be spread out in the hope of catching water from a rain shower, but we were disappointed in this, for the rain was too light. Several of the men were getting light-headed, and I found that they had been drinking salt water, in spite of my earnest and vehement order.

"It was with great difficulty that any one could be prevailed on to bale out the water, which seemed to leak into the boat at an astonishing rate, perhaps due to some rivets having been started by the pounding she had received.

"Our water was now very low, and we decided to mix condensed milk with it. Most of the men were now helpless, and several were raving in delirium. The foreman cattleman, W. Kitcher, died and was buried. Soon after dark the sea became confused and angry. I furled the tiny reef sail and put out the sea anchor. At 8 P. M. we were swamped by a breaking sea and I thought all was over. A moan of despair rose in the darkness, but I shouted to them to 'Bale, bale, bale!' and assured them that the boat could not sink. How they found the balers and the bucket in the dark I don't know, but they managed to free the boat while I shifted the sea anchor to the stern and made a tiny bit of sail and got her away before the wind.

"The wind died away about midnight, and then we spent a most distressing night. Several of the men collapsed, and others temporarily lost their reason, and one of these became pugnacious and climbed about the boat uttering complaints and threats. The horrors of that night, together with the physical suffering, are beyond my power of description.

"When daylight came the appeals for water were so angry and insistent that I deemed it best to make an issue at once. After that had gone around, amid much cursing and snatching, we could see that only one more issue remained. One fireman was dead and another nearly so. My steward was almost gone. We tried to pour some milk and water down his throat, but he could not swallow. No one could now eat biscuits, it was impossible to swallow anything solid, our throats were afire, our lips furred, our limbs numbed, our hands were white and bloodless. During the forenoon on Friday another fireman died and my steward died, also a cattleman collapsed and died about noon.

"To our unspeakable relief we were rescued about 1:30 P. M. by the French steamer Venezia. A considerable swell was running, and in our enfeebled state we were unable properly to manoeuvre our boat, but the French Captain, M. Paul Bonafacie, handled his empty vessel with great skill and brought her alongside us, sending out a lifebuoy on a line for us to seize. We were unable to climb the ladders, so they hoisted us one by one in ropes until the twenty-four live men were aboard. The four dead bodies were left in the boat, and she was fired at by the gunners of the Venezia, in order to destroy her, but the shots did not take effect."

An illustration of the spirit that animates officers of the British merchant service is found in the concluding words of Captain Chave. In spite of the fact that when he was torpedoed he had survivors of another vessel on board, which in its turn had observed another steamer blown up, and that he himself witnessed a further steamer sunk, in spite of the terrible sufferings which he had experienced, he adds: "At present I have not regained fully the use of my hands and feet, but hope to be fit again before arrival in England, when I trust you will honor me with appointment to another ship."

GUGLIELMO MARCONI

Pioneer of Wireless Telegraphy, Who Is a Member of the Italian War Mission to the United States

(Photo © Harris & Ewing)

LORD NORTHCLIFFE

The Noted British Newspaper Owner, Who Has Come to America to Act as Head of the British War Mission

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

Adventures of Submarine Victims

Eight Spanish sailors from the crew of the British vessel Gravina, which was sunk by a German submarine on Feb. 7, 1917, reached their homes in Barcelona in April. One of them gave the following account of their remarkable experiences:

THE Gravina was struck by a torpedo amidships, and broke in halves. The fifteen survivors were able to keep afloat by clinging to two bales of corkwood. In about half an hour's time we saw a submarine coming toward us. We shouted, "We are Spaniards, we are Spaniards! Save us!" The submarine came near to us, and many of the crew were on its platform looking at us and laughing at our struggles. We expected to be picked up quickly, but, no, we still had to remain in the water another ten minutes while the submarine officers prepared their cameras to photograph us. Having done this, they proceeded to save us. They threw lifebelts attached to ropes and got us on board. We had been fighting against death for three-quarters of an hour.

We were immediately made to go below through the afterhatch to the part of the submarine used for discharging torpedoes and storing ammunition. In this floating prison we found two companions in misfortune, the Captains of two English steamers sunk by the same submarine.

The monotonous but not tranquil life was disturbed from time to time by a rapid manoeuvre. Some vessel was in sight, and it was necessary to sink it. They forced us to load the torpedo, an operation which was performed with all the repugnance of honorable men. They opened the chamber of the tube, made us lift the torpedo and put it in. Afterward they gave the order to fire, and after a few seconds of anxiety we heard a formidable explosion. The German seamen jumped, laughed, and sang. They had hit the target. During the twelve days that we were on board they sank five vessels, among them a Swedish sailing ship which was sunk by cannon shots. Generally speaking, we went down at night time, and, although submerged, we always navigated. In the daytime we came up on to the surface of the sea, which, however, they never allowed us to see. We were aware of it by the change of motors. Our region of operation (that is, of the submarine) was for nine days south of Ireland.

On Feb. 15, 1917, we started on the homeward trip to the naval base, as the German seamen informed us. We went up the west side of England, round the north, and then to Jutland, always on the surface, and in three days arrived in the waters of Heligoland. One of us managed to see the engineer's diary, where the following particulars appeared: "Eighteen miles speed on the surface and thirteen miles submerged; 12,000 tons. Crew of thirty," and in each page was noted U-81. Four hours before arriving at the Island of Heligoland they made all the prisoners go up on the deck platform, and they photographed us. They then ordered us down below again to the torpedo room.. The port where we landed was not very large. There were about a dozen submarines and four or five destroyers there, but all the quays and jetties bristled with seamen with bayonets fixed. * * *

Three days after our arrival in prison camp we were awakened by cries from the Russians who slept in the hut. Fire had broken out in one hut apart from the others, which served as a dungeon where they shut up prisoners who were rebellious. That day six Russians, one Frenchman, and one Englishman were undergoing this punishment. The prisoners naturally called to be let out, but in vain. The sentry remained unmoved. No doubt he was awaiting orders from his superiors. Those inside the dungeon were being stifled. The Englishman broke the panes of a small window, with the idea of freeing himself and his companions. The sentry, seeing him leaning out of the window, gave him a tremendous bayonet thrust in the chest. The wounded man

fell like lead. A small but revolting struggle then took place. The prisoners attempted to get out, and the German soldier reddened his bayonet again and again with the blood of the men shut up, who saw with horror that the fire was increasing. The conflagration could not be extinguished by the other prisoners until it had done its work. The eight unhappy individuals who occupied the dungeon were corpses. For an hour afterward nothing was heard but shouts of indignation. It looked as if a formidable outbreak would take place. The guards were immediately reinforced, and we were surrounded by a number of German soldiers. The commander of the camp issued an order stating that he was sorry for what had occurred, and that on the following day he would allow the funeral of the victims to take place with ceremony.

It was not all the prisoners who resigned themselves to suffer what was imposed on them. The English, above all, were the most rebellious. One day we were present at a scene which was celebrated with great rejoicing in all the camp. An English seaman, who already had one eye blind as a result of blows they had given him on a previous occasion, refused to obey two officers who ordered him to go to work. They reviled one another mutually, and finally the Englishman invited them to fight, giving them such punches that as a consequence we saw them for days afterward with their heads bandaged. The German soldiers were the first to scoff at the cowardice of their superiors. The English sailor was condemned to bread and water until the end of the war.

What saddened me most were the seventy old men and thirty children of 12 to 14 years of age, all English except one, who was French; they were youngsters who had been captured on board the vessels sunk, and ran from hut to hut asking for sweets and tobacco. Another day I also suffered a great shock on seeing the English Captain of our steamer Gravina, who had so far received no news from his family, who came up to us to beg bread. "I have always been good to you. Have compassion on me. Give me a little piece of bread, if you can spare it." We certainly had no reason to complain of his treatment of us, and we respected him. We gave him all we could.

[On April 14 the eight Spanish seamen were entrained for the Swiss frontier. All the way they were much struck by the number of wounded and by the general air of depression among the people.]

Come Into the Garden, (of Eden,) Maude

(With Apologies)

[Contributed to The Times of India on the occasion of General Maude's victorious advance in Mespotamia]

Come into the garden, Maude,
For the black-browed Turk hath flown;
Come into the garden, Maude,
For the fall of Kut atone;
And the "Woodbine" spices are wafted abroad
And the bluff of the Hun is blown.
For the screen of darkness moves
And your star of Glory's high,
Beginning to glow in the light we love
In the light of victory.
To shine in the folds of the Flag we love,
To fight for till we die.

The Threat of "Mittel-Europa"

By Thomas G. Frothingham

"The perennial conflict between land and water transport, between natural and artificial conditions, in which the victory is likely to rest, as heretofore, with nature's own highway, the seas."—Mahan.

GERMANY attained one of her most coveted aims—the "bridge to the East"—when, early in the war, Turkey and Bulgaria joined the Central Powers, and General von Mackensen swept through Serbia, opening up the last European section of the Berlin-to-Bagdad railway. The world at once recognized a menace in Germany's possession of this coveted commercial weapon. It so happens that Admiral Mahan has left on record a dispassionate estimate of the measure of this menace, and his words are of vital interest at this stage of the war.

The Teutonic desire to control the Near East is only a modern form of one of the oldest problems in the world, a legacy of the ancient empires and of the Middle Ages, the dream of Napoleon. Seizure of this source of power by some rival has long been the dread of England. To combat imagined attempts at such control on the part of Russia was Great Britain's self-imposed task for three generations.* The great Slavic Empire, though vainly attempting to find an outlet to the sea, was never a real danger; yet to guard against the imaginary threat of this impending avalanche England unwisely built up Germany into a dominating power and retained Turkey in Constantinople, both designed to be barriers against Russia. Both are now united against Great Britain.

It is this union of Germany and Turkey that makes the present Teutonic control of the passage to the East a serious matter for the whole commercial world. No longer is it a question of the great undeveloped Slavic empire seeking an outlet to the sea; it is a new military and trade weapon already firmly in the grasp of the most efficient military power ever developed. The Teutons at present dominate the whole Balkan Peninsula, as well as the Dardanelles; Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania have been overcome in detail and are out of the running. Russia has passed through a revolution, and at present is not to be considered as an active military factor.

The Russian Empire, before the sudden collapse of its armies that came with the revolution, had given promise of checking, and even cutting off, Teutonic domination through the Russian advance in Asia Minor and north of Bagdad. Now all this is at an end—at least for the present. It is true that Bagdad is in British hands, but the consolidation of the great strip of territory from Germany, through Austria-Hungary, the Balkan States, and Asia Minor, to the East may be called an accomplished fact from a military point of view.

Teutonic control of these territories implies ownership of long lines of land transportation and domination of commerce through them. What danger is there for the rest of the commercial world in this situation, with so great a power ready to use such control to its own advantage? Even under such efficient control, can artificial conditions of land transportation compete with the great natural lanes of the sea? Never in history has this proved possible, yet here are all the elements of the most efficient machinery ever devised to build up such a structure. The foundation of this Germanic edifice is the Bagdad Railroad, originally projected as a line from the Levant to the Persian Gulf, now enlarged into the railway systems reaching from Hamburg on the North Sea to the Euphrates and Tigris Valleys in Asia Minor.

In a paper by Admiral Mahan, published in 1902, from which was taken the quotation at the head of this article, is a most interesting discussion of the military and commercial values of this rail-

*British Foreign Policies and the Present War.—CURRENT HISTORY, May, 1917.

road as originally planned. He sums up the merits of the railway in words that are well worthy of study in the present circumstances:

> This new line will have over the one now existing the advantage which rail travel always has over that by water, of greater specific rapidity. It will, therefore, serve particularly for the transport of passengers, mails, and lighter freights. On the other hand, for bulk of transport, meaning thereby not merely articles singly of great weight or size, but the aggregate amounts of freight that can be carried in a given time, water will always possess an immense and irreversible advantage over land transport for equal distances. A water route is, as it were, a road with numberless tracks. For these reasons, and on account of the first cost of construction, water transport has a lasting comparative cheapness, which, so far as can be foreseen, will secure to it forever a commercial superiority over that by land. It is also, for large quantities, much more rapid; for, though a train can carry its proper load faster than a vessel can, the closely restricted number of trains that can proceed at once, as compared to the numerous vessels, enables the latter in a given time, practically simultaneously, to deliver a bulk of material utterly beyond the power of the road.

These wise conclusions were drawn from the first project of the railway from the Levant to the Persian Gulf—and these fixed conditions, with which a railway has to contend, are multiplied by length. So it must be kept in mind that even German efficiency has a hard problem to solve in the railroad from Berlin to the East.

A study of the map will show that the proper economic uses of these railway systems are the normal functions of any railroads, to distribute goods brought by water, to deliver goods for shipment by water, and to connect neighboring countries. Under such natural commercial conditions, as pointed out by Admiral Mahan, the great bulk of freight shipped for long distances would not use the railways, but no matter what concessions might be made in rates, would be carried over the seas. Railways can never compete with waterways.

So the conclusion is obvious that, under natural conditions, even though these railways may be under Teutonic control, they are of great value to the countries through which they run; but that, while of great advantage to German trade, they are not a source of undue power to Germany. Such power, which Germany has unquestionably sought, can therefore only be founded on artificial conditions.

Is there, then, any dangerous power in the conditions which have been created by Germany? That there is a danger would only be denied by one who is blind to German methods and German ambitions. This should be stated as baldly as possible. Germany aims to establish such a control over these regions that all commercial gains shall be hers, and the other nations be excluded. The ruthlessness and tenacity of purpose of Germany have been so plainly shown that it is no wonder Germanic control of "Mittel-Europa" is widely held to be the greatest menace of the war.

But, as is often the case, this dread has become exaggerated. In fact, it has been allowed to grow out of all proportion to the other great interests at stake in this war. There are counteracting forces that tend to make the situation normal. There has been so much fear of Germanic control of the passage to the East that the hardships for Germany and her allies of such enforced conditions have not been considered.

Germany's commerce would suffer from this restricted traffic. To hold their own, even with all possible favoritism shown to them, the German merchants must make proper use of the waterways or submit to a ruinous tax on their trade. The same is true of Germany's friends and allies—and this leads at once to natural conditions of commerce.

With German merchants and the merchants of her friendly States the worst sufferers, how is it possible to attempt to confine traffic to the railways? Yet such must be the basis of any abnormal German domination in the East. Consequently, leaving all the other nations out of consideration, the interests of Germany and her allies are against the misuse of control that has been so widely considered the dangerous threat in the present conditions.

There is another restraint on this much-feared Teutonic influence. To be

maintained at all such a central control must be that of nations closely united and unanimous in purpose. Where can this be found in these regions? With all the diversities of interest, with the antagonisms of races and religions, is it possible that Germany has built a harmonious machine that has accomplished what has never been done in history—diverted the bulk of commerce from the sea to the land?

Studying the question in this way from conditions that have prevailed throughout all history—and still exist—we realize that this issue must not be magnified and allowed to cloud our minds. The military results secured by Germany should not be underestimated, but neither should they be misunderstood. In 1915 the Teutonic allies were practically besieged. Since then Hindenburg and his lieutenants have not only raised this siege, but have conquered great areas of territory rich in much-needed supplies. With Russia paralyzed by revolution, all serious opposition to the German armies in the East is for the time ended. These are serious and far-reaching military conditions, but they must not be distorted into anything worse.

Prices in 1914 and 1917

IN the United States Senate on May 2 Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire presented a table prepared by the Old Dutch Market Company showing a comparison of prices in April, 1914, with those of April, 1917. It revealed the fact that the average increase was 85.32 per cent. The table is as follows:

COMPARISON OF RETAIL PRICES OF FOODS DURING APRIL, 1914, BEFORE THE WAR, AND APRIL, 1917

	April, 1914.	April, 1917.	Inc. P.C.
GROCERIES			
Sugar, granulated, lb.	$0.04	$0.09	125
Flour:			
Gold Medal, lb.	7.25	14.00	93
Hecker's, lb.	6.50	13.50	107
Milk:			
Condensed, can	.09	.15	67
Evaporated, tall can	.07½	.12	65
Evaporated, small can	.03½	.06	70
Tomatoes, standard, 2½'s, can.	.07	.17	142
Corn, standard, 2½'s, can.	.07	.13	85
Peas, D. J.	.07	.10	45
Baked beans	.08	.13	65
Cornmeal, lb.	.02½	.05	100
Hominy, lb.	.03	.05	66
Rice, best, lb.	.08	.09	12
Oatmeal, lb.	.03½	.06	70
Macaroni, spaghetti, bulk, lb.	.08	.13	65
Prunes, small, lb.	.05	.08	60
Salmon:			
Chum, can	.08	.14	75
Red Alaska, can.	.14	.23	64
Soups, can	.08	.13	65
Navy beans, best, lb.	.07½	.18	140
Lima beans, dried, lb.	.07	.20	185
Catsup, bottle	.08	.12	50
Syrup, can	.08½	.12	41
Corn flakes, (Quaker,) pkg.	.04½	.08	78
Split peas, lb.	.06	.12	100
Scotch peas, lb.	.05	.09	80
Black-eyed peas, lb.	.04	.08	100
Butter, first grade, lb.	.30	.55	83
Eggs, fresh, dozen	.21	.38	80
VEGETABLES			
Potatoes, peck	.23	.90	291
Kale, peck	.20	.40	100
Spinach, peck	.20	.40	100
Onions, yellow, lb.	.04	.13	250
Lettuce, head	.05	.10	100
Sweet potatoes, peck.	.35	.75	114
Cabbage, new, lb.	.03	.15	400
Yams, peck	.40	.60	50
BEEF			
Rib roast, lb.	.20	.25	25
Chuck roast, lb.	.17	.22	30
Plate (soup meat)	.13	.16	23
Porterhouse steak, lb.	.28	.37	32
Sirloin steak, lb.	.24	.34	42
Round steak, lb.	.20	.32	60
Chuck steak, lb.	.18	.25	38
Hamburg steak, lb.	.15	.20	33
PORK			
Fresh hams	.15	.27	80
Fresh shoulders	.13½	.22	58
Fresh pork chops, lean	.16	.28	80
Fresh pork chops, loin	.18	.32	80
Fresh pork roast, lean	.16	.28	75
Fresh pork roast, centre	.18	.30	66
Corned shoulders	.13½	.20	50
Corned hams	.15	.24	60
Smoked hams, whole	.17	.25	47
Smoked hams, sliced	.28	.45	60
Smoked shoulders	.13½	.21	50
Smoked bacon, sliced	.24	.34	42
Smoked sausage	.12½	.25	100
Lard:			
Pure, lb.	12½	.25	100
Compound, lb.	.10	.20	100

Total of items, 60.

Total increase, 5,119 per cent.

Average increase on all items shown on this list, 85.32 per cent.

China and the World War

By Gardner L. Harding

Author of "Present Day China"

THE months following Feb. 1, 1917, not only—by bringing America into the great war—changed the face of the Western Hemisphere; they made a lasting alteration in the Far East also. On Feb. 9, Wu Ting-fang, Foreign Minister of the Chinese Republican Government, handed a note to Admiral von Hintze, the German Minister to Peking, that made a rupture between the Chinese and German Governments ultimately inevitable. Six days before President Wilson had issued an appeal urging neutral powers everywhere to show their abhorrence of Germany's new campaign of unrestricted submarine warfare by breaking off relations with the German Government. China's response was therefore of special interest to Americans, especially as, accompanying a copy of the note to Germany, a special note was handed to Dr. Reinsch, the American Minister to Peking, in which there appeared the following significant words:

> China, being in accord with the principles set forth in your Excellency's [President Wilson's] note, and firmly associating itself with the United States, has taken similar action by protesting energetically to Germany against the new blockade measures. China also proposes to take such other action in the future as will be deemed necessary for the maintenance of the principles of international law.

The sentences of greatest weight in Dr. Wu's first note to Germany were these:

> The new measures of submarine warfare inaugurated by Germany are imperiling the lives and property of Chinese citizens even more than the measures previously taken, which have already cost China many lives and constitute a violation of international law. * * * If, contrary to expectation, this protest be ineffective, China will be constrained, to its profound regret, to sever diplomatic relations.

China's reasons for taking this stand were amply covered by specific ills and grievances at Germany's hands, and by the wider strategy of China's own political position. For specific grievances, China had a death roll of over 200 peaceful merchant seamen, lost on neutral and belligerent ships at the hands of German submarines. In principle also the ambitious and rapidly developing Chinese mercantile communities, whose cornerstone of commercial progress is unrestricted access to the high seas, had begun to distinguish sharply by Feb. 1 between the salutary restraint of allied policing and the indiscriminate outrages of German piracy. The Allies, furthermore, were the principal guarantors of China's integrity and autonomy, and in the closer association with them which thus became so opportune, China's assurance of a place at the peace conference, which she might expect as an actual and belligerent ally, was the third major element which induced her Government to take its first step toward war.

Influenced by America

Lastly, China's move was due to her increasing and always sympathetic responsiveness to the foreign policy of the United States, the only power which today holds no concessions or spheres of interest in her sovereign territory, and has exacted no punitive indemnity from her Government. For China, on America's invitation, capably and energetically presented to the Peking Government by Dr. Reinsch, not only took the first step toward breaking off relations with Germany, but incidentally, for the first time in her modern history, assumed in a diplomatic note a position of active interest and presumptive interference in the affairs of European nations.

The German answer to China's note did not reach Peking till the first days of March, though by Feb. 25, Dr. Yen, China's Minister to Berlin, announced that the German Government had assured him orally that Germany could not alter her submarine campaign. By March 9, however, Admiral von Hintze had handed to the Chinese Government a

formal refusal to accede to China's demands, offering merely the barren assurance that Germany was willing to open negotiations so as better to "respect the lives of Chinese and their property," * * * "hoping" that China would not break off diplomatic relations, and "promising" that Germany would do her utmost to secure China's participation in the peace conference if friendly relations between the two countries were maintained.

China's attitude, in the meantime, had substantially matured toward the final rupture. Three factors, in the main, brought her to this decision. The Japanese Government, through Baron Motono, its Foreign Minister, had publicly announced that it would put no obstacle in the way of China's independent action. Tuan Chi-jui, then Prime Minister of China under President Li Yuan-hung, had assured the nation that the Allies were prepared to guarantee China adequate concessions upon her becoming a belligerent. Chief among these concessions, as stated by Premier Tuan, were the abrogation of the Boxer indemnities (roughly, $15,000,000 in 1916) for the period of the war, and possibly for an even longer period; the extension to China of the right to raise her customs duties above the statutory 5 per cent. now allowed on a diminishing scale of price levels dating back more than ten years, and the removal of the foreign troops installed after the Boxer outrages along the Peking-Mukden Railroad. And, thirdly, under the influence of these guarantees and the possibility of gaining even further concessions, and encouraged by relief from Japanese constraint, China's disputing factions took a larger view of their country's welfare and gave the issue with Germany a clear field for immediate decision.

Diplomatic Relations Severed

That decision was a foregone conclusion. Every politically important element in China's limited but energetic sphere of public life was in favor of breaking off with Germany. The President and the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, and the military parties of the north, and particularly the radically inclined Parliament, largely representing the ideas of the southern parties, all decisively ratified this momentous step. Scattered elements opposed it, such as a group of radicals led by the famous ex-President Sun Yat-sen, but the southern parties as a whole approved it and backed it. This was clearly shown when, on March 11, Premier Tuan Chi-jui appeared before both houses of Parliament and put the question of rupture with Germany to a final vote. The outcome, a majority of 158 to 37 in the Senate and 331 to 87 in the House, or a joint support of the Premier's policy by 4 to 1, manifested impressively the decision of liberal China and gave the Government an immediate mandate to break off relations with Germany.

Thereupon, on March 14, Dr. Wu Ting-fang handed to Admiral von Hintze a final note, of which the closing words effectually put China's position as follows:

> It [the German reply] is therefore not in accord with the object of that [the Chinese Government's] protest; and the Government of China, to its deep regret, considers its protest to be ineffectual. It is therefore constrained to sever the diplomatic relations at present existing with the Imperial German Government.

Admiral von Hintze was at once given his passports, and China inaugurated her new status toward Germany by seizing German merchant ships at her ports, including six at Shanghai, and interning their crews on shore. Germany's immediate loss through her rupture with China went much further than this, however. China had been the centre and the base of extensive plotting and propaganda in the German cause throughout the Far East. The mutiny at Singapore, seditious propaganda in India, and the mysteriously financed Mongolian bandits who roved along the Siberian border during the first two years of the war are instances of Germany's opportunity, if not of her actual achievements, in the way of using China's neutrality as a safe and convenient shield for the virtual war measures with which we became somewhat earlier so disagreeably familiar in America. With the loss of China's friendship, all this was substantially curtailed.

Loss of Trade Advantages

There is still to be considered Germany's loss of an economic base there. Germany had 244 companies in China at the beginning of the war, with a total capitalization of over a quarter of a billion dollars. Her trade had increased by 120 per cent. in the eight years preceding the war, years in which American trade had remained practically stationary. It was also of a carefully planned strategic quality, specializing in engineering afield in inland China and in representing the firms of many other nations as middlemen in the treaty ports. It had ballasted its favored position everywhere with special concessions; thus it had to lose not merely its own material substance, but just the sort of imponderable advantage derived from long penetration which is hardest to recover; and which China's unfriendliness at once enormously accentuated.

The positive advantage to the Allies of China's rupture with Germany was much less obvious, but it was by no means insignificant. China had by Feb. 1 already sent some 100,000 of her sons as industrial workmen in Government shops, controlled establishments, and war munition factories in general behind the battle lines in France. The closer association with the Allies that became opportune after March 14 opened the way immediately to increase this service far beyond previous plans; so that China's vast labor supply was again drawn upon, and estimates were made for its utilization by the allied Governments in a non-combatant army of 200,000, or even 250,000 men. England also commenced to recruit Chinese labor, in close co-operation with the Chinese Government, not only for service in the factories—and on the farms—of Europe, but for her great construction works in Mesopotamia; while in another extreme of the world's climate Russia, too, enlisted thousands of Chinese woodsmen and northern peasants to serve her agricultural needs as loggers and farm hands in Siberia and Russian Mongolia.

Though there was no immediate prospect, or desire, even after China might declare war on Germany, of sending Chinese troops to Europe, the prospective disposal of China's enormous stocks of iron and coal, as well as those of tin and antimony, of which latter China produces a substantial portion of the world's annual yield, constituted a really estimable allied advantage. Her 500,000-ton* production of iron ore and her 13,000,000-ton* production of coal, both of excellent quality, were each factors in the economic scale in a world reduced to the ultimates in men and metal.

Beginning of Internal Disorder

China's own domestic political situation, stabilized by the crisis of March 14, became less and less stable, however, as that crisis receded. In that situation there were three capital factors. Dominance in China in a military sense was held by the Prime Minister, Tuan Chi-jui, who was also Minister of War and leader of the conservative party of the Generals and old officials generally known (though the designation is not quite accurate) as the northern party. Dominance in a political sense was held by the liberals, led by the President, Li Yuan-hung, an ex-General of the first revolution and a mid-Chinaman from the Yang-tse Province of Hupeh, and backed up by a Cabinet representing the constructive and liberal forces, as distinct from the radicals, of the Republican Government. The third major force, the radical element which was mainly responsible for the first revolution, in 1911, was intrenched in control of the Senate, and held the balance of power, with the assistance of so-called independents, in the House of Representatives.

As the question of China's entrance into the war drew, during April and May, more and more urgently to a decision, sharp and irreconcilable differences between these parties began to be revealed. Already there had been one crisis, between March 6 and 8, when the Prime Minister, in the heat of a disagreement with the President, had left the capital and conducted the Government indepen-

*Approximate estimates. See China Year Book, 1916.

dently from Tien-tsin. The issue then was whether or not Tuan Chi-jui had the right to send a telegram to Tokio which virtually broke off relations with Germany, without consulting Parliament, through the agency and under the tutelage of Japan. President Li eventually induced him to return to the capital and submit the question to Parliament, with the result that China broke with Germany quite as decisively, but independently, with respect to any foreign advice or control whatsoever.

Early in May the Prime Minister began to press for China's immediate entrance into the war. The President's party and the radical parties demurred, first, because they professed not to know positively what guarantees the Allies were prepared to give, and, secondly, because they feared—so they asserted—the plenary powers which a state of war would place in the hands of the Premier and his reactionary followers. A military conference of the chief northern Generals, which had been summoned to the capital in April, gave color to the general fears of a reactionary ascendency by making frequent and vigorous demands for intervention. At length the Premier invited them to meet with the Cabinet, and on May 2 it was announced that the Cabinet was unanimously committed to an immediate declaration of war against Germany.

Drifting Toward Rebellion

On May 10 the Premier appeared before Parliament, and amid scenes of great disorder, and in a session surrounded by soldiers and crowds friendly to the northern party, vehemently urged an unconditional and immediate declaration of China's belligerency on the side of the Allies. After stormy sessions lasting the greater part of the night, Parliament voted down the Premier's policy. The press of the southern parties thereupon directly accused the Premier of seeking the war only as an excuse for instituting martial law and assuming control of the Government. The Premier rejoined by summarily arresting the editor of the leading radical paper in Peking, the bilingual English and Chinese Peking Gazette, who had also accused Tuan of conniving at Japanese ascendency over China's war policy. On this the President acted with equal promptness, and on May 23 dismissed Tuan Chi-jui from office.

Tuan's dismissal was the signal to the northern Generals not merely to endeavor to recover their lost prestige, but to rise in actual rebellion against the Government. President Li attempted to conciliate them by appointing as Premier on May 29 Li Ching-hsi, nephew to the great statesman Li Hung Chang and one of their own leaders; and Parliament ratified his nomination by a decisive and obviously conciliatory majority. But the northern Generals, after seizing every trunk railroad to Peking and after placing their own soldiers around the President's immediate person in Peking, declared on June 3 that they no longer recognized Li Yuan-hung's authority and appointed a Provisional Government, with Hsu Shih-chang, former Premier under Yuan Shih-kai and Viceroy in Manchuria under the Imperial Government, as Dictator. They then issued a proclamation from Tien-tsin reiterating their demand for China's immediate entrance into the war, but insisting that that action must be accompanied by the dismissal of Parliament, the extinction of the almost completed liberal Constitution, and the reinstatement of Premier Tuan Chi-jui. They disclaimed vigorously any desire to set up a monarchy and professed themselves on June 5 to be loyal to the republic.

The situation remained a complete deadlock. On June 7 the American Government dispatched the following note to Peking, the first word to be received from any of the powers, which lent the full weight of American influence to the cause of conciliation:

> The United States Government learns with the most profound regret of the dissensions in China and expresses a sincere desire that tranquillity and political co-ordination be forthwith established.
>
> The entry of China into the war, or the continuance of the status quo in her relations with the German Government, are matters of secondary importance. China's principal necessity is to resume and continue her political entity and proceed along the road to national development. In China's form of govern-

ment, or the personnel which administers the Government, America has only the friendliest interest, and desires to be of service to China.

America expresses the sincere hope that factional and political disputes will be set aside and that all parties and persons will work to re-establish and co-ordinate the Government and secure China's position among nations, which is impossible while there is internal discord.

On the same day Secretary Lansing added to the salutary impression of this note by vehemently disclaiming the statement that America had given any aid or encouragement to the rebellion. On June 11 Dr. George Morrison, British adviser to the Chinese President, added an intimation of the policy of his Government by urging "in the strongest possible manner the retention of Parliament" and by saying directly to President Li Yuan-hung, "You must retain Parliament." Professor Ariga, the Japanese adviser, gave the less decisive advice that President Li had the right to dismiss Parliament if he wished to do so.

The American adviser, Dr. W. Willoughby, interviewed in Tokio, summed up the situation in the following words: "I look for turmoil of long duration between militarism and constitutionalism"; during which, it would seem to be inferred, China's genuinely serviceable participation in the war will be indefinitely delayed.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—A dispatch from Peking, dated June 13, announced that the Presidential mandate dissolving Parliament had been signed by Ching Chao-chung as Acting Premier, and that it was believed that the dissolution would bring about civil war, as the leaders in the southern provinces had telegraphed President Li Yuan-hung that they no longer recognized his authority, despite the fact that the President had accompanied the dissolution mandate with a long statement attempting to justify his action. The President again called into conference at the palace Dr. George Morrison and Professor Nagao Ariga, who repeated the advice they had previously given. The President said that he had already placed his seal on the mandate, and asked what he could do, declaring that he could not obtain the signature of any of the members of the Cabinet to the document. Dr. Morrison replied that the President had better tear it up. Professor Ariga said that if the President was unable to obtain a countersignature of a member of the Cabinet he should get one from the head of the judiciary.

A Tokio dispatch of June 12 stated that the alleged failure of the United States Government to consult Japan before presenting its note to China had caused considerable resentment in Japan. Secretary of State Lansing on June 13 authorized the statement that the text of the note as first published in Japan was false and that the irritation expressed by the Japanese press had been caused by the fabricated text. The correct text was obtained later and accurately printed in the Japanese newspapers. Nevertheless, the latest dispatches show that Japanese opinion holds that the United States should be asked to recognize Japan's special position in China in order to prevent future misunderstandings.]

Better to Die

By FLORENCE EARLE COATES

Better to die, where gallant men are dying,
  Than to live on with them that basely fly:
Better to fall, the soulless Fates defying,
Than unassailed to wander vainly, trying
  To turn one's face from an accusing sky!

Days matter not, nor years to the undaunted;
  To live is nothing,—but to *nobly* live!
The poorest visions of the honor-haunted
Are better worth than pleasure-masks enchanted,
  And they win life who life for others give.

The planets in their watchful course behold them—
  To live is nothing,—but to nobly live!—
For though the Earth with mother-hands remold them,
Though Ocean in his billowy arms enfold them,
  They are as gods, who life to others give!

[OFFICIAL REPORT]

Story of the Russian Upheaval

By Christian L. Lange

Secretary of the Interparliamentary Union and Correspondent of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Dr. Lange, a resident of Christiania, has served in the Norwegian Parliament, and was a member of the Second Hague Conference. The report here printed (with minor omissions) is the result of a special investigation in Russia undertaken by Dr. Lange at the instance of the Carnegie Endowment. It was written April 20, 1917, before the resignation of Milukoff and the reorganization of the Provisional Government.

I LEFT Christiania on March 12, when as yet nothing was known at all about what was going on at Petrograd. At Stockholm, where I stopped two days to meet the Interparliamentary Group of the Riksdag, I read telegrams about the riots in the Russian capital. I also learned of the adjourment of the Duma.

The journey to Russia is now [Spring of 1917] very long, the Baltic being impassable. One has to go north by rail for forty hours. I left Stockholm Wednesday, March 14, in the afternoon, and only Friday morning I reached the frontier at Haparanda. In the train I had already seen the first communication from the Executive Committee of the Duma that it had seized the reins of Government, that the Czar's Ministers were in prison, that the Petrograd garrison had joined the Duma, and that the town was quiet.

At Tornea, the Finnish railway terminus, we were examined by the Russian gendarmerie, as usual at European frontiers during the war. I had a laissez-passer from the Russian Minister at Christiania and was not even searched, and I heard from my fellow-travelers that their examination had also been very lenient. The people at the station knew less of what had passed at Petrograd than we. They had not seen the first communiqué, and the Finnish woman who kept the bookstall at the station was delighted when I slipped to her a Swedish paper which gave the text of the document.

Our excitement reached its pitch when we slowly came up to the platform at Bielo-Ostrov, where the customs and passport examinations take place. We were standing ready with our bags, luggage tickets, passports, and everything —the platform was empty, not a human being to be seen. Then, all of a sudden, the carriage door opens, enters a little dwarf, no taller than my writing desk, and he cries out as he rolls down along the corridor: "Liberty is supreme. All the gendarmes are sent to prison to Petrograd. No more passports, no customs. Only liberty reigns!"

He was our herald of the revolution! And he proved true. The train left at once, without any examination at all, and within two minutes we all carried, God knows how, red badges in our buttonholes. I got mine from the carriage maid, who tore asunder a piece of red flag cloth and freely distributed the pieces, and she at once became very communicative. There had been a strike for some hours on the railway lines, a strike of pronounced political character. The men had insisted on the removal of some high Russian officials in the railway administration. As soon as they had obtained satisfaction, they returned to work. This accounted for the delays we had had and still had.

Conditions in Petrograd

On our arrival at Petrograd we found the city quiet. We met some soldiers patrolling the streets; here and there we saw groups of young students with white bands around the left arm bearing in red the letters G. M. (Militia Guard) and a gun thrown across the shoulder. Once or twice we met some persons returning from a dinner party. Otherwise the streets were as if dead, not a horse and carriage, nor a tram. When we had crossed the

great bridge we saw the dreary ruins of the big police court on the Lieteny Prospect, (one of the main thoroughfares.) It had been burned, but otherwise no traces of destruction were to be seen so far. The popular exasperation had turned against the police and its headquarters. Unfortunately, some very important documents were destroyed at the same time; not only the états civils, the registers of the population, their age, status, and so on, but also the archives of the secret police have in part been destroyed, so it is now one of the difficult tasks of the new administration to trace the agents provocateurs, who were everywhere.

As I walked along the Nevsky, I met a procession of workmen, soldiers, and women singing the revolutionary hymn—an old song, I was told—sung to a tune evidently borrowed from the "Marseillaise," but in rather a depraved setting. The text may be rendered as follows

Let us give up the ancient world.
Let us shake its dust from our feet.
We want no idol in gold.
We hate the palace of the Czars.
We will go to our suffering brethren.
We will go to those who are starving.
With them we execrate the felon,
And we will challenge him to fight.
March, march, workmen, forward!

The procession carried red banners, on which was written "Land and Liberty," "Down with Autocracy," &c. It was a revolutionary sight, but at the head of the procession in the very middle of the street I saw a strange sight. High up in a car drawn by a horse a man was standing, turning, turning incessantly his cinematograph, preparing his "Films of the Russian Revolution." Then I understood that I was really a witness of historic events, but also that all danger was passed. Petrograd had settled down to civilized life.

Czar's Dread of War

The revolution of 1917 was inevitable. I remember very well that, when at Petrograd in February, 1914, I was told by Milukoff that the Czar Nicholas had "une peur bleue de la guerre," because he very well realized that there had been an intimate connection between the war with Japan and the ensuing revolution of 1905-1906. This dread of the Czar was in Milukoff's eyes one of the guarantees of European peace, at any rate a security against aggressive tendencies on the part of Russia. On the other hand, there was then in Russia great apprehension of German and Austrian aggression, especially in connection with the negotiations which were to come as to the renewal of the Russo-German Treaty of Commerce, which was to expire in 1917. War with the Central Powers was considered as inevitable, and it may have served as an argument for war in 1914 that Russia at any rate had strong allies.

I was told now in 1917 that there had been divided counsels in the Government of 1914. The majority of the Ministers favored war; a minority, represented by Sazonoff, the Ministers of Finance and of Agriculture, Bark and Kriwoshein, were for peace, and the Rietch, which supported the peace policy of Sazonoff, was even prohibited for a time. The Czar was, as usual, vacillating; fits of seeming restiveness alternated with periods of complete apathy, and as it happened his "peur bleue de la guerre" had no decisive importance. Sazonoff was, however, at any rate able to take up an attitude which left the responsibility of aggression with the other side. But there is no doubt that also at Petrograd—as indeed in all capitals—there was a military party pushing toward war. The responsibilities for the war are divided, European, but they should evidently be apportioned in different degrees.

But when the war came, it was immensely popular in Russia. Slavonic nationalism, which was an important element in aristocracy and among the great landowners, turned against Austria-Hungary and Germany, who were bent on crushing the Slavonic sister State, Serbia. The progressive elements saw the immense importance of the dissolution of the league of the three Emperors, formed around the pactum turpe of the partition of Poland, which had held good for upward of a century and a half, and no less the great potentialities which might flow from the alliance with Western democracy. Their hopes were high during the

first year of the war, as letters from Efremoff and from Milukoff at that time testify. They saw in Germany the stronghold of reaction and of militarism in Europe, and trusted that its downfall would be followed by that of Russian autocracy. It has happened otherwise. But at any rate this feeling created a widespread feeling of responsibility for the war, of the necessity of supplementing, as far as in them lay, the shortcomings of the administration and of the bureaucracy.

Work of the Zemstvos

Thus was called into being a spontaneous participation in the war work from the best and most healthy elements within Russian society. The Association of the Zemstvos on one side, a voluntary institution formed by the members of the Municipal Councils of the "Gouvernements," consequently by men versed in local government and in public affairs, combined with the leaders of the great commercial and industrial enterprises to form all sorts of committees outside the administration. In a hundred ways they have been able to help and to prove their efficiency. When Brusiloff prepared his great offensive, he had, of course, to secure his rear. Trenches were to be dug for the eventuality of a retreat. But he could not use his own soldiers, as their offensive force might be sapped if they knew that positions were prepared for a retreat. Then the Association of the Zemstvos at once mobilized 500,000 peasants, who did the work. Another General complained that his companies were suffering through the fact that so many soldiers were called off to become cooks. In a very short time 50,000 men, not fit for military work, but able to do service as cooks, were put at his disposal. In innumerable ways the Industrial Committee has helped to organize the importation of munitions and of raw materials for the war industries.

Middle Class's Influence

Quietly the direction of Russian life and activity during the war was more and more taken over by the middle class itself, and its services appeared all the more brilliant against the dark setting of the incapacity, the corruption, not to mention the occasional treason, of the old administration. It is, so to speak, the leaders of this activity who have now undertaken also the nominal direction of Russia. The new Premier, Prince Lvoff, was President of the Association of Zemstvos. Gutchkoff, [then,] Minister of War; Konovaloff, [then,] Minister of Commerce and Industry; Chingareff, [then,] Minister of Agriculture, all played leading or prominent parts in the different organizations and committees controlling the private activity for the war, while Milukoff, [then,] Minister for Foreign Affairs, has represented the Russian people before the world, through his work in the press or through his numerous addresses abroad during the war. A new official Russia was silently in formation. It has now risen, shaking off the feeble fetters which Czardom, bureaucracy, and police were trying to lay on a people prepared to work out its own salvation, while the powers of old manifestly proved incapable of their task.

It is impossible to rate highly enough the importance and the influence of the Duma in this silent preparation of the momentous revolution of 1917. If a better horoscope is undoubtedly to be cast for this revolution than for its predecessor of 1905-1906, it is chiefly because the Duma, through its existence alone, has educated Russian public opinion toward common national aims. In the Duma the Russian Nation has found a common symbol, and through the speeches there, especially during the war, the silent desires and hopes of the masses and of the classes have found expression and distinct objects for a national policy. Some of these speeches are so characteristic that they may be cited even here.

Spirit of the Duma

When Milukoff had made his famous attack on Stürmer, an attack which led to the Minister's fall and to the abandonment for the time being of the policy for a separate peace with Germany, Efremoff, leader of the Progressives—an intermediary party between the Octobrists and the Cadets, these latter not by far a radical party—made a speech

in which he said: "There is little use in removing the mushrooms from a rotten trunk, they will sprout again, as soon as weather favors. The only efficient cure is to cut down the rotten trunk." This is pure revolutionary doctrine. And Kerensky once took for his text the famous sculptural groups on the Anitchkoff Bridge on the Nevsky, representing four tamers of horses in different attitudes. He said:

"In the first group you see the tamer dominating his horse; in the second and third group, the horse is more and more freeing itself from its master; in the fourth group the man is on the ground under the hoofs of the horse, who is galloping freely along. The tamer is the Bureaucracy, the horse is the Russian people. It will know how to obtain its liberation."

It would be a great mistake to think that the Fourth Duma was anything resembling a revolutionary assembly. As will be known, the reactionaries and Nationalists, together with the Centre, formed a solid majority against any evolution, even toward Parliamentary Government; even the Octobrists were against Ministerial responsibility. But so glaring was the incapacity of the old régime that a bloc was formed during the war by all the bourgeois parties from the Cadets to the Nationalists. This group united on the single aim of pushing on the war and silently preparing for the moment when the catastrophe to Czarism was to come. The reactionaries dwindled down to insignificance. Even the notorious Purishkevitch, who took service in the army, joined the bloc, and the still more notorious Markoff II. was pictured in a cartoon sitting sulking in his corner as the "only Russian conservative."

This was long before the revolution. The Cadets had to make sacrifices in order to keep this bloc together. Thus they voted, and Milukoff himself spoke, against a proposal of raising the question of Ministerial responsibility before the Duma. "The time was not ripe." Miluokff's attitude then impaired his popularity with the radical elements, and this fact, together with his imperialistic attitude with regard to the objects of the war, may compromise his position. As a matter of fact, he is rather isolated in the Government. But the bloc was maintained, and the way paved for a united advance, when the movement of action was to come.

Czar Like Louis XVI.

It is doubtful whether the Duma would ever have taken an initiative of revolution, but the fact that even Rodzianko, the moderate Octobrist President of the Duma, was ready to take the chair in the new Executive Committee; that the still more conservative Shulgin was ready to go with Gutchkoff to force Nicholas to abdicate, shows how far the conviction of the necessity of a profound change had spread. Everybody saw that a catastrophe was coming. But they did not know when. Would it be during the war, would it be after? Nobody was able to tell. But they saw the necessity of preparation, of, so to speak, mobilization for the eventuality. The Executive Committee was secretly formed; even the Ministers were designated long ago. Therefore, the decisions could be made so quickly when the supreme moment arrived.

Czardom took upon itself to force matters to an issue. Nicholas Romanoff will probably figure in history as no less a tragical personality than Louis XVI. Indeed, there are several points of resemblance. But above all they are alike in having had consorts whose influence became fatal to them; both partook of the intense unpopularity their wives had incurred. The Empress Alexandra has not been wasteful or extravagant as Marie Antoinette, but her connection with the notorious Rasputin, to whom in her hysteria she became quite submissive, sapped no less the last remnants of loyalty to the dynasty. Rasputin's corpse was buried in the imperial park at Tsarskoe Selo, and it was told that the corpse had been removed to be burned; in order to put an end to this sordid story and to any attempt at beatification of the "Starest," an ikon (a saint's image) was found with the corpse, on the back of which were written the names Alexandra, Olga, Tatyana, &c.—the whole family.

But the supreme trait of similarity between the two ill-fated Queens is their "enemy connection"—Marie Antoinette "l'autrichienne"; Alexandra the German, female cousin of Wilhelm the Kaiser. And unfortunately there is no doubt that the Czaritsa's "enemy connection" was far from innocent. She has not only been active in all the tentative efforts for a separate peace, but I was told in diplomatic circles that on one occasion an offensive movement, fully prepared, had been stopped by a telegram signed by her name. A wireless was in function at Tsarskoe Selo, corresponding with Nauen.

Anybody can see how all this must have killed the last remnants of loyalty, already undermined by the notorious incapacity of the administration to cope with the problems of the war. The continual changes of Ministers proved the vacillation at the head of affairs. Czarism was evidently tottering to its fall.

Quem Deus perdere vult, prius dementat. The Government, in an act of sheer desperation, added open provocation to its glaring faults and shortcomings. By stopping the transport of food to Petrograd it intended to call forth riots in the capital; they were to serve as pretexts for an adjournment of the Duma, for the creation of a practical dictatorship probably in the hands of Protopopoff or of a "strong" General, and lastly for the conclusion of a separate peace. Efremoff told me that one was on the track of a telegram to this effect: "Almost all transports to Petrograd stopped. Everything goes well." Under it the signature of a Minister.

Power of the Proletariat

The form which the provocation took called in the element which made the revolution. The Duma would perhaps have been capable of a coup d'état, and Efremoff told me that in fact this had always been the favorite hypothesis. But the proletariat are willing to pay with their lives. And the proletariat found an associate in the garrison of Petrograd. These two facts are of capital importance; the latter gave the victory to the revolution; both together determined the democratic character of the events, and it seems as if this characteristic has come to stay. The democratic elements have been very strong in the revolution itself, and these forces are organizing themselves in order to maintain their influence.

The troops at Petrograd combined with the workmen refused to shoot at the people, and turned their guns against the police. The explanation of this extraordinary fact is to be found in the composition of these troops. They were not real garrison soldiers; they were partly older reserve soldiers, recently called to the colors after having passed years in their villages, partly young recruits, who had not yet undergone the influence of the barracks. They were really a peasant democracy, who through their stay in the regiments had developed a certain class feeling, not as soldiers, but as peasant laborers having interests in common with the Petrograd proletariat, among whom many of them probably have found friends or relatives from their own villages. When ordered to fire on the people they immediately protested and fired on the police instead. And the two popular forces then turned to the Duma as the representative of the Russian Nation, asking the National Assembly to take the lead which had fallen from the hands of the Government.

In order to co-operate, the soldiers and workmen organized their council, to which each regiment and each factory sent a delegate. Through an Executive Committee and a delegation they opened negotiations with the Duma, whose Executive Committee, as stated above, was ready to act.

Kerensky Chief Figure

The central figure in this situation became the Duma member for Saratoff, Kerensky, a young barrister. This remarkable man is the leader of the "Revolutionary Socialists"—thus far a misnomer, as they are revolutionary only as the word applies to the method of their action. As long as the autocracy existed they approved of terroristic attempts. After the revolution they declared for parliamentary action and popular propaganda alone, and one of Kerensky's first decrees as Minister of

Justice abolished capital punishment. In their program they can hardly be said to be Socialists; it is rather an agrarian party aiming at the creation of a class of small proprietors, and most of their adherents are peasants and land laborers, while the workers of the towns rally round Tscheidze, who is an orthodox Marxist and whose program appeals to the industrial workingman.

Kerensky was the link between the bourgeois Duma and the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. Through his unique eloquence and moral courage he was able to exert an enormous influence during these first difficult weeks, and the state of his health is a serious matter. It is bad, for he is suffering from tuberculosis of the kidneys, one of which has been removed, alas, very late, for the Russian surgeons had not discovered what was really the matter; it was during a visit to Finland that the very serious state of his health was discovered and the necessary operation undertaken.

He is sitting in the new Government as the representative, but at the same time as the hostage, of democracy. It would be most difficult to find a substitute, and every well-wisher for Russia will hope and pray that he may be spared for the great mission awaiting him. He made an extraordinary impression on me during my conversation with him; a soul of fire, sincere, and truthful to himself, at the same time a powerful intelligence and a born leader. His powers of work are said to be extraordinary. * * *

The Constituent Assembly

The big question, besides the prosecution of the war, is the organization and the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. The Government program says the assembly was to meet "as soon as possible." I suppose the Ministers are likely to put the stress on the last word. Indeed, I hardly spoke with one bourgeois politician without his shaking his head over the impossibility of coordinating the working of this assembly with the active prosecution of the war. They, therefore, sincerely hope to see the end of the war in the Autumn. But if the end does not come, they are likely to insist on the necessity of postponing the assembly.

On the other hand, the more extreme elements wish to strike the iron while it is hot, and the last proclamation from the council requests the immediate organization of the assembly. The Premier, Prince Lvoff, has said it was to meet within a period of at least three, at most six, months. The problem is not only one of organization; for instance, how are the soldiers at the front to vote, the vote being not only the act of putting a ballot in a box, but a method of contributing to form a real public opinion on a series of very grave questions? There is also the serious difficulty of having a deliberative assembly sitting discussing intricate constitutional and social problems while the greatest war in history is being waged at the frontier. Indeed, it is highly to be desired that the bloodshed might come to an early end, if for no other reasons, lest the future of Russia should be compromised.

Outlook for the Republic

As to the future constitution, there is officially and outwardly absolute unanimity; the cadets, even the progressives, have put the democratic republic on their program. Indeed, no sane politician, at the present juncture, considers any other solution as possible. Monarchy, and especially the dynasty, is compromised beyond remedy; none of the Grand Dukes is to be thought of as Czar, because it would imply dangerous family connections. But bourgeois politicians are far from enthusiastic republicans. They see the danger in such an enormous empire passing at one single step from an autocracy to a republic, and they are not blind to the advantages of monarchy as a symbol of the unity and the indivisibility of the nation. This did not imply any sentimentalism toward the Little Father, and I was told that the existence of this sentiment even among the peasants was greatly exaggerated. There was only cool political calculation in it. Efremoff went to the length of saying to me: "If we only had had a very popular General—"

This would seem a most dangerous experiment. And I know that Milukoff and other cadet leaders reluctantly approved of the republic being admitted to their program.

I imagine that the solution contemplated is a sort of federal republic, based on the nationalities and races within the enormous empire as constituent parts, probably supplemented with local divisions in the Great Russian provinces. This solution, more or less on American lines, can, as in the United States, be combined with a strong executive power. It sounds like a prophecy that the American Constitution has sometimes been defined as a "Czaristic" republic.

Already the Government program had outlined large liberties of speech, of association, even of strike—the first instance, I believe, in history. The last point is of special importance to the industrial workman, and through his participation in the revolution he has also obtained another advantage—the eight-hour day. It is interesting to note that one of the Frères Nobel expressly stated that they were delighted with the result of this régime. Its efficiency was better than the former one with the long hours, which had tempted to passivity and even to sabotage.

These problems of industry are, however, not by far so important to Russia as the all-dominating agrarian problem, which will absorb a great part of the activity and the interests of the Constituent Assembly. In his heart of hearts every Russian is an agriculturist, in his dreams a landed proprietor. "Land and liberty" was written on every second red banner. The soldiers, peasants themselves or peasants' sons, voiced this desire, and everybody realized that it had to be satisfied on a very large scale.

Rural Conditions

The state of the Russian countryside during the war is very curious, and in a certain respect an unexpected one. The absolute prohibition of vodka—very strictly executed—in the Petrograd hotels I saw no stronger drink than kvass, a sort of ginger beer—has stopped the chief expense of the peasants toward luxury; the soldiers' wives and mothers receive Government support; the absence of workmen creates a great demand for laborers, with a consequent rise of wages; all this combines to create an unknown prosperity in the villages. The peasant girls are able to buy a greater number of those gowns which, hanging new and not yet used in the large wardrobe, are to impress their suitors. They are now said to decline work offered to them with the remark: "I have got gowns enough." The peasants, among them the soldiers on returning from the front or from captivity, will be able to buy land. On the other hand, the great landowners are often unable to work their fields because of the scarcity of labor. They will, therefore, be willing to sell land. So far all seems well.

The danger is that there may be ideas of the laborer's right to own the land he till now has been working on. There will be hot debates about the principle of expropriation and its application. The landowners will say: "Why shall landed property alone be considered as more or less liable to confiscation? Why not as well the industrial plant, or personal property?" Fortunately, immense tracts of land will be at the disposal of the nation in the form of public domains or of land belonging to the monasteries. Here thousands on thousands of peasants can be made proprietors without any great difficulty, and means can perhaps be found of financing also the transfer of private land from the great owners to small holders. Everybody will see the great seriousness of this problem and its bearing on the future of Russia. In this new class of small farmers new Russia will find the basis of its democracy, just as the French Revolution found it for France.

Difficult Racial Problems

The Government program proclaimed the abolition of all disabilities for racial and religious reasons. This principle, loyally executed, will automatically take away the sting in the otherwise so thorny questions of delimitation within the empire, especially in the west, where on the wide plains the different nationalities—Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Ests, and other Baltic races—merge imperceptibly one into the other, or in the Caucasus,

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where the motley diversity is as great. No doubt, however, there will still be great difficulties in this respect, and more especially this will be the case with the Jews. I had no special opportunity of studying the Semitic problem, and therefore shall only give one piece of information, which shows on one hand its acuity, on the other the apprehensions as to the future.

The leading inspirer of the cadets is said to be an Israelitic Petrograd barrister, Vinaver, a close friend of Milukoff and an exceptionally able man. The Government had nominated him a Senator, member of the High Court, but he declined, because he would not expose the revolution to the risk of being dubbed a "Semitic machination." Generally the Jews took up an attitude of great reserve. Pogroms were still considered as possible.

To return to the problems of nationality, there are two questions under this head which require special treatment, namely, Finland and Poland.

The complete liberation of Finland, the reversal of all laws and decrees issued contrary to the Finnish Constitution, and the proclamation of the right of the Finnish people to decide, through their own representatives, the future relations between Finland and Russia, was on one hand the fulfillment of an old pledge from Russian liberals to the Finns. Especially Milukoff, Rodicheff, now Secretary of State for Finland, and Stakhovitch, now Governor General, had engaged themselves strongly on this line. It was, moreover, a sort of morning gift to Western democracy which has always taken a special interest in progressive Finland. And it was—last, but not least—a stroke of generous and far-sighted policy against the German machinations in Finland, which surely in certain contingencies might have been extremely dangerous: Finland is the glacis of Petrograd.

The Case of Finland

It is no secret that during the war numerous young Finns have crossed the frontier to go to Germany, where hundreds of them have been trained as officers to lead an eventual Finnish insurrection. It is said that thousands of young men in Finland itself have been equipped in secret for military service: two pairs of boots, a Winter coat, a gun, &c. But it was understood that no movement was to be initiated if the Germans did not succeed in throwing artillery across the Gulf of Finland. Hence the extreme importance of the Riga front.

This movement found chiefly its adherents among the Swedish party in Finland, a political faction decidedly on the wane, but still important because of its strong intellectual and economic position. However, only part of them favored this policy of despair, which really amounted to a driving out of the devil by Beelzebub. Some adherents were also said to have come from the "Old Fennomans," a conservative party which often has been very weak-kneed toward Russia. Their belief in authority as the supreme prop of social life may have brought some of them to admire the Prussian spirit. * * *

[The Swedish Party late in May issued an address demanding a separate republic for Finland, but it received no approval at Petrograd.—Editor CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

Finns very well see the realities of the problem—that Russia and Finland are indissoluble for plain geographical reasons. It would be sheer insanity for Finland to rely on the support of Germany, from which it is divided by the sea, while Russia dominates its entire land frontier to the east, while the Russian capital is situated at a distance of only a few miles. Moreover, Finnish industrial merchandise and dairy produce are dependent on the Russian market.

The Finns do not desire their country to be merged in the Russian Empire as one of its constituent parts. They demand a separate existence, a Finnish State at Russia's side, united with the empire through a sort of loose union, giving to Russia only the direction of foreign affairs. The problem is a delicate one, besides entirely new in the history of constitutional law, if Russia is to become a republic, and as the Finns are a difficult race to treat with, tenacious,

sometimes revengeful, it may tax the powers of statesmen on both sides.

Free Poland Possible

The proclamation from the Russian Government to the Poles is the highest bid made during the war for the sympathies of this people, which, after a tragedy of more than a hundred years, can at last look forward with certainty to a future of political independent life for part, if not for the whole, of the race. And this bid is not only a clever diplomatic device made to win the sympathy of the Poles, it is a sincere application of the principle of nationalities. The Russians, of course, wish to see a reunited Poland, including the Polish—but not the Ukrainian—part of Galicia, the whole of Posnania, and the Polish parts of Silesia and West Prussia. Only this enumeration suffices to show what problems will be raised in connection with this program. Germany is far from entertaining any idea of this sort. But if an independent Poland were formed, say, out of Russian Poland and Western Galicia, it would certainly exercise a most powerful attraction on the Poles in the Prussian irredenta. It is incomprehensible how Austria and Germany have been capable of creating their "Kingdom of Poland" after the experience of Austria with an Italian and a Serbian irredenta. The need for Polish soldiers must have been enormous, indeed.

Many will doubt the sincerity of Russia in giving full freedom of action to the Poles as to the future of their new State. I had an opportunity of discussing the question with Efremoff, now a member of the Executive Committee, consequently in close touch with the Government, and his opinion was that, after all, an entirely independent Poland would perhaps represent the best solution for Russia. A buffer State might be useful against Germany, though he saw the danger of the absence of military frontiers, if the principle of international anarchy were still to prevail. But he added that a complete severance from Poland would present certain inner advantages to Russia. Polish nobles had bought land in Russia, and they were hard masters to the Russian peasants. Many Poles had obtained high situations in Russian administration, and after a very short time their offices had been filled with Poles. It is curious to observe this animosity against a seemingly subject race which has been able to obtain a superior social position. There are parallels in the relation between English and Scots, between English and Irish.

It goes without saying that full separation would raise most difficult problems; Polish industry is dependent on the Russian market; a tariff arrangement would at any rate be necessary. A connection between Poland and Germany would spell economic ruin to Polish industry, as it could not withstand German competition. For this reason alone no Pole in his senses can have seriously entertained the idea of looking westward.

In any case, whether the solution is to be one of complete separation or one of a connection with Russia, there will be the most difficult problems of delimitation. * * *

Able to Keep War Going

There is no doubt that Russia is still able—from an exclusively military point of view—to prosecute the war. Its offensive powers are impaired through lack of munitions and guns. But the new régime has, at any rate, done away with the artificial impediments created by the late Government and the dynasty, and Russia still disposes of great reserves in man power—it was said about forty divisions, at least one million of fully trained men, besides the young recruits now being trained, and one year gives another million—and in officers. Especially there is a large reserve of cavalry officers who might be used also as leaders of infantry. Besides, a potential reserve is to be found in young cultivated Jews who have been trained as soldiers but have not been admitted to serve as officers. They would be able—if need be—to act as garrison officers and in other subsidiary military situations.

The financial position is far from good. The debt is enormous, the paper money

flooding the country is daily increasing in bulk, and the foreign exchange is deplorable, because the exports have practically ceased. But, economically speaking, the position of Russia is probably better than that of any other European country now at war. Agriculture is Russia's chief pursuit; in consequence it is suffering far less than highly industrialized countries like Great Britain, Germany, or France. It can find within its own borders nearly everything it may want. The problem is one of transportation and of organization.

Russia, then, still can certainly go on with the war for years. And its present Government is firmly determined to remain true to the London agreement, and to conclude peace only in common with the other allies. It must not be forgotten that the support of the Western Powers was decisive for the very success of the "miraculous" revolution, that Russia financially is dependent on France and Great Britain, tied to them by "golden chains." The Government and the Duma both are bent on prosecuting the war as one of liberation for Europe in general. Russia has freed itself; now Germany and Austria are to follow suit. This is a conception common to bourgeois liberals and to Socialist workingmen. Both regard the two Central Powers as the props of reaction in Europe. The middle classes and the peasants, moreover, consider the war as a means of liberation from the commercial domination of Germany, established by the treaty of 1907.

[Dr. Lange concludes his report with the prediction that Russia will remain true to the Allies.]

The Career of Kerensky

ALEXANDER KERENSKY, the real leader of the Russian revolution, first became Minister of Justice in the Provisional Government and recently succeeded Gutchkoff as Minister of War, achieving wonders in reviving the army as a fighting force during May and June. He was born about thirty-five years ago in Tashkent, a Russian town in Middle Asia. Although of small means, he succeeded in obtaining a university education and becoming a lawyer. From the beginning of his practice he was an energetic defender of workmen and peasants, appearing in their interest when they were arrested and oppressed by agents of the Czar's Government. He included the Jews among his clients, and fought for the rights which the anti-Semitic powers denied them. The climax of his legal career came in 1912, when he represented the workmen in an investigation following the shooting by the police of some sixty strikers in the gold fields along the River Lena. His work in this case made him famous throughout Russia as a friend of the revolutionary forces and an enemy of the autocratic Government.

The lawyer entered public life about four years ago and was elected to the Duma, where he became the leader of the Socialist labor forces. He was constantly under the eye of the Czar's police, who dared not touch him, however, without real provocation, because of his membership in the national body. They thought they had this provocation shortly before the revolution, when Kerensky attacked the Government in a speech in the Duma, and, according to information, the order for his arrest had been prepared when the revolution nullified it.

As a member of the Duma, Kerensky strengthened his attack upon the Czar's Government by exposing the corruption and pro-Germanism among the ruling powers. The Black Hundreds of Russia were so German in their sympathies that they were called the "Prussian leaders," instead of the "Russian leaders," and they were the most intolerant and autocratic of all the factors in the old régime. Kerensky investigated their conduct during the war and made public exposure of their sentiments.

He also turned the spotlight upon wholesale corruption among the officials

who purchased supplies for the army, and by this work did much to hasten the revolution.

When the revolution was making its first rumblings heard, the Czar ordered the dissolution of the Duma, and Kerensky, rising in his place, said: "We will not go. We will stay here." And the Duma stayed.

Kerensky was made Minister of Justice in the original Provisional Government, and one of his first official acts was to issue an order releasing all the political prisoners in Siberia.

His friends testify that one of his outstanding qualities is tact, and it was by this that he was able, they say, to assist materially in reconciling disputing factions and persuading them to form the present Provisional Government.

Kerensky is described as a slight, moderately tall, blonde man who looks more like an Englishman than a Russian. He is said to be one of the most forceful public speakers in Russia and a clear-thinking man, possessing ability to present his thoughts with compelling logic. His popularity among the masses, according to report, amounts to enthusiastic faith.

Details of the Czar's Abdication

Nicholas II. abdicated the throne of Russia at Pskof Station on March 15, 1917. *A correspondent of the Paris Temps has obtained from M. Choulgine, one of the actors in the memorable scene, the following detailed narrative of what took place:*

AS our train stopped in the station of Pskof, one of the Emperor's Aids de Camp entered our carriage and said: "His Majesty is awaiting you." We only had to go a few steps to reach the imperial train. I was not in the least moved. We had reached that extreme of physical tension after the days which we had just lived in Petrograd, when nothing can either astonish or seem impossible.

We entered a brightly lighted saloon carriage upholstered in pale green. The Court Chamberlain and General Narischkine were there and the Emperor entered immediately; he was wearing the uniform of one of the Caucasian regiments. He seemed quite calm and shook hands with us; he was in fact more cordial than cold. He sat down and told us to do the same. Gutchkoff sat by him near a small round table; I sat opposite Gutchkoff, Freedericks sat a little further along, and General Narischkine took his seat at a table, ready to take down all that was said, as he had been asked to do by the Emperor. General Russky entered at that moment, apologized for not having been there when we arrived, bowed to us and took his place next to me, that is, opposite the Czar.

Gutchkoff spoke. I was afraid that he would be pitiless and that he would say something cruel to the Emperor. But I soon felt reassured. Gutchkoff spoke at length and quite easily. The parts of his speech seemed to come in perfect order. He did not refer to the past, but spoke of the present, trying to make his hearer understand how far the country had fallen. He spoke with lowered eyes and his hand on the little table, and so he could not see the face of the Czar, and this made it easier for him to finish his painful speech. He ended it by stating that the only way out of the situation was for the monarch to abdicate in favor of the little Alexis, with the Grand Duke Michael as Regent. At the moment when Gutchkoff was saying these words, Russky leaned toward me and whispered: "This has already been decided."

Then the Emperor spoke. His voice and his gestures were much calmer, much more simple than Gutchkoff's manner and speech had been. Gutchkoff was deeply moved by the momentous nature of the interview, and this made him emphatic. "I have thought a great deal yesterday and today," said Nicholas II., in the same tone of voice as if he had

been speaking of some ordinary business. "Up to 3 o'clock today I was prepared to abdicate in favor of my son, but I have since realized that it would be impossible for me to be separated from him." The Czar here paused slightly, and then continued as calmly: "You will understand me, I hope! That is why I have decided to abdicate in favor of my brother." He was then silent as if he expected some reply.

I then said: "This proposition is a surprise to us; we only considered an abdication in favor of the Czarevitch Alexis. I therefore request to be permitted to have a few minutes' private conversation with Alexandre. Ivanovitch (Gutchkoff) so that we may give a considered reply. The Czar consented, and I forget now how the conversation was resumed, but it is a certain fact that we made no difficulties in accepting the objections which were set before us. Gutchkoff said that he did not feel he had the courage to combat the feelings of a father, and considered all pressure impossible on that point. It seemed to me that, on hearing this, a trace of satisfaction passed over the face of the sovereign whom we had just dethroned. * * * We therefore accepted, under these conditions, the Emperor's solution.

He then asked us if we could guarantee with certainty that the act of abdication would bring peace to the country and not provoke further effervescence. We replied that, as far as it was possible to foresee the future, we did not expect difficulties of that kind. I am not quite certain as to when exactly the Czar retired into the next carriage to sign the act. He came back at about 11:15, holding a few small-sized pieces of paper in his right hand. He said to us: "This is the act of abdication, read it." We read it in low tones. The document was in noble language. I felt ashamed of the text which we had rapidly written down. I, however, asked the Emperor to add to the phrase, "We request our brother to govern in full unity with the representatives of the nation sitting in the legislative assemblies," the following words: "And to give assurance of this on oath to the people." The Czar consented and immediately added what I asked, changing, however the alteration, which finally read, "And to enter with them upon a sworn and inviolable agreement." Thus Michael Alexandrovitch was a constitutional sovereign in the full acceptation of the term. Events have gone beyond the form of government which we were considering.

The act was copied in type on small sheets of paper. * * * Two or three copies were made. The Emperor signed in pencil. * * * When I looked at my watch for the last time it was 11:48.

What Has Paralyzed Russia's Armies

M. Tscheidze's Political Ideal

A British newspaper correspondent recently talked with M. Tscheidze, head of the Petrograd Committee of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, the central revolutionary organization that has its network of committees throughout Russia and the Russian Army. Coming from the man who, with Kerensky, may be said to control Russia's war policy, his ideas may be of far-reaching importance. The correspondent wrote:

M. TSCHEIDZE, in appearance, is our own John Burns in duodecimo. He is a highly educated man and a lawyer. After courtesies, this brisk little gentleman, sitting sideways on an upright chair, with both hands clasped on the back of it, announced that while with all the will in the world he would answer any question about Russian socialism which I cared to put to him, he would first of all be greatly obliged if I would allow him to address a few questions to me on a matter of very first-rate importance.

His questions did not at that time seem to me of very first-rate importance. I now realize how important they were—nay, how important they are still. Indeed, the future of our relations with

democratic Russia may turn upon the answers which Britain makes by her policy to these questions of M. Tscheidze.

Briefly, his questions come to this: Is it not true that the war has destroyed English liberalism? Is it not a fact that we have surrendered all those liberties for which we profess ourselves to be fighting? What has happened to our right of public meeting, our free speech, our liberty of the press, even to our right of trial by jury? In a word, has not this war forced us to abandon the democratic principle of government which has been Britain's glory for so many years, and obliged us to adopt the Prussian system of a military dictatorship, which we denounce?

Very earnestly did I seek to persuade M. Tscheidze that there is all the difference in the world between democracy's deliberate choice of a certain curtailment of its liberties, in its own general interests, and an absolutist system of government holding in its iron grip a nation which has never been free to decide under what form of government it will live. He saw what I meant, but was not convinced.

His point was that Britain's course had acted as a check to the democratic movement all over the world; that it had tended to discredit the democratic principle, and that those men who were fighting for freedom in other nations felt themselves depressed by Britain's submission to a virtual dictatorship.

"Is it not true," he demanded, "that your soldiers decide what shall be printed and what not?"

"Only in the interests of our strategy," I replied, believing at the time that what I said was true.

"Is it not true," he demanded, "that your soldiers decide what meetings should be held and what suppressed?"

I made a like answer.

"Is it not true that your soldiers seize people and lock them up in prison without trial?"

I flatly denied this, not knowing at the time that Miss Howson, for one, had been so treated—she has now been nineteen months in prison without legal advice and without a trial.

M. Tscheidze then held forth to me on the general question. War, he declared, is the most dangerous enemy of freedom. Rights are surrendered which may never be regained. The man of thought is displaced by the man of action. Reason gives way to force. The destinies of the human race are taken out of the hands of the thinker and intrusted to the soldier. With the soldier in power no one knows what may happen—no one is permitted even to discuss what ought to happen. The soldier only thinks in slaughter and destruction. He has no political instincts, no sense of statesmanship. His one business is to kill. He kills, and keeps on killing till there is nothing more to kill. It is not safe to trust the world to such a man. The thinkers must continue to think. Discussion must be free, so that truth may emerge.

It is a dangerous policy to dismiss the Russian Socialist as a dreamer or to lament, as is done in some quarters, that the people of Russia have fallen victims to the sentimental idealism of Tolstoy. * * * The Rusisan Socialist believes that the Germans themselves will destroy Kaiserism. He is not, believe me, false to our ideals in this war. The trouble that he causes springs only from the fact that he hungers and thirsts with all the force of his idealism to get what we want by reason and not by force.

The Russian and French Revolutions

1789—1917: Parallels and Contrasts

THE clamor in the fortress of Kronstadt for the immediate trial and punishment of the deposed Czar is a vivid reminder of the French Revolution, in the perilous days at the close of 1792, when Danton, Robespierre, and Marat, the leaders of the extremists, were debating the punishment of Louis XVI., who was condemned to death and executed on Jan. 21, 1793. The charge against Louis XVI. was "treason against the nation"; he had been proved guilty of treasonable communication with Leopold, Emperor of Austria, whose armies were threatening the very life of revolutionary France. The parallel is made closer when we compare the rôle of the former Russian Empress—a German Princess, at heart devoted to the German Emperor and the German cause—with the ill-fated Marie Antoinette, sister of the Austrian Emperor, fanatical upholder of despotic government and fatal counselor of Louis of France. And, just as Marie Antoinette had, with blind and ruinous obstinacy, exercised her baneful fascination over the French King, most of all in the selection of Ministers, so Alexandra of Russia, prompted thereto by Germany's tool, Rasputin, in fact brought about the fall of Nicholas II. by leading him to appoint men like Stürmer and Protopopoff to rule the Russian Empire.

Louis XVI., faced by national bankruptcy brought on by the excesses and fiscal follies of his predecessor, had chosen at first wise men like Turgot and Necker; Turgot, of whom Carlyle said that there was "a whole pacific French Revolution in that head," might have saved France from a revolution of violence by his wise reforms and economies—abolition of the corvée, of the internal tolls on the transport of grain, of the ancient guilds which strangled labor; equalization of burdens, abolition of feudal dues, systematized public education. But all this was brought to nought through the fanatical hostility of Marie Antoinette, whose sulking and pouting induced Louis XVI. to betray and dismiss Turgot. Necker followed, advocating similar reforms, but once more the Queen demanded and obtained his dismissal; and, with the appointment of Calonne and his successors, unscrupulous favorites of Marie Antoinette, the revolution of violence became inevitable. These men were the Stürmers and Protopopoffs of revolutionary France.

Duma and Constituent Assembly

There is a parallel equally close between the succession of assemblies in the two countries. Louis XVI., after Turgot and Necker had been dismissed, tried to govern through the Notables of France, a body of men of the privileged classes, not elected but in effect nominated by the sovereign, who bear a close resemblance to the old Council of the Empire in Russia. When the Notables accomplished nothing, but, on the contrary, blocked every project of reform, there was a general outcry for the summoning of the States General; and from this body was evolved the revolutionary Constituent Assembly. In the same way, the Council of the Empire in Russia gave way before the Imperial Duma, and the Duma did much to bring about the Russian revolution.

The French States General was a reversion to an older form of government that had gradually been forced out of existence by the growing autocracy of the Kings of France. It had been summoned last in 1614. By a curious coincidence, the last great representative assembly in Russia met almost at the same time—in 1613—this being the Constituent Assembly which elected the house of Romanoff. And, as the States General had at first no intention either to dethrone Louis XVI.

or to bring about a revolution, so the Russian Duma expected to open the way not to a republic but to a constitutional monarchy. And in both countries it is practically certain that, had the sovereign wisely and loyally yielded at the critical moment, establishing genuine representative institutions and a Ministry responsible to the representatives of the nation, no revolution would have taken place. In both countries, likewise, the final and fatal opposition came from the foreign Queen and through her dangerous power over the sovereign.

Voltaire and Tolstoy

In Russia, as in France, there was a long preparation for the coming revolution, carried out not by politicians and statesmen, but by a brilliant and impassioned group of philosophical essayists and writers. There is, at first blush, small resemblance between Voltaire, "that leering old mocker," as Lowell called him, and the grimly serious, almost lugubrious Count Tolstoy; but the contrast between them is largely the difference between the Gallic and the Slavonic genius.

We think of Voltaire as an iconoclastic philosopher, jeering at churches; he valued himself rather as a dramatist, a poet, a writer of imagination, and was, without doubt, far prouder of his plays than of his theories. Tolstoy had a like twofold influence. Transcendently great as an imaginative writer, the author of "Anna Karénina," of "War and Peace," of "The Resurrection," he himself held, in his later years, that these things were valueless; that only his moral and political theories had real worth. History has, in a way, indorsed his judgment; for it is to the philosophic anarchism and pacifism of Tolstoy that we owe much of the dominant mood of Russia at this moment, from the seizure of land by the peasants of Pskov and Bessarabia to the dangerous "fraternization" in the trenches, where the youthful soldiers believe that they are carrying out Tolstoy's interpretation of the command "Love your enemies." Tolstoy wrote the gospel which the revolutionaries of Kronstadt and Schluesselburg are trying to carry out. His tracts are the inspiration of the Lenins and Lomanoffs who are urging Russia to make peace with her enemies, to open the era of universal brotherhood.

But, just as against the philosophical aloofness of Voltaire stood the impassioned anarchism of Rousseau—Rousseau with his "Social Contract," opening with the words, "Man was born free, but he is everywhere in chains," which inspired the opening phrase of the American Declaration of Independence, has his Russian counterparts in Herzen and Bakunin, the real fathers of Russia's revolutionary socialism. Tolstoy, while preaching against political, social, and economic injustice, also preached pacifism and absolute nonresistance; his doctrines, logically followed, could never have led to armed revolt, though they might have inspired and reinforced it. But Herzen and Bakunin were all for action; for the forcible seizure of power by the proletariat, for the formation of such an internationale as the extremists in Petrograd are advocating today. It is true that many of the phrases of the Russian extremists were created by Karl Marx, when he wrote "Capital"; such ideas as the description of the present world conflict as "a capitalistic war"; but the real drive and force of these ideas in Russia is due to the influence and writings of men like Herzen and Bakunin, and their disciples, Prince Peter Kropotkin and Maxim Gorky. It is quite true that Kropotkin's long sojourn in England has made him enthusiastically pro-ally, but that does not cancel his earlier preaching of anarchism. In one sense he is pro-ally because he sees that the democracy of England and France is far closer to the absolute liberty which is his ideal.

Feudalism and Bureaucracy

To a very large degree the French Revolution was a passionate uprising against feudal privilege; against the terrible oppression and depression of the peasantry of France. Immediately after the taking of the Bastile, on July 14, 1789, the downtrodden peasantry throughout France rose in armed insurrection; roving bands plundered and demolished the châteaux of the nobles, filling the

land with a carnival of bloodshed and outrage.

Here we have the first sharp contrast. Russia had no feudal system. And while in France hardly one-fifth of the land was in effective possession of peasant proprietors, in Russia much less than one-fifth was in possession of hereditary landlords who might be compared with the feudal nobles of France. This, because, as a result of the great Act of Emancipation carried out by the Czar, Alexander II., in 1861—two years before Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation—large masses of the Russian peasantry became landowners, while some four-tenths of Russia's arable land formed the Crown demesne, having, therefore, no landlord but the Czar himself. And, as one of the first acts of the revolutionary Government of Russia was to declare the Crown demesne forfeit, there were, for this enormous tract of over a million square miles, no land-owning nobles to dispossess.

There was an equally sharp contrast between the methods of procedure in the two countries. While France saw wild excesses of outrage and bloodshed in every province, in Russia the very small fraction of the land seized by the peasants was taken without brutality on the one side, without resistance on the other. So far, not a single murder has been attributed to this cause in Russia, though there have been many cases of plunder and incendiarism. The real enemy in Russia was not feudalism, but bureaucracy. It follows that one chief cause of later disorder in revolutionary France—the creation of the class of emigrés, or exile nobles—can have no existence in Russia. The French emigrés, the land-owning nobles who survived the first uprising and massacre in the Summer of 1789, fled across the eastern frontier, largely to Austria and Prussia, and did everything in their power—and successfully—to incite these strongholds of despotism to make war on revolutionary France. One group of emigrés went to Russia.

"*The Cause of Kings*"

With the emigrés there is another striking contrast between revolutionary France and revolutionary Russia. In France, war, the tremendous cycle of wars lasting for nearly a quarter century and involving all Europe, Western Asia, Egypt, and, ultimately—in 1812—the United States also, sprang directly from the French Revolution and primarily from the Declaration at Pilnitz, in which the Austrian Emperor and the King of Prussia united in announcing that the cause of Louis XVI. was "the cause of Kings," and that, therefore, revolutionary France must be crushed into subjection. In Russia, on the contrary, the revolution sprang from the war, and directly from the belief that the imperial house of Russia was planning to make common cause with the Austrian Emperor and the King of Prussia—who had become the German Emperor—against the people of Russia and against the democracy in all lands. But in both countries the link between the throne and the central despots was the foreign consort of the sovereign: Queen Marie Antoinette in France and the Hessian Princess who became Czarina Alexandra in Russia.

Moderates and Extremists

In April, 1792, revolutionary France declared war against Austria, Louis XVI. being still nominally King, while Francis II. had succeeded Leopold as Austrian Emperor.

There is a striking resemblance between the parties in the revolutionary France of that year and those in revolutionary Russia today. The Girondists, so called from the Gironde, the department on the Bay of Biscay with Bordeaux as its capital, from which its leaders came, who were also called the men of the Plain, because their seats were on the main floor of the assembly, correspond pretty closely to the group of the Duma, led by Milukoff and Rodzianko, who really planned for Russia not a republic but a limited, constitutional monarchy after the English model; while the Jacobins, so called because they met in a building formerly held by the Jacobin or Dominican friars of Saint Jacques, pretty closely correspond to the extremists who, in Russia, fulminate in the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. The

initial policy of Rodzianko and Milukoff was exactly the policy of Mirabeau; though matters have not reached the point in Petrograd which they had reached in Paris when Mirabeau wished to raise the provinces against the capital, to check the drift toward anarchism.

The parties in the Duma, in fact, adopted the names created in the Assembly of revolutionary France, and there has been exactly the same shifting of the centre of gravity from right to left. And, just as, by 1792, the old party of the Extreme-Right had practically gone out of existence in Paris, so the old Petrograd Extreme-Right has ceased to exist. The Girondists, who had begun as the Constitutionalist Left-Centre, became the party of the Right; just as the Constitutional-Democrats of Petrograd, called, from the initial and final letters of their name, the C-D-ts or Cadets, who, under the leadership of Milukoff, were the Left-Centre Party in the Imperial Duma, have now become the party of the Right, with the extreme revolutionary Socialists and even the Anarchists, ranged against them on the Left.

Exactly in what way these extremists got hold of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates is not yet clear; but it is quite clear that, in the acts of that body, the soldier delegates have very little part, since, being mere boys without anything more than the most rudimentary education and with no experience of life, they could, in the nature of things, play no real rôle in complicated political discussions. All real power is in the hands of a small group of leaders like Tscheidze and Tseretelli—both of them natives of the Caucasus, of non-Russian origin—while it seems clear that many of their decisions, such as the formula, "Peace without annexations or contributions," are directly inspired by German agents.

It is worth noting that the pacifist-extremists have their exact parallel in revolutionary France: Robespierre, Danton, and Marat were all in favor of peace and very active in opposing the declaration of war against Austria, which virtually opened the great epoch of the Napoleonic wars.

And, just as Danton upset the Girondist Moderates and established the radical Government of the Commune of Paris, so the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates at Petrograd has attempted to upset the Provisional Government of the Duma Moderates, though so far unsuccessfully, the expedient of a Coalition Government being at present tried. But the council has just issued a manifesto declaring that, by forming this Coalition Government, they have not, in fact, abated any of their original demands. Danton's ominous words, "The allied Kings march against us. Let us hurl at their feet, as the gauntlet of battle, the head of a King," find their echo in Kronstadt's demand for the "punishment" of Nicholas II.; but it is entirely possible that the Kronstadt demand is simply a German scheme, intended to plunge Russia into a civil war between the extremists and the wiser moderates.

Gallic and Russian Temperament

The moment we try to pair off the leaders in the two revolutions, we are confronted with the fundamental differences in temperament between the Gallic and Slavonic races. That difference has already been strikingly manifested in three things: in the fact, already noted, that confiscation of land in Russia has been carried on without brutality on the one side, and without resistance on the other; in the second fact that, while Louis XVI. fought against the revolution openly and secretly, fairly and treacherously, and owed his death to that resistance, Nicholas II. frankly accepted the Russian revolution at once, never contemplating resistance, but, with evident loyalty and sincerity, wishing Russia all success in her new venture, publicly praying for the welfare of the Government which had deposed him. Thirdly, revolutionary Russia began by abolishing capital punishment, while revolutionary France invented the guillotine. On the one hand, a fiery people, instantly leaping to action, easily rushing into wild, even ferocious, excess; on the other, a people singularly gentle, even phlegmatic, by nature very orderly and slow to violence. This fundamental difference in temperament has

shown itself at every point since the Russian revolution began.

Take, for example, the fighting at Petrograd from March 10 to March 15, when the Czar abdicated. First reports of the numbers killed spoke of thousands. But, when the bodies of "the martyrs of the Russian revolution" came to be interred with solemn ceremonies, they numbered only 182 in all. Without doubt, there were many casualties on the other side, beginning with ex-Minister Stürmer, who was reported to have died of fright, and including numbers of the political police, as well as officers of the army and navy, like General Kashtalinski and Admiral Butakoff, well known in Washington as Russian Naval Attaché when Count Cassini was Ambassador; many of them fanatically murdered in the first delirium of liberty. And there have been lynchings throughout Russia, chiefly of men supposed to be German spies.

But, on the whole, there has been wonderfully little violence. Even the anarchist demonstrations in Petrograd, the revolts at Schlüsselburg and Kronstadt, and the declaration of independence in a southern district—all of them, most probably, engineered by German agents—have been met with only the gentlest handling, with persuasion rather than force, in sharp contrast to the Parisian slaughters during the Red and the White Terrors, or even the comparatively recent holocaust of Parisian Communists in 1871, when, after desperate fighting in the streets, court-martial executions of large batches of prisoners continued for many months, to be followed by numberless sentences of transportation; these incisive measures being taken by the men who founded the Third Republic, the present Government of France.

Kerensky Not Like Danton

In Russia there have been no "massacres of the Champ de Mars," no "September massacres"; the Petrograd Field of Mars, so named after its French counterpart or the older Campus Martius at Rome, has been the scene only of the ceremonial burial of the "martyrs of the revolution." This expresses the profound differences between the Slavonic and the Gallic temperament which makes direct comparison between the leaders impossible.

It is true that Alexander Kerensky, the present Minister of War, has been compared to Danton, who played such a heroic part in creating and inspiring the armies of France to fight against the Austrian and Prussian invaders; but, in truth, there is small likeness beyond the fact that both were radical lawyers. Kerensky seems much more truly to resemble the great Carnot, who "organized victory" for France. And men like Tscheidze and Tseretelli, who might conceivably wish to play extremist rôles like those of Marat and Robespierre, are not Russians or Slavs at all but Asiatics from the Caucasus Mountains.

Further, in Russia it is the leaders, the famous Generals, who are urging the nation to fight, while the common soldiers hang back. In France, the men in the ranks were full of militant ardor, while the Generals, like Dumouriez, played traitor, surrendering fortresses to the enemy; even Lafayette at one time lost his nerve and fled to the Austrians, who promptly clapped him into a dungeon, whence only Napoleon's victories delivered him, so that he survived to play a great and worthy part in the Revolution of 1830.

A Charasteristic Episode

There is a certain parallel between the internal fighting in France, in La Vendée, and in the south, at Toulon, where Napoleon won his spurs, and the threatened conflicts at Kronstadt and in the Russian Army. But, through the decisive firmness of Kerensky and the Commander in Chief, General Brusiloff, the loyalists seem certain to win, and to win with little or no bloodshed. The sweeping victory of the loyalists was announced from Petrograd on June 11, in a dispatch telling how General Stcherbatoff—one of the four army commanders under Brusiloff, in the great drive of 1916—had given an order to disband, for pacifist disloyalty, a regiment of infantry and two regiments of sharpshooters.

Three regiments of another division were ordered to take up a new position

on the Rumanian front, but refused to do so, and thereupon received an order to disband. The soldiers openly mutinied. The men of one of the regiments arrested the commander and seven officers, tore their badges from their uniforms, and beat two officers, leaving one insensible on the road. Thereupon a loyal committee of soldiers of the whole army, after deliberating with the army staff, decided to take stern measures against the mutineers, whose ringleader was named Philipoff. A resolute General was chosen, having under his command two divisions of loyal cavalry, two battalions of infantry, one light battery, armored motor cars and airplanes. Occupying positions against the mutineers, he sent them an ultimatum, demanding the surrender of their ringleader and commanding them to take up their positions as ordered, and to undertake to serve faithfully in the future.

The mutinons soldiers, seeing that they were surrounded, attempted to negotiate, but at the last moment Philipoff incited them to new resistance. The loyalist General immediately ordered his guns into action, whereupon the rebels unconditionally accepted the ultimatum and surrendered Philipoff and others, who were carried off to prison in an automobile. The loyal troops, enraged at this clemency, fired at the automobile, but their commander, in order to save the prisoners' lives, jumped into the car, whereupon the firing ceased.

What a striking illustration of Russian gentleness; the whole thing settled, apparently without bloodshed; the sole casualty recorded being one officer beaten into insensibility, while the mutinous ringleaders, instead of being shot after a drumhead court-martial, are sent to prison, the General risking his life to save theirs.

Through all parallels and resemblances this striking contrast of temperaments between the Frenchman and the Russian stands out sharply; throughout, the Russian revolution has been seasoned with mercy.

A Royal Volunteer for the American Army

The Duc d'Orléans, who under different conditions might have been King of France, has offered his services as a volunteer in the United States Army. Early in April he sent the following telegram to Lieut. Col. John P. Nicholson of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States:

"At the moment when America is entering the war I come to claim the honor and the right to serve the common cause of civilization and humanity. Son of Comte de Paris, veteran of the Federal Army, myself a member of the Military Order of the Legion of the United States, I ask you to take the steps necessary to obtain for me a place under your flag."

The Duc's reference to his father recalls the fact that when the American civil war broke out Louis Philippe d'Orléans, Comte de Paris, joined the United States Volunteers as Captain and Aide de Camp in 1861. He served on the staff of General McClellan in the Army of the Potomac, resigning in July, 1862, and died in 1894 at Stowe House. The commission was forwarded to him from Washington by Secretary W. H. Seward in September, 1861.

Lieut. Col. Nicholson replied to the present Duke, informing him that his tender was received with great enthusiasm by the commanderies of the order, and that it was presented to the President, but that it did not yet appear that there was a willingness to accept volunteers. The President's Secretary had written: "While regretting that the services of the Duc d'Orléans would not seem to be required, the department nevertheless appreciates very highly the Duc's proffer."

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club

Major Dayton has long had the official recognition of the United States War Department as an expert authority on strategy and tactics. This is the fifth article in a series which he is writing for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, covering in a rapid narrative all the military events of importance since the beginning of the present conflict.

V.—Second Battle of Ypres—Von Mackensen's Victories

[See map of Ypres region, in "The Battle of Messines Ridge," elsewhere in this issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

THERE was a general anticipation among the Allies in the early part of 1915 that May Day in that year would be a sort of military New Year's Day. It was confidently predicted that about that time the French Army, and more especially the British Army, would begin an offensive which would drive the invaders out of Belgium and France. The British disappointment at Neuve Chapelle in March was regarded as a premature effort to begin the drive before the plans had been sufficiently matured, but the French successes in Champagne showed the Gallic armies to be well in hand and thoroughly prepared for hard fighting. French troops were holding about 90 per cent. of the long western battle front, and both French and British combined to defend the important salient around Ypres. All the publicists were busy prophesying allied attacks, and only a very few of the really expert writers suggested the possibility of a renewed German attack.

Second Battle of Ypres

In the previous October the first battle of Ypres had been fought, and that tremendous German effort to drive a way through to Calais had ended in defeat when the final charges of the Prussian Guard failed on Nov. 11. Ypres is an important local centre of communications, with important roads radiating northeast, east, and southeast. In April, 1915, the allied lines circled above and beyond the town from four to five miles, except at the south, where the lines from Hill 60 to the Yser Canal were rather less than two miles away.

It will be worth the student's while to trace the position on the map as it was on April 22. Beginning at Yser Canal on the north, French troops were in the trenches which curved eastward through Bixschoote to a point beyond Langemarck, whence General Alderson's Canadian division with four brigades stretched over the front to a point beyond Grafenstafel. From the Canadian right the British Twenty-eighth Division occupied the trenches down to the Polygon Wood two miles east of Hooge. At the edge of this wood Princess Patricia's regiment was on the left of General Snow's (Twenty-seventh) division, which carried the line on down east of the Veldhoek Ridge to Hill 60, where at the re-entering angle Snow's right flank joined the Fifth Division of General Morland. The trenches held by the Canadians had originally been dug by the French, and they were wet and shallow. The dead were buried thick in the sides and bottom, so that it was an ugly task to try to improve these positions.

On April 17 seven British mines were exploded under Hill 60 and two British regular regiments captured and held the position. For several days the Germans made almost continuous counterattacks, and both sides lost heavily in the struggle for this little hill, which was important because it would afford the British an opportunity to enfilade some of the German trenches toward Hollebeke on the south. On the 20th the German heavy artillery began to bombard the town of Ypres with the object of blocking the British transport, which was

supplying the positions covering the place, and a large number of civilians were killed.

The First Gas Attacks

Early in the evening of April 22 a light, steady breeze was blowing over the lines from the northeast, when suddenly a low greenish bank of vapor was observed drifting upon the French trenches. Soon a demoralized stream of French colonial soldiers was pouring back from the Bixschoote-Langemarck sector, wild with the terror of an unheard-of attack. The Germans had pumped out of cylinders a large quantity of heavy chlorine gas, which rolled low and thick into the trenches, blinding, choking, and suffocating men utterly unprepared and unwarned. A horrible death came upon hundreds, and those of their comrades able to run broke in gasping horror upon the surprised Canadian reserves in the rear.

The result of this rout was a gap in the allied lines four miles wide, through which the Germans followed the demoralized French troops back to the canal between Boesinghe and Steenstraate. The Canadians were less affected by the gas, but their left flank, held by General Turner's brigade, was compelled to bend back east of the Poelcapelle road to a wood at the right of St. Julien.

Late in the night various units were brought up to fill the gap between St. Julien and Boesinghe, and under the command of Colonel Geddes of the Buffs, this mixed force succeeded in blocking what for some hours at least had been an open road toward Ypres. Providentially, the Germans were so busy forcing a way across the canal near Lizerne that they missed the chance for a smashing drive into the town of Ypres, where the streets, blocked by shell-strewn ruins, were congested by all the transport trains and the mad struggle to straighten out the tangle into which the gas surprise had thrown the whole northern sector. On Friday the Canadian Third Brigade was covering St. Julien, and, despite heavy attacks, lack of food, and low physical conditions following the nausea of the gas, this heroic force managed to preserve touch with Geddes's right flank.

Early on the morning of the 24th, after a violent artillery attack, the second great gas attack was launched by the Germans. Observers preserved a careful record this time, and we know that it took the deadly green bank of gas two minutes to roll across the ground intervening between the opposing trenches. It rose not above seven feet at most, and was deadliest toward the bottom. The heavy gas rolled down into and penetrated every corner of the trenches. There were then no such defensive appliances as the now familiar gas masks. Wet handkerchiefs, an erect position, and the avoidance of any deep breathing were the only protective measures known, and even these were but slightly understood. Those who inhaled it deeply found their lungs filled with the fluid and suffered terribly; their blue, swollen faces and bulging eyes, added to spasmodic gasping efforts to breathe, made the victims things of horror. More than half a mile to the rear the gas was still strong enough to cause violent nausea and dizziness.

Allies Forced to Retreat

Under this attack the worn-out Canadian Third Brigade gave way and retreated below the Ypres-Passchendele road. Colonel Lipsett's Eighth Battalion made a superb defense of the pivotal position on the hill at Grafenstafel and prevented a German flank attack which would have turned the whole eastern part of the line.

On Sunday morning, the 25th, large British reinforcements had arrived, and a determined effort was made to recover St. Julien; but in spite of the hardest kind of fighting the effort was defeated and the lines forced back to Fortuin. The pivot at Grafenstafel was helped by the addition of fresh regiments, and held; but in the heavy fighting of Monday the Germans won Fortuin and drove the British back another 400 yards behind Hannabeeke Brook. The Northumberland brigade and the Lahore division (Indian) suffered a bloody repulse in an effort to retake St. Julien. The Fortieth Pathans (the "Forty Thieves") fought

well and lost not only their Colonel but nearly every British officer.

For a week attacks and counterattacks continued, but by May 3 it became evident that prudence demanded the surrender of some of the ugly angles in the line, and the British shortened their hard-pressed front by a skillful retreat to a new line closer to Ypres. The French Ninth Corps (regulars) had taken position on the east bank of the Yser Canal, and on a curve toward the southeast their right joined the British left west of Shelltrap Farm, half way between St. Julien and St. Jean. The new British position curved east and south through Frezenberg and Hooge to Hill 60. The front between Grafenstafel and Polygon Wood had been withdrawn fully two miles.

On May 5 the Germans took Hill 60, and on the 8th and 9th they drove the British back of the Frezenberg Hill to Verlorenhoek. In this fighting shellfire reduced the First Suffolks to seven men, and the Second Cheshires fought until they had only one officer left. Many other units had similar losses in this period; 900 eight-inch shells fell in the trenches occupied by one regiment of territorials.

Heavy British Losses

On May 13 the First and Third Cavalry Divisions under General de Lisle were desperately engaged in the sector between Hooge and Verlorenhoek. The dismounted cavalry included some of the most famous regiments in British army annals as well as a number of Yeomanry regiments. The divisions fought splendidly and suffered great losses, but were compelled to yield more ground between Bellewaarde Lake and Verlorenhoek. Shelltrap Farm, captured by the Germans, was retaken in a bayonet charge by the Second Essex.

On May 24 the Germans again released gas, this time on a front of three miles from Shelltrap Farm to Bellewaarde Lake. This time the cloud rose much higher and the wind carried it over the lines to the southwest. The troops had by now been furnished with respirators, but more ground was yielded in this sector when the gas was followed by a storm of shells and heavy infantry attacks. The hard-pressed British lines were saved by the heroic fighting of the cavalry supports, who again suffered great loss. The famous Ninth Lancers lost many officers, including that splendid soldier, Captain Francis Grenfell, who had won the Victoria Cross and greatly distinguished himself in the battles of 1914.

So toward the end of May the second battle of Ypres died away and the bodies of more than a hundred thousand allied soldiers were added to the soil of this hard-held salient in the western battle front. Two years have passed since then, and on this front the lines remain about Ypres almost as Grenfell saw them last. In that Spring of 1915 the man power of the Allies on the battlefields began to gain numerical superiority over the enemy, and that superiority has grown steadily since then. Yet still the German stands there and waits for us.

Campaign in the South

In March and April, 1915, the news vendors throughout the world were at their wits' end to determine who had last captured Hartmanns-Weilerkopf, for that mountain spur changed hands over and over again in the hard campaign fought in the Vosges. The Chasseurs Alpins under Maud'huy fought a series of small battles along the Valley of the Fecht with Colmar, an important railhead, for objective. Numerous small successes seemed to pave the way for a serious drive against the German frontier, but no really great move developed. Throughout the rest of 1915 the lines remained almost exactly as they settled down after the series of minor battles in the late Winter and Spring of that year.

Attacks on St. Mihiel Salient

When the German attack upon Paris was repulsed and thrown back after the battle of the Marne, the invaders still held the strategically important salient south of Verdun, at St. Mihiel, where their guns on the heights at the Fort of the Camp des Romains commanded the plains for miles and the valley of the Meuse below Verdun. In the Spring of 1915 an important item in the French

A. F. KERENSKY

Russia's Minister of War, Described as the "Strong Man" of the Reconstructed Government

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

N. S. TCHEIDZE

President of the Russian Workmen's and Soldiers' Council, Addressing Sailors of the Baltic Fleet

(Photo © International Film Service)

program was the squeezing out of this salient, and the plan adopted was to drive in the already rather constricted sides. The principal attack was aimed at Les Eparges, a dozen miles north of St. Mihiel, where the Germans had busied themselves since the previous September in fortifying a naturally strong position which defended the lines of communication inside the salient.

On April 5 and 6, in heavy rain, the French infantry attacked with the bayonet, and positions were won and lost all the way up to the summit of the coveted height. On the 8th several French regiments fought their way to the top and held their ground until reinforced on the following day, when the victory was completed. Further to the north the French advanced to Etain, and it appeared as though the German commander would certainly be compelled to fall back upon the high ground in front of Metz; but the demands for a vigorous attack far to the north prevented the development of this campaign, which was destined to make no further progress toward the great German frontier fortress. The Germans were left in possession of the St. Mihiel salient and of the positions circling Verdun and joining the lines of the Crown Prince in the Argonne—positions back of which they were able to prepare for the great attacks upon Verdun in the early part of 1916.

The Campaign in Artois

In May, 1915, two great objectives confronted the British and the French commanders. General Joffre's task was to take Lens and advance toward Douai, Valenciennes, and Namur, while the British target was the great northern city of Lille.

The Germans held their lines about Lens in strong force, and the chalk of the region had been carved into skillful defensive positions. General Foch took command of the French forces in this sector, where seven corps were gathered with 1,100 guns. Opposed to him was von Bülow, outnumbered and outgunned, but in a series of mutually supporting positions of great strength.

On May 9 Foch's guns hurled 300,000 shells upon the German lines between La Targette and Carency. Then the infantry charged and took La Targette, and carried the attack into the streets of Neuville St. Vaast, where the battle raged at close quarters from house to house. The centre pushed on across the Arras-Béthune road, and in the morning hours succeeded in advancing nearly three miles. The left at Carency made slower progress because of the more difficult terrain, but by the day's end the French had made a brilliant advance on a front of about five miles, and had captured over 3,000 prisoners with a large number of machine guns and some cannon.

This battle raged on through the 10th, 11th, and 12th, and on the afternoon of the last day the last survivors of the garrison in Carency surrendered. The cemetery of Neuville St. Vaast and the summit at Notre Dame de Lorette, as well as Ablain, were taken by the French, whose attacks would not be denied.

On May 13 in heavy rain the French continued the attacks, now aimed at Angres, Souchez, and Neuville St. Vaast, and from then on through the rest of the month one after the other of the wonderful series of separate German fortifications were captured. On May 29 Ablain fell, and on the 31st the sugar refinery at Souchez was stormed after changing hands a number of times. Early in June Neuville St. Vaast was taken, but just to the south lay the famous Labyrinth, where the battle raged for a long time in deep galleries, sometimes fifty feet under ground.

Aubers Ridge and Festubert

The British campaign toward Lille was ushered in as a co-operative offensive timed to coincide with the French attacks in Artois. A first objective was the winning of the Aubers Ridge overtopping the old fatal field at Neuve Chapelle. On Sunday, May 9, the First Corps and the Indian Corps advanced upon the southern end of the Bois du Biez, a mile and a half east of Richebourg l'Avoué. The Eighth Division attacked further north, toward Fromelles and the northern slopes of the Aubers Ridge. The artillery had failed properly to prepare the way, and the in-

fantry were stopped by unbroken wire entanglements with heavy resulting losses and little or no gains.

A week later, on the 16th, there was another strong attack east of Festubert, after a bombardment in which the French 75s assisted. There was much close fighting and the bombers of the First Grenadiers did good work. A company of the Scots Guards got too far ahead and was cut off. Some days later its men were found lying with plenty of German dead about them.

This battle of Festubert ended in the last week of May with a net result of having given to the British the enemy's first-line trenches on a front of over 3,000 yards. In addition some second-line trenches were taken, with nearly 800 prisoners and ten machine guns. But despite the extremely heavy losses incurred, the attack had nowhere succeeded in breaking the enemy line. In June the Belgians won a German blockhouse south of Dixmude, and throughout that month and July there was a prolonged struggle for the ruins of the château at Hooge, just east of Ypres. There were several minor battles near Givenchy, Festubert, and Hooge, but invariably the British forces were compelled to abandon sections of enemy trenches won at severe cost. The only big thing on the side of the Allies was the casualty list.

In the early Summer a series of small victories were won in the Vosges by the French Alpine Chasseurs, who captured Metzeral in June, and in July stormed the Sondernach Ridge, pushing their advance close to Münster.

Late in June and early in July the German Crown Prince made four attacks upon the French lines in the Argonne along the Vienne-le-Château and Binarville road. Only small gains resulted, and on July 7 the Kaiser's heir hurled a stronger attack against the hill called La Fille Morte, which was captured, but later retaken by the French. It seemed impossible for the Crown Prince to win any glory in "the day" (der Tag!) for which he had openly longed in the years of peace.

It is a difficult thing now for most people to admit what they believed two years ago. In the Spring of 1915 the consensus of European military opinion was that the Russians were prepared to launch a tremendous campaign with huge armies and adequate equipment. They had won a strong hold in the Carpathians and were supposed to be ready for a crushing invasion of Hungary. Possibly there would be men and guns enough to strike as well toward Southern Germany via Cracow.

Russian Front in 1915

The Russians took Przemysl on March 22, and on the 25th they crossed the Pruth. Early in April they won the crest of the mountain barrier for all of seventy miles, and Brusiloff was within a few days' march of the Hungarian plains below. In a short campaign of a few weeks in Bukowina the Russians claimed to have captured 70,000 prisoners and many guns. Late in April General von Linsingen feinted toward Stanislau and succeeded in drawing down that way the Russian mobile reserves.

In December Dmitrieff had dug himself into a good defensive position behind the Donajetz River, and felt so secure that no positions to the rear had been prepared, in case retreat might become needful, for no such possibility seemed to threaten.

The supreme command of the German army groups was given to that idol of the German Army, von Mackensen, who had for the great operation about to be undertaken as many as 2,000,000, and perhaps 2,500,000, men. On April 28 the Austro-German armies lay on the left bank of the Donajetz down to the Cracow-Tarnow Railroad, and thence on the left bank of the Biala down to the mountains below Rapa and Grybow. On that day von Mackensen struck his first blow from his right flank toward Gorlice. May 1 saw the attack developed further north, where, under a tremendous artillery fire, a crossing was effected over the Biala and Crezkowice was taken. Gorlice, too, was stormed, and by the 2d the whole Russian front in this sector was in full retreat toward the Wislowka River, twenty miles in the rear. The Caucasian corps of Irmanov came to Dmitrieff's

help, and the Wislowka was held until May 7, when the Germans forced a crossing at Jaslo. The flank of the army in the Carpathians was turned, and its hurried retreat involved heavy losses, but desperate fighting enabled Brusiloff to get his army clear of its perilous position in the mountains.

FIELD MARSHAL VON MACKENSEN
(© F. O. Koch)

By May 14 the Russians were across the San, and the bridgehead at Jaroslav was defended until men and guns were over. The fortnight had been a costly one for Russia. Her armies had retreated something over eighty miles, and some corps had lost 75 per cent. of their strength.

The Grand Duke Nicholas took over the Russian command. On May 5 a Russian army under General Ewarts turned in a strong counterattack, which, after several days' fighting, drove back a German force advancing toward Ostrowiecz with a loss of 30,000 casualties. Toward the south, too, a vigorous counterstroke made good progress and threatened Kolomea and Czernowitz. The German checks on both flanks did not interfere with von Mackensen's main attack, which developed on May 15 and became one of the great battles of the war.

The Battle of the San

The chief German attack was aimed at the sector between Jaroslav and Przemysl, and at midnight on the 15th the northern town fell. On the 18th the Russians lost Sieniawa, and in the south von Marwitz captured the railway junctions at Dobromil and Sambor, on the Dniester, and drove on toward the north against the fortifcations about Przemysl. Pushing on, he took Hussakow and Lutkow.

Von Mackensen crossed the San at Radymno and on June 2 entered Przemysl, which the Russians had held for some two months or more. On June 1 von Linsingen captured Stryj, and the Prussian Guard took prisoners and guns from Brusiloff. On June 7 the same victor forced the Dniester at Zurawno and was well on his way toward Lemberg. Brusiloff turned, and in a three-day battle drove von Linsingen back over the river with the loss of 15,000 prisoners, and some guns.

However, the great German advance continued, and Mosciska, east of Przemysl, was captured June 14, and the Russians were back on the San, the Tanev, and the Grodek Ponds. By the 16th von Mackensen was advancing toward Rava Russka, and after taking Javorov his army entered that position as well as Zolkico on June 20. On the 22d the great City of Lemberg was taken, and Galicia was once more in Austrian hands.

At this time the German invasion beginning at the north was approaching Windau on the Baltic Sea, and the German line, curving southeast, reached close to Shavli, and toward the south cut between Suwalka and Grodno; then back on a curve west of Warsaw and across the Vistula at the junction with the Tanev; thence on a broad out curve toward Brody and down to Halicz. In the north, Libau, the seaport, had been taken early in May, and throughout that month and June Courland was being overrun by the German forces, which, before long, were threatening Riga. The British and French efforts to help Russia by a diversion in the west at Festubert

and Souchez were signal failures so far as their effect on the campaign in the east was concerned.

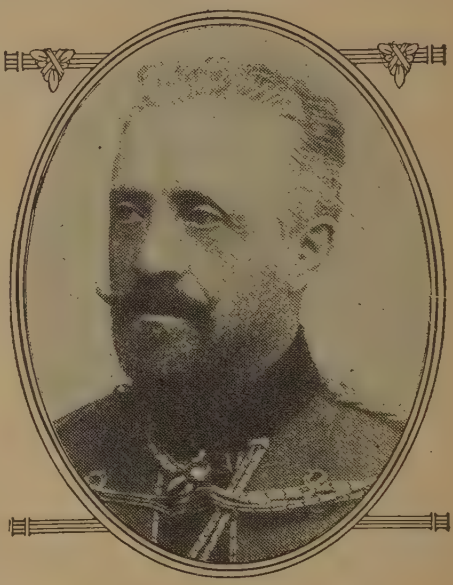
Battles in Front of Warsaw

After the fall of Lemberg the German General Staff prepared to attack Warsaw, now a dangerous salient for the Russians, with German armies threatening the railway communications both north and south of the ancient Polish capital. The strongly fortified city was the target, but the real object was a much greater thing. The Germans planned not only to capture cities and provinces, but to surround and destroy the field armies opposing their progress. They hoped to induce the Russian commander to commit great forces to the defense of certain important localities where the favorite Hindenburgian tactics might, by far-flung flank movements, surround and capture or destroy them.

A very powerful army was mobilized in the vicinity of Thorn for the great new effort after the capture of Lemberg. In the south the German campaign progressed methodically. Early in July they took Krasnik and Zamosc. In the first week of July the Russians won an important four days' battle along the Lublin highway above Krasnik, capturing 15,000 prisoners and many guns.

Late in June the German army of von Linsingen crossed the Dniester, and on the 28th captured Halicz. The Russians, fighting stubborn rear-guard actions, finally halted on the left (east) bank of the Zlota Lipa, a northern tributary of the Dniester. The battle line further north was temporarily halted along the River Bug, at Kamionka and Sokal, but by the middle of July von Mackensen had his vast force ready to strike new and irresistible blows from Courland in the north all the way down to Galicia. Przasnysz, north of Warsaw, was taken on July 14 by General von Gallwitz, and within the next few days the Germans reached the lines of the Rawka and the Bzura, and the Russians fell back to Blouie, a prepared position fifteen miles west of Warsaw. By July 20 the Russian defense on the north had fallen behind the Narco, a tributary of the Bug northeast of Warsaw, and by July 23 von Gallwitz won crossings over the Narev and two days later reached the River Bug between Novo Georgievsk and Serock.

Meanwhile von Mackensen was fighting a successful campaign midway between Lemberg and Warsaw. On July



GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS
(© *Underwood & Underwood*)

18 he captured Krasnostav and Pilaskowice, where he was dangerously close to a vital Russian line of communications—the railway from Lublin through Chulm to Kovel. After a series of hard-fought but nearly always successful actions the Germans south of Warsaw pressed on, and by July 22 had the Vistula bridgehead at Nova Alexandria, following the capture of Radom and a number of other positions west of the great river.

In the far north the German wave rushed on, submerging Tukkum and Windau (July 20) and rapidly threatened Mitau, an important railway junction southwest of Riga. On July 29 von Mackensen cut the railway south between Lublin and Chulm, and on the 30th both towns fell.

Fall of Warsaw and Kovno

On Aug. 4 the Russians who had held the point of the salient at Blouie fell

back through Warsaw, for the sides of the salient were pinching in dangerously, and on Aug. 5 German cavalry entered Warsaw. The successful withdrawal of the large garrison was the forerunner of a long series of similar successes. Over and over again Russian flanks were strongly held while large armies nearly trapped were safely extricated. The campaign went on from victory to victory, but the German Generals were always denied the darling wish of their strategy—the capture or destruction of the armies which they were able to defeat but not to annihilate. On Aug. 4 Ivangorod fell, and the middle of the month the Germans were pressing forward toward the railway Chulm-Brest-Litovsk-Grodno.

On Aug. 17 Kovno was taken, with 20,000 prisoners and 200 guns, after offering a heroic resistance. The fall of this important and strongly fortified city on the Niemen was a deadly blow to the Russian scheme of defense, for it opened the way toward the main railway line from Poland to Petrograd via Vilna.* On Aug. 19 von Beseler (the victor at Antwerp) after a three weeks' siege took Novo Georgievsk with another 20,000 prisoners and more than 700 guns. This great fortress close to Warsaw had been relied upon to withstand a long siege, and meanwhile threaten the communications of German armies pushing east into Russia. The hope was vain in face of von Beseler's great siege guns.

On Aug. 23 Ossowietz fell, and Tykocin, just south of the fortress, was stormed. Two days later the Germans took Brest-Litovsk, the fortress covering the railway to Moscow. On the 26th they captured Bialystok, the great railway centre south of Grodno. Olita, a fortress defending the crossings of the Niemen north of Grodno, fell on the 27th. Further to the north the Germans began an attack against Friedrichstadt in an attempt to force a crossing of the Dvina above Dvinsk. On the last day of August Lutsk, on the Styr, in Volhynia, was captured, and on Sept. 2 the Germans took Grodno, against which von Beseler's siege artillery had been concentrated. The Russians lost only the rear guard of 2,000 men and a few fortress guns.

*General Grigorieff was tried by a Russian court-martial and sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment at hard labor for insufficient measures of defense and absence from Kovno during the siege.

Czar Assumes Command

On Sept. 5 the Czar took personal command of all the Russian armies, and sent the Grand Duke Nicholas to command in the Caucasus. Early in September the Russian lines east of Grodno retired to a position reaching from Orany (at the crossing of the Petrograd railway over the Meretchanka River) to Mosty, on the Niemen. On Sept. 18 Vilna, a position of great strategic importance, fell after a brave resistance in which two divisions of the Russian Imperial Guard played a distinguished part. Von Eichorn, the German commander, pushed 40,000 cavalry with 140 guns toward the flank of the Russian position, and the garrison barely effected their escape along the line toward Minsk. By the end of September the Czar's troops were making a stand along a line through Smorgon, between Vilna and Molodetchno, and south to Novo Grodek.

Further southward, von Mackensen reached and captured Pinsk on Sept. 16, but a week earlier the Russians made a surprise attack in front of Tarnopol and along the Sereth, in which they captured 383 officers, 17,000 men, and nearly 100 guns.

That success was continued and the German flank driven back to the Stripa with heavy additional losses. Dubno was retaken, and General Ivanoff seemed for a time to threaten dangerously von Mackensen's right flank.

A long series of battles were fought through the Autumn and early Winter about Czartorysk and Rafadowka, in Volhynia, and along the Rivers Styr, Stripa, and Zlota Lipa, in Eastern Galicia. Above Pinsk the Germans held securely Baranovitchi, an important commercial and railway centre east of Slonim. All efforts failed to capture Dvinsk, and the Dvina marked the limit of German progress toward Petrograd. On the west front of Riga the German

lines curved back west of Babit See and Lake Kanger to the west shores of the Gulf of Riga.

From Riga to Czernowitz the battle front measured about 785 miles, and while the Russians bent the southern end back along the Dniester in the Spring of 1916, when they recaptured Bukowina from Brody (in Galicia) on to the north, the military frontier has remained almost exactly as the great German victories of 1915 left it. The adequate defense of that frontier, inclosing, as it does, all of Western Russia, required the maintenance on that front of nearly 2,000,000 Austro-German troops.

The Religious Revival in France

By Major William Redmond, M. P.

[Major Redmond died June 9, 1917, from wounds received in action two days before. He was a brother of John Redmond, the Irish Nationalist leader, and had been a member of Parliament for the East Division of Clare since 1892. He was one of the idols of his native land and was beloved alike by friend and opponent. The subjoined article, written shortly before he fell, is here published by arrangement with The London Chronicle.]

WITH all the evil that has followed in its train it is good to find at least one beneficial result from the war. It has led to the revival of religion in a most remarkable way.

As to this, practically every one is agreed, and it is apparent in a hundred directions. Perhaps this revival is most marked of all in France, and there it is attributable in no little degree to the splendid record of the French priests in the army. To many people it seemed a wrong thing that the ministers of the Prince of Peace should be called upon to take up arms and play a part in the terrible work of bloodshed and slaughter which has converted so large a portion of Europe into a veritable shambles. What seemed wrong, and what was from some point of view wrong no doubt, has in the result turned out a blessing.

The spectacle of thousands of priests marching and fighting for the country and the flag has touched deeply the heart of France, and many and many a man who was, perhaps, ready enough to proclaim himself an anti-Cleric will never so describe himself any more. The bravery displayed by the French priests in battle (2,000 have been killed) has been only equaled by their devotion to their holy office. Few things are more appealing than the sight of the soldier-priest turning to administer the last consolations of religion to his fallen comrades round about. And this has been witnessed on every battlefield of France, and it has its natural effect upon the impressionable French character, and the effect will remain long after the last shot of the war has been fired.

To those who have been brought to France by the war the manifestations of religion everywhere displayed have come more or less as a surprise, especially to those who had been led to believe from the action of many successive French Governments that the Church was more or less a thing of the past in France. It is hard, of course, to judge of the real depth or intensity of religious feeling, but all one can say is that if this can be done by noticing the attendance at church, then the religion of France is today very true and very sincere.

For over a year the writer of these lines has been with the British Army in France and has been billeted in scores of villages and small towns. Everywhere the way in which the civil population thronged the churches on Sundays and holidays was very noticeable, and in the larger towns more noticeable still. It may be that the attacks which the enemy have made on holy places have caused a revulsion of feeling in France. The ruins of Rheims cathedral, Ypres, and so many other churches in the land have stricken the population with remorse and

sorrow. Certain it is, be the real reason what it may, there has been a great revival in the devotion of the French people since war broke out. Of course the cynical will say, "When the devil was sick the devil a saint would be," &c.

The writer has seen more deep and reverent devotion displayed by worshippers inside the walls of semi-ruined churches which had their stained glass windows shattered than ever he has seen before. Probably more fervent prayers have been poured out before broken crosses and shell-torn statues of our Saviour in France and Belgium than were ever offered in peace time before the most beautiful shrines in the whole world. Religion has been perhaps the one thing in all the world so far strengthened and built up afresh amid the horrible ravages of war. That there has been a similar result all over the world and away from the actual scene of war is also apparent.

The fact is that the ruin and carnage have been so stupendous, the sacrifices have been so great, the horrors have been so widespread and have so penetrated into almost every family circle that almost every human being in the world has turned to look for hope and comfort beyond the grave. Miserable indeed is the man or woman who is not assured that that hope and comfort are so to be found, for in sooth this war has made this transitory world but a sorry place! The writer of these impressions has been with a section of the British Army in the field, which numbers very many Catholic soldiers in its ranks. The conduct of these men has undoubtedly had a good effect upon the population wherever they have been stationed. The majority of the soldiers are of Irish nationality, though of English and Scottish and overseas Catholic soldiers there are also not a few. The simple and yet deep faith exhibited by these men upon all occasions made a wonderful impression on the French and Belgian peoples.

It is not at the very best a happy thing to have one's country occupied by foreign troops, even though they come to defend your soil from the invader. Masses of men overrunning villages and towns and eager for some sort of relaxation from the rigor and hardship of trench life are apt to give trouble, even though well behaved and well disposed in every way. It is always a source of anxiety to the higher command to secure that nothing, even by inadvertence, shall be done by the troops to cause annoyance to the inhabitants of occupied territory. The outstanding feature of the British occupation of France and Belgium has been the fine and chivalrous spirit displayed by the men. They have put themselves on a footing of the best and kindest sort with the people, and complaints of any kind as to their behavior are few and far between.

But, in addition to the relief of the people in finding the troops kind and considerate, imagine the good impression created when the French people find that large numbers of the men are devoted to their own religion and more earnest in their practice of it. When Irish regiments are billeted in a village the church large enough for the villagers becomes at once too small. It is thronged by the soldiers, and the curé finds his congregation enormous, and has, in conjunction with the army Chaplains, to arrange for many services on Sunday. The General commanding a division composed for the most part of Irish Catholic soldiers informed the present writer that his division never left an area without the local authorities, and notably the curé, coming to him to express their appreciation of the good behavior of the troops and their admiration for their earnest devotion to their religion.

There is no doubt that the scourge of war has purified the hearts of many people, and the advent of large numbers of Catholic troops into France has probably helped to bring back to some Frenchmen an appreciation of something which they may have seemed to have almost lost. Thus in one way, and a way of no little importance, the war has wrought a change for the better in France.

Who Pays for the Cost of War

By William A. Wood

IT may be said in a fair spirit that the beliefs of the best of men divide on the problem of the cost of war. It has been shown by Ward in his "Pure Sociology" that war has been a leading factor in the development of that which we call civilization. Unquestionably this is true, if we tabulate the results; but sound reasoning requires that it be shown that there is no better way. There is a better way. Ward's deduction does not mean that he favored war as a means to an end: he simply stated the fact from the point of view of the sociologist. The problem is at once ethical as well as sociological. What has been should not necessarily be continued. The basis of the sociological aspect is human achievement; that of the ethical is the power of the mind; and in the religious field we have the mainsprings of human conduct.

A few facts need consideration: The object of nature is function. The object of man is happiness. The object of society is action. Severally and jointly man is equipped with certain potential qualities, both of mind and body, and in the exercise of these faculties he achieves whatever he sets his mind to do. The mind itself is not a force, but it is the directive agent that guides the dynamic qualities of men. In those epochs of civilization which mark the movements of man toward development and progress, that which has proved sturdiest among human qualities is the virtue of the pioneer; and as obstacles have given way before the march of human achievement, the more serviceable and permanent elements of life have been successfully set up. These are not to be lost sight of in the glamour of war. The human race is unconquerable, and in the long run man wins over nature and becomes master of nature and of nature's laws.

Thus we may trace our progress, from its faint beginnings in tribal successes onward to the establishment of those substantial moral gains which connote the value of the human soul in its struggles with nature. Whatever nature has set up as a hindrance has been largely overcome, but the mistakes which man himself makes constitute a drag on his progress. They check what is otherwise the dominion over nature which man aims to secure, and they do it by heaping up the compound interest assessed against succeeding generations. And in this category war is the great offender. It is true in the laws of biology that the forces of anabolism and katabolism are pitted against each other, but in this conflict of unlike elements the forms of life are born and come to maturity. That fruition is the gift which nature provides for the sustentation of the lives of men. And it is on this basis that man successfully builds, for in the partnership of the individual with others the co-operation of the many rewards the unit with increased fruitage.

Every explosion of powder is costly, if at the end of the range we have a human being, and the cost must be paid for both by the living and the unborn. Every explosion of powder is costly in any case, for the price of the marksman is the price which he pays for the securing of the game. Bows and arrows and repeating rifles cost human labor, and when men shoot arrows and bullets into the air, they must go and pick them up or else make other ones. When they explode shells, they must make new shells in their place. If they keep on firing, some one else must make the ammunition and furnish new guns, for guns wear out as well as shells. When men consume more than they produce, they must soon stop either the production or the destruction. Fireworks once a year cost labor; fireworks for nearly three years that batter forts and dismember bodies must be paid for in the only element that can produce them, namely, human labor.

A nation at war is keeping a ledger, and as the balance is on the debit side, redoubled efforts are necessary to re-

store the equilibrium. No juggling with figures can offset this inexorable law of nature. No human reasoning can compensate nature for the consumption of her resources; nothing but human labor can compensate her. Her bounties contain no values until they are carved out by specific and productive human energy; and when these values are once created in the form of wealth, they fall under the law of katabolism. If man hastens the breaking-up process by recklessness or by war, he must pay for it in continued expenditure of effort, he must pay the cost. When a man borrows anything from nature he may use it or not, as he wills; but in any instance what he borrows must be returned to her reservoirs.

War quickly destroys what man produces, but the cost is paid for, not in money, but by labor augmented many times over as a price paid for the follies of men. Constructive labor yields permanent results; war uproots them. Battleships are not paid for by Governments, but by subjects of the nation. A thousand men on a warship produce nothing; the same men in action destroy both ship and enemy. The payment of taxes comes out of human labor; the payment of interest on loans is a double burden, falling on those who now live and labor, and striking hard against those who are later to become creators of the nation's wealth. We are still paying pensions on a war that ended 102 years ago. Wars are paid for in human sacrifice—in human lives; but they are also paid for in sacrifice that eats up the products of man's labor; and when these visible things are shot to pieces, an increase of human energy alone can replace them. Men who build battleships are also paying for the battleships. If the ships go to the bottom, no power on earth can replace them save human labor; and the more ships at the bottom, the greater the drain on the living labor which creates them out of earth's material.

Take an illustration from our national sports, baseball and college football. Who pays the salaries of the twenty-two players on each of the sixteen teams of the major leagues? Who accounts for the cost of training the college men for their annual seasons on the gridiron? Manifestly those who pay as witnesses of the games. Suppose a quarter of all these men were killed and the same proportion injured for life. Suppose hospitals and nurses were supplied to meet these losses and that they were kept up during the entire season. Suppose fresh players were drawn from the ranks and drafted into the daily slaughter on the diamond or the gridiron in times of peace. Would any man of ordinary judgment infer that this loss constituted no drain on the nation?

You cannot pay for war out of taxes. War is liquidated by the human cost, and by cost is meant that continued outgo of human labor which is the sole source of wealth. In addition to the destruction of the human element and the accompanying blasting of the material element, war makes a steady drain on the future; that is to say, the cost is passed on for many decades, through pensions and interest, and in no sense will nature let up in her demands. We borrow from nature as well as from bankers, and when nature recalls the things we have taken, her mandates are scrupulously carried out. War hastens the destruction of all these elements, speeds up the processes by which wealth is torn to pieces, and when these things are shattered and scattered they must be replaced by human toil and increased human sacrifice. Taxes laid on interest augment the national burden by increasing the tax gatherers, who must be paid out of the national revenues. And in the last analysis the receiver of interest is essentially a nonproducer and as such he has to be fed along with those who do the fighting and the destroying.

Man pays for war. It is his creation, and as long as he keeps it up he will have to stand for the game. Governments create war debts, but subjects pay them. Kings and Congresses may declare war, but that is only bequeathing to innocent successors the obligations that must be met. It cost Russia $600,000,000 to fortify Port Arthur. It cost Japan $400,000,000 to batter it to pieces. But the cost is not in money; it is in human lives and human wealth, and such destruction

ultimately rolls up what no generation can pay. Seventy cents out of every dollar received by our Federal Government was paid out for military purposes, with the nation still at peace. If the baseball players killed in the supposititious warfare above cited were to leave widows and orphans requiring pensions, who would stand for the increased expense of our national game? The cases are parallel in their economic bearing, and show the principle involved in human loss.

The problem of the cost of war is sociological and must be examined in the light of the forces and resultants of human action. Fire insurance companies pay for losses, but not until after they have collected an adequate fund from the community. Life insurance premiums provide the source out of which claims are met, else what other source could pay for them? If the companies get interest on loans, that only brings other factors into the problem. The circle is thus widened, but the principle remains the same; namely, that from human labor is drawn the fund that compensates for losses sustained. War raises those losses to the *nth* degree and leaves to posterity the burden of paying for other people's quarrels. The interest claims pile up faster than they can be discharged, and drain away from constructive labor the higher fruits of human toil.

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals or forts.

Nearly 24,000,000 Men Engaged

Sir William Robertson, Chief of the British General Staff, made these noteworthy statements in a dinner speech at the Mansion House, London, in May, 1917:

No two wars and no two battles were ever fought under exactly the same conditions, and no war has ever differed so greatly from its predecessor as does the war in which we are now engaged. Airplanes, for instance, have entirely changed the whole strategical and tactical conduct of operations. The use of enormous masses of heavy artillery is another new factor, and has made efficient preparation for battle dependent upon the most elaborate system of communications and transport, and has demanded the highest qualities of organization in general. During the last five or six weeks, I suppose, we have expended some 200,000 tons of ammunition, which have had to be moved by road, rail, and sea from the factories in England to the guns in France and man-handled probably not less than half a dozen times. As you can imagine, this has entailed a great deal of railway work at the front as well as in England, and the skillful and determined way in which the work has been executed by the railway managers and employes who have assisted us is beyond all praise.

But the greatest peculiarity of all is the colossal size of the armies engaged. In the 1870 war armies were counted by the hundred thousand, and at the battle of Gravelotte, where the heaviest losses were incurred, the total casualties were only about 33,000 men on both sides, while for the whole war the total casualties on both sides were less than half a million. In the present war the killed alone can be counted by the million, while the total number of men engaged amounts to nearly 24,000,000.

In fact, this war is not, as in the past, a war merely of opposing armies, but a war of nations, and there is not today a man or woman in the empire who is not doing something either to help or to hinder the winning of the war. A man of great distinction told me the other day that he estimated the weight of purely military effort at only 25 per cent. of the whole, the remaining 75 per cent. being, strictly speaking, of a non-military nature, and made up of many elements—agriculture, food, shipping, diplomacy, &c. I think he is probably not far wrong, and when people ask me, as they sometimes do, how the war is getting on, I feel inclined to reply, "Why ask me? Why not ask yourself and the remainder of the 75 per cent.?"

The Heroic Death of Dr. Clunet

By Robert de Lezeau

Dr. Jean Clunet, who died of typhus at Jassy, Rumania, in April, 1917, had so memorable a career that the Paris Figaro gave a leading place on its first page to the subjoined article, which has been specially translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

ONE of the simplest and most inspiring of heroes has just succumbed to the terrible epidemic of spotted typhus that is ravaging Rumania. He died in the hospital which he had created from the ground up, at the bedside of the sufferers, whom he continued to aid to his last breath with all his science and all his faith: two warring sisters who had become reconciled in his great heart. We who knew him here in Jassy, at the place of his supreme sacrifice, cherish his memory as that of one of the greatest Frenchmen we have ever known.

Jean Clunet was the son of a lawyer who has acquired just renown in the domain of international law. A former hospital interne, assistant in the Medical Faculty, and finally appointed to the Chair of Pathological Anatomy in the Medical College at Nancy, Jean Clunet gave himself up to science with a tireless ardor that engrossed his whole mind and heart. He always had a sort of predestination for sacrifice. Wherever he could devote himself to others, save lives, comfort souls, Clunet was there.

In 1912 he visited Morocco, and one day a native servant who had become attached to him said: "Master, you must leave here—quick, quick, at once! They are going to massacre all the foreigners."

Though he had no duty to perform, Jean Clunet remained. The next day the revolt at Fez broke out, with all its horrors—massacres, lynchings, tortures. With two comrades he found safety in a blind alley, which the insurgents could not capture, though they besieged the entrance. Twenty-four hours later two local officials whom Clunet had cured of illness sent their escorts to rescue him. Once free, he paid no attention to the mobs that were still raging, but went everywhere that the wounded lay. The dying called him and the living threatened him. Clunet was in his element. He dressed wounds, he performed operations, he saved lives. And when this hard work was done he learned that among the Jewish population, which had taken refuge in dense masses before the Sultan's deer cages, an epidemic was breaking out. He threw himself into this new task, took all the precautionary measures, evacuated the infected cases, disinfected the whole place, and averted the epidemic. And after two months of this intense labor he returned to France feeling that he had had what he went for—a pleasure trip.

The great war broke out, and Clunet was at the front from the first day. A surgeon in the 332d Regiment of the line, he was with the vanguard at the battle of Charleroi. Then came the retreat, in the course of which two orderlies were killed at his side and two horses were struck down at the moment when he was mounting into the saddle. No matter! It was a fine life—there are wounds to care for and well men to comfort. Clunet devotes himself to those around him.

The 332d withdraws as far as the Aisne and Berry-au-Bac. There it is ordered to hold a precarious, untenable position. It digs in, it hangs on, in spite of the intensity of the bombardment and the violence of the rifle fire. Jean Clunet has set up his aid station at the most exposed point, because it is there that he can most quickly get at the wounded. Finally his regiment is forced to withdraw precipitately and cross the Aisne in all haste. Clunet is among the last to go. He has a third horse killed under him and crosses the river by swimming.

On the other side of the Aisne the 332d establishes itself solidly in trenches. The furious fighting abates. Life be-

comes more calm, more monotonous. Clunet grows restless. The day is long with no act of devotion to perform. So, when he hears that an expedition is to be sent to the Dardanelles, he tells himself: "I will go—I am going!" And he goes.

At the Dardanelles Clunet gives the maximum of his energy and devotion. Epidemics multiply, various and deadly. He fights them all. He cleans up the first-line trenches under fire, burying the dead by night. He defends himself, revolver in hand, against the Turkish patrols during that depressing labor, rescuing both the dead and the living. He succeeds in bringing drinkable water to the camp and in establishing, despite a thousand difficulties, a service for hauling away the dead horses and throwing them into the sea.

One day, all in a second, he is struck down by a frightful pain that twists his limbs and sets his brain on fire—it is the dreaded fever, which the colonials know well and which they call the "dingue." He is at the point of death. But men of that mettle do not die so easily. Clunet recovers and leaves the Dardanelles—the last man to get away. Last in retreat, first in advance—that was his chosen place.

Jean Clunet then passed a month at Paris, chiefly in the Pasteur Institute, where he had formerly worked a great deal and where he now profited from all that science had learned regarding contagious diseases. "I prefer contagious cases," he said, "and I don't know why." We, his friends, knew. It was because those were the cases in which the physician ran the greatest risks in treating them. Clunet waited, impatient for the next task of devotion. It came. A violent epidemic of exanthematic typhus was raging in the Serbian Army at Corfu. Clunet said: "I will go—I am going!" And he went.

He was asked first to make a little detour, to go through Saloniki and set up a laboratory there. Clunet sailed on La Provence. The vessel was torpedoed and sinking. The officers, foreseeing the possibility of such a catastrophe, had provided rafts. These were thrown overboard, and Clunet reached one of them by swimming. He was safe, or would have been, but for the one thought that possessed him—to save others. At the risk of capsizing a hundred times he forces the raft to right and left, haphazard, any way to pick up the shipwrecked men in the water. Five, then ten, then fifteen! Those whom he has snatched from disaster cry to him: "Enough! Enough! We are going to sink." But Clunet estimates that he can still save two more lives. He is determined to save them. Those around him mutter, almost threaten. He still wears his uniform with the chevrons of an officer. He orders silence, commands obedience. The men are silent, they obey, and soon two more unfortunates are hauled aboard the raft.

One of them is grievously wounded in the head. Clunet dresses the wound. But the others must be fed. He succeeds in gathering in several loaves of bread tossing about in the waves, and thirty apples. At the end of eighteen hours a ship appears and rescues them, eighteen hours during which Clunet has sustained the flagging courage of his companions, stimulated their energies, extinguished incipient revolts, dissipated ill-humor, all by force of his own indomitable spirit.

Then came Corfu. To typhus was added dysentery, and both diseases were ravaging the Serbian Army. Clunet remained night and day at the bedside of the sufferers. He was himself stricken with dysentery, but did not cease his work. In his observation of the typhus epidemic he noted that the milk-diet treatment was giving only indifferent results. He substituted a raw meat diet, which succeeded better. He did not return to France until the disease had been stamped out.

Mme. Clunet, his admirable wife, was at the station to meet him. She was in black, but not in mourning. Little by little, with all the tact of an infinite tenderness, she told her husband that their only son, a child of 5 years, had died three days before. To all his voluntary sacrifices was added this involuntary sacrifice, the most cruel, the most dreadful of all. Clunet did not bury himself long in his grief. Only in labor to relieve the sufferings of others could he forget his

own. He learned that an epidemic had broken out in Rumania, that the spotted typhus, with which he had already measured his strength, was claiming its victims there. How could he go anywhere else? He said, "I am going." But this time Mme. Clunet replied simply, "I am going, too." And they went.

In a spacious villa near Jassy, which today bears the name of the Greerul Hospital, Dr. and Mme. Clunet established a hospital for contagious diseases. Here they first treated intermittent fever and spotted typhus, and later, when the epidemic grew worse, typhus alone. Jean Clunet was everything in that asylum of pain—architect, carpenter, glazier, water carrier, food provider, physician. Bending over the dying, burying the dead, removing vermin from the living, he at last contracted the terrible disease. On the thirteenth day he died. He had asked that he might be buried near the hospital which he had founded. He rests there forever. Even in death he desired to remain at the post which he had assigned to himself.

Jean Clunet left behind him an admirable helpmate. I have never seen grief more noble or more worthy. I bow with respect before this woman, whom the hope of approaching motherhood alone attaches to life. She said to me simply, "If only it is a son!"

A Cardinal's Bombardment Diary

CARDINAL LUCON, Archbishop of Rheims, remained in that city during the bombardment that practically finished the destruction of the cathedral. To a curé in Paris he sent these extracts from his diary:

Holy Tuesday, April 3, [1917.]—Intermittent bombardment during the morning; continuous in the afternoon. Between 10 o'clock and midnight a shell wrecks the apse of the Clairmarais Chapel, shatters the statue of the Sacred Heart, crushes the altar, and buries the holy ciborium and ten consecrated wafers beneath a block of stone. The house of the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul and the Orphanage in the Rue de Bêtheny are annihilated by ten big shells.

Good Friday, April 6.—Infernal bombardment from 4 o'clock onward: 7,750 shells! Mme. Beaudet, an admirable Christian, sister of M. le Curé of St. Benoît, killed at 8 P. M. in a motor car, with the wife and daughter of the sacristan of St. Remi, the chauffeur, and a soldier. Five persons killed at Ste. Geneviève as they were leaving their cellar.

Holy Saturday, April 7.—At 4 P. M. the great seminary took fire. No water to extinguish the flames. The firemen dare not approach, for the Germans are dropping four shells a minute on the building, keeping it up throughout the evening and night. Two firemen were killed yesterday, Friday, and two others have had their legs broken.

Easter Day, April 8.—The only divine service was a low mass at 8:30. No vespers. This was fortunate, for at the hour when it is customary to chant them a hellish bombardment began. The Cérès suburb is burned down or knocked to pieces right and left over the length of half a mile. The church of St. André is ruined, the vaults shattered, and the walls knocked in. Our little seminary receives such a number of shells that it is uninhabitable. The church of St. Benoit had its ceiling destroyed, its walls knocked in, and its porch and belfry wrecked.

Monday, April 9.—Violent bombardment. Six killed, seventeen wounded: 10,000 shells!

Saturday, April 14.—Violent bombardment from 9 to 11 o'clock all around us. Asphyxiating shells on the Rue du Barbatu and Rue du Cloître, where Mlle. Léparqueur is killed; fifteen persons died from asphyxiation. The lay clerk of St. Remi, together with his wife and daughter, also died, poisoned and asphyxiated.

Tuesday, April 24.—From 9 to 10:15 o'clock systematic bombardment of the cathedral with big calibre shells, many of them 305mm., fired at regular intervals. They were all manifestly aimed at the cathedral. A great number hit it, the rest falling beyond it, short of it, to right of it, and on the ruins of the Archbishop's palace to left of it. The cathedral is "assassinated!" The apse outside is "massacred," three flying buttresses are broken, numerous pinnacles truncated or knocked down, the open galleries of the apse of the lofty walls are to a large extent thrown down. The walls have received such injuries that their solidity is imperiled. The towers have been seriously damaged. Lastly, the vaults have fallen in in five places, in the south transept, in the chancel—which is in ruins—and before the pulpit. The font is crushed; the high altar, buried beneath the débris of the vault, is no longer visible. Needless to say, the stained-glass windows have lost the few panes which still remained.

Nesting Mothers of Battle Zone

Bird Life Where Cannons Roar

Nature lovers, weary of the war's horrors, will find a charming interlude in this article, which was contributed to Land and Water by H. Thoburn-Clarke, an observant British soldier on the battle front in France.

THE war, with its upheaval of most of our ideas of the effect of gunfire upon the habits of the nature folk, does not appear to have troubled the migrating resident birds of the western battle zone. Already airmen have encountered vast flocks of migrating waders, ducks, and other birds flying at an immense altitude far above the sound of our massed artillery, and this year great flocks of green plover have settled in the marshes, and appear likely to stay for a while. Until early in March I had seen only two or three green plover at a time during all my two years wandering up and down the battle front. Now they have settled down here in dozens, but, so far, I have not seen any of their absurd attempts at a nest, although they are wheeling, dipping, and fluttering in their dainty love flights over the marshes.

Last year wild ducks nested among the reed beds to our left, and brought off large families of young ones. One family numbered ten when it first came off the nest, and it was most amusing to watch the tiny balls of fluff waddling up and down an almost submerged stump of a tree that had been felled by our gunfire. The mother duck would swim up and down watching them anxiously, making angry dashes every now and then at the coot that was occupied with a family of seven black velvet balls of fluff on the other side of the reeds. The two mothers would meet with a rush; the duck would grip hold of a beakful of feathers, while the coot would fight with beak and claws. The fray generally lasted for a few seconds; then the mothers would race back to their broods, each evidently considering that she had triumphed over the other! The scene was repeated at intervals, day after day, but, alas! the two broods grew daily smaller, until each mother had only one nestling left. Probably the rats had killed and eaten the rest.

At another time I captured a tiny coot and took it to my dugout. I hoped to tame it, but the wee mite developed most extraordinary climbing powers. It literally raced up the walls of the dugout, hurled itself out of boxes and through the entrance, and tore off, making by instinct in the direction of the river. It was caught and brought back, but nothing would tame its restless spirit, so in the evening I crept down to the river, with the small coot carefully tucked into my pocket. I could see nothing of the old bird and her brood. She had apparently left the scene. However, I took the little coot out of my pocket, and allowed him to call. Almost immediately I heard a reply from the reeds on the other side of the river, and the mother coot came swimming toward me. I let the little beggar go, and the last I saw of him was a small black object swimming through the moonlight. He joined his mother, and they both vanished into the shadows of the opposite bank and I saw them no more.

Our gun positions are favorite nesting places for many birds. Whenever we remain in the same place for a few weeks they take possession of the "structures" we use for masking the guns. Last Autumn a blackbird built her nest in the sandbag parapet, and in spite of the storms and the repeated firing of our gun she hatched out three eggs, and, I believe, reared the young ones successfully. At another position—in an orchard this time—another blackbird made her nest among the sandbags; this time only about four feet to the side of the muzzle of the gun, and stuck tight during the whole time we were strafing the Germans, and successfully

hatched all four of her eggs, a surprising feat when one considers the concussion. Not very far away a pair of blackcaps had built their nest in the gnarled stump of an old apple tree. They were unfortunate, for a well-aimed shell during a German evening strafe demolished the apple tree and the nest. Apparently the blackcaps did not trouble, for they built another nest in the next tree stump and hatched out and brought up their young ones safely.

Ammunition wagons have a great attraction for the birds. A pair of sparrows endeavored to construct a nest in an empty one during a dinner hour, when we were resting, and actually followed us to the next rest, but the move on the next day discouraged them and they left us. During one of our stays in a certain part of the front a pair of wrens succeeded in building a nest, and when we were moved half a mile further on the two birds came with the wagon and would no doubt have hatched out their young ones if the fortunes of war had not prevented it. A hedge sparrow had her home in a ruined wagon, and when I found her nest she was patiently feeding a cuckoo larger than herself. The hedge sparrows and their foster child occupied the wagon for a long time, and I have watched the two patiently feeding the cuckoo while the shells were bursting in all directions. At another time I found the nest of a hedge sparrow in the hub of a broken wheel lying in a position that was continually being shelled by the Germans. Evidently she must have stuck tight, for at the time the nest was discovered it had four young ones in it, and the parent birds were feeding their nestlings with serene indifference to the dropping of shrapnel and bursting of shells.

It is extraordinary how fond the birds are of certain localities, and quite a large number of different varieties will nest together. In one wood, somewhat to the rear of our position, during last Summer, a vast number of pigeons, magpies, rooks, and crows were nesting in the taller trees, while various warblers, tree creepers, and tits built their dwellings in the undergrowth. Yet in the early days of the war the wood had been heavily shelled, and still bore marks of gunfire in the shape of fallen trees. The conflict had been severe enough to have driven the birds to seek some safer abode, but evidently they had clung to the old place and declined to nest anywhere else. The numbers of pigeons seem to increase at an extraordinary rate. Probably the destruction caused by warfare does not equal that in times of peace, while the quantities of mice and rats afford sufficient food for the kestrels and other birds that might prey upon the young nestlings. Sometimes in the height of the nesting season the noise of the nestlings in the various nests was almost deafening, all clamoring loudly for food the instant they heard the beat of their mother's wings. One would almost imagine that each bird's wing had a different sound, in that respect resembling the tread of the human footsteps.

I have always associated the nightingale with a certain railway cutting in Berkshire, where it is possible to hear them singing all night through, but almost impossible to find their nests, and exceedingly difficult to see the bird itself. Out here, however, the shyness has vanished. I have heard of nests in the front-line trenches; of eggs being hatched during a furious bombardment; while close to our billets six pairs had built in a ruined garden, and we watched their nesting with keen pleasure. A blackcap literally sang us to sleep at nights. It perched in a sapling that screens a gun and sang constantly, its vivid notes punctuated with the boom of distant firing. At another place, a reedy remnant of a ruined moat, ten different kinds of birds were nesting in the weeds and rushes that clothed the bank. Tits, far bluer than any British bird, reed warblers, garden warblers, blackcaps, several greenfinches, and many other warblers.

The martins and swallows are, I think, more numerous than in England, and appear as pleased with the ruins as the sparrows and starlings. I have seen house martins' nests built under the cornice of the ruins of a highly decorated drawing room, pink Cupids and blue love knots contrasting strangely with the mud

of the nest. In most villages the peasants are very superstitious about the swallows and house martins, and consider that ill-luck will follow the destruction of a nest. So the swallows and martins are free to build where they like, and I often wonder whether when the ruins are reconstructed they will endeavor to reconcile the birds to a change of dwelling. At present their nests are everywhere. One built on the rack where we hung our clothes, another on a rafter in our harness room, while several occupied a shed in which the gunners were billeted during a "rest." The shed was strafed and a shell broke a large hole in the roof, but failed to explode. The swallows had previously used the doorways as an entrance, but they at once saw the convenience of the shell hole, and almost before the dust of the broken roof had subsided they were calmly flying in and out with food for their young ones. Possibly young swallows and martins require more food than other nestlings, for the parent birds were feeding them from the earliest dawning until it was almost too dark to see the birds. Yet the baby birds never ceased squealing for more. Shells might burst and shatter the adjoining sheds, even a "dud" pierce the roof that sheltered them, but still they cried insistently. Perhaps that is why the nesting mothers of the battlefields take matters so placidly. They have no time to waste, but must feed their young ones in spite of war's wild alarms, and, after all, it is the quantity of food that matters with the wild folk, and they have enough of that in all conscience at the front.

Professor Harnack Scorns American Ideals

Dr. Adolph von Harnack, Professor of Theology and General Director of the Royal Library, Berlin, delivered a lecture in Berlin on May 19, 1917, on "Wilson's American Ideal of Liberty." After attacking the President's "pacifist, democratic, and plutocratic ideal" as contrasted with the "interior and exterior liberty of Germans," the noted theologian continued:

> The hostility of the United States against us is reducible to the inconvenience which was caused to America by German economical efficiency. A second reason is that America feared to lose the enormous capital she had invested in the Entente from the beginning, in the firm belief that the latter would be victorious. Now America is witnessing the chances of victory gradually disappearing, and rushes in to save what is possible.
>
> America conducted silent war against us long before the declaration of war, and never was particular in choosing her means. Wilson and many Americans with him have undergone an ugly development from an honest democratic republicanism to a bedizened emperorism. In addition, Wilson distinguishes himself by amazing ignorance about Germany. He is an intellectual moralist, but without any depth whatever.
>
> Professor Harnack then quoted extensively from President Wilson's books to show "what startling political, judicial, and ethical metamorphoses the President had passed through, changing his convictions as often as his trousers. Germany must decidedly decline this many-colored uniform of liberty which one can easily picture from Wilson's words and deeds. We don't want liberty, except of our own make and in accord with our history."

RUSSIA'S FIRST REVOLUTIONARY CABINET

The Ministers Are, Top Row, Left to Right: Terestchenko, Shingaroff, G. E. Lvoff, Kerensky, Konovaloff. Bottom Row, Left to Right: Manuiloff, Milukoff, Gutchkoff, Nekrasoff, V. Lvoff. The Two Russian Words Written Across the Bottom of the Postcard on Which the Ministers Were Photographed Mean "Provisional Government"

RUSSIAN WORKERS ESTABLISHING THEIR POWER

A Scene in the Hall of the Duma. Delegates of the Workers and Soldiers Are Electing the Council Which Has Become as Great a Power as the Provisional Government of the New Republic

(© *London Graphic*)

Deportations Planned in Advance

Belgian Official Memorandum

AN official memorandum presented to the United States Government by M. de Cartier, the Belgian Minister at Washington, and made public June 3, 1917, summarizes the facts of German rule in Belgium, and charges that enforced idleness of the Belgian workingmen was part of a deliberate war policy preparatory to the deportations.

"The cessation of the larger part of Belgian industry is an admitted fact," says the memorandum. "But Germany founds an argument upon this fact as upon an event due to the circumstances of a state of war, and in the presence of which the good intentions of the occupant were powerless.

"However, this is not the case. The depressed condition of Belgian industry is not a case of accident caused by the force of extraneous circumstances unconnected with the action of the German authorities; these authorities are, on the contrary, personally responsible. Their responsibility is double. The German Government is the direct author of the crisis in Belgian industry and labor. The German Government has deliberately prevented the Belgians from applying the remedy.

"Since the occupation of Belgium the German authorities, in spite of their deceitful proclamations, have put into effect the plan worked out in August, 1914, at Berlin, by Dr. W. Rathenau, for the systematic exploitation of all the economic resources of occupied countries to the profit of the war organization of the empire.

The Rathenau Plan

"This plan allowed, notably, the seizure of all stocks of raw materials existing in the occupied territories, and the transfer of them into Germany, in order to avert the consequences of the closure of the seas. This was to be completed by the removal of the implements of labor, and, in general, by the removal of all means of production which the empire might need for the continuation of the struggle. Economic commissions, attached to all the military authorities in the occupied territories, were to be constituted the agents for putting into execution the Rathenau plan. By this plan—as the German publicists have written on so many occasions with the approval of the censor—the war carried on by the empire would take on the haracter of an 'economic war.'

"This program was methodically carried out."

The memorandum then cites the German official bulletin of laws and decrees for the occupied territory published at Brussels from the end of August, 1914, containing more than 120 orders relating to economic conditions, many of them commandeering raw materials, finished products, and tools, as well as domestic animals, crops, and seeds.

"The Belgian Government," it continues, "knows that the operation of removing machines and installation was, in several cases, confined to the representatives of German firms who were the direct competitors of the Belgian industries, and that, in at least one instance, in an artificial silk factory, the Belgian firm's secret process of fabrication was ascertained from the factory inspected.

"Numerous Belgian industries have been placed under sequestration without plausible reason.

"Finally, the German authorities, in 1916, placed prohibitive tariffs on the remaining Belgian industries which had still maintained a relative degree of activity through their commercial relations with certain neutral countries—the glass industry and the metallurgic industry.

"These prohibitive measures are of a nature to close to Belgian industry any markets which may have remained open, and even to render impossible all export trade.

"Attention can be called here only to

the principal acts which have marked the German financial policy:

"(a) A war tax of 40,000,000 francs per month for the benefit of the German war treasury—a tax fixed, at first, for one year, the Belgian provinces being jointly and severally responsible, (December, 1914,) with the official promise that there should not be afterward any other war tax. In November, 1915, however, this tax was made permanent. In November, 1916, after nearly 1,000,000,000 francs had been extracted from the country, the tax was increased by the sum of 10,000,000 francs per month, (50,000,000 francs instead of 40,000,000.)

"(b) Imposition of the mark at the forced rate of 1 franc 25 centimes.

"(c) Refusal of the German authorities to accept marks in payment of the war tax, of which a large proportion was required to be paid in francs.

"(d) Absolute prohibition of the exportation of securities, even to pay for commodities necessary for the feeding of the civil population.

"(e) Extortion of marks held as cash reserve by Belgian banks, (the Banque Nationale and the Société Générale,) that is to say, 430,000,000 marks which were transported into Germany (Sept. 12, 1916) with the stipulation of repayment two years after the end of the war at the average rate of exchange of Berlin at that period.

"Any country whatever, if subjected to such a system of exploitation, would find itself overwhelmed by the calamity of unemployment. The number of Belgian workers (men) thus reduced to idleness, in spite of their desire to work, varies between 300,000 and 400,000; if this number (which the German statements tend to exaggerate in order to draw some quibbling argument)—if this number is not greater, it is due only to the prodigies of ingenuity and initiative of the Belgians, who have truly shown themselves in this, as in other spheres, 'the nation that will not die.'"

Next it is shown that the aid dispensed to the victims of the German invasion, amounting to 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 francs a month, has not cost Germany a cent and has been only a small charge on the local budgets of the occupied territory—thus disposing of the oft-quoted German argument that it could not permit such considerable burdens to be placed upon local communities.

Efforts of the Belgian authorities to keep the population from falling into the habits of idleness so strongly reprobated by the late von Bissing and other apostles of German humanitarianism were thwarted by the German authorities. One of these plans was to require the unemployed who received allowances from charity to take up the study of a trade. The operation of this plan was paralyzed by German interference.

Unemployment Created

"The fact is," the memorandum continues, "that, while artificially creating unemployment in Belgium by the removal of stocks of raw materials and tools and by the restrictions placed upon the commercial activity of the country, the German administration had conceived the idea of enrolling the workers, thus thrown into enforced idleness, in the service of its war industries, either in the requisitioned Belgian factories or in Germany.

"At the beginning of the Summer of 1915 a campaign was started to overcome, in this matter, the passive resistance of Belgian patriotism; the German authorities had had recourse, successively or simulaneously, to the bait of high wages, to intimidation, then to violence, in order to procure the manual labor necessary for their military objects, (see the eighteenth and nineteenth reports of the Belgian Commission of Inquiry in regard to the violation of the law of nations;) but these attempts had failed; very few Belgian workmen had consented to engage themselves in the service of the enemy; of the others, a certain number had been deported to Germany as prisoners as a punishment for their refusal. Then the German administration resolved to prevent, by all means in its power, the Belgian unemployed from finding elsewhere a livelihood or assistance; it counted upon holding them at its mercy by the pressure of the needs and the destitution of their families."

Still more incredible, except on the assumption that Germany had set out to reduce Belgium to such a state that she could make to the world the plea that the Belgians' alternatives were beggary or deportation, was the German opposi-

tion to works of public utility for the benefit of the unemployed. The Province of Luxembourg had completely solved its problem of unemployment by organizing works of improvement of this character when the order of May 2, 1916, was issued, in which the local authorities were directed to abandon these works, on which nearly $2,000,000 had been spent, because, as the memorandum says, "it was a matter of work for the unemployed." When the Luxembourgers thus thrown out of employment sought work in other communes the German authorities refused to authorize any work where employment was given to workmen from outside communes.

"Thus hunted down," says the memorandum, "in every place where employment could still be obtained in Belgium, the Belgian laboring class, at the end of September, 1916, found itself compelled to fold its arms by order of the German authorities.

"This was the moment chosen by the German Government to decree the deportation of the Belgian unemployed into Germany under the official pretext 'that sufficient occupation for the unemployed could no longer be found in Belgium.'"

The memorandum refutes the German allegation that the British blockade, by shutting out raw materials, was responsible for the economic woes of Belgium, showing that a system of imports of such materials under neutral guarantees failed of adoption because of Germany's refusal to give the guarantee required of her.

Deliberate War Measure

The deportation order of Oct. 3, 1916, to which the Belgian Government contends all Germany's previous policy had been leading up, was essentially a war measure. The memorandum says:

"This character is shown, in the first place, by the authority from which it emanates, and which is, not the civil Government of unoccupied Belgium, but the German General Headquarters. This character is shown, moreover, by the fact that similar orders were given out simultaneously, and by the military authorities also, covering the occupied districts of Poland and Lithuania. In both cases it was only the putting into execution of a general plan tending to complete the entire incorporation of the resources (men as well as goods) of the occupied countries into the war organization of the empire.

"Finally, this character is shown, in an absolutely decisive way, by the correlation, today openly avowed, between the order of Oct. 3, 1916, and the law of December, 1916, ordering the mobilization in Germany itself of the entire able-bodied civil population for the auxiliary service of the army. The deported Belgians have been incorporated into this vast economic military organism by approximately the same legislative claim and for exactly the same ends as the able-bodied male population of Germany; that is to say, to aid the German Army to support the burden of the war and to make a supreme effort."

Not Justified by Danger

While admitting the Belgian people's aversion to the invaders, the memorandum remarks upon their absolute self-control:

"During two years of occupation under a very severe régime, there has been no uprising, no disorder anywhere. All the social authorities, or those who have been placed in such authority, have constantly occupied themselves in recommending calm and patience to the sorely tried people. Moreover, the population has no arms; surrounded by a barrier of death-dealing electric wires, the population is literally held as in a cage. All constitutional liberties, liberty of opinion, of the press, of reunion and of association, are suspended. The danger of disorder is so remote that the German administration has maintained only relatively weak garrisons in Belgium. * * *

"It can be said without exaggeration that such an attack upon the essential rights of humanity had never before been made in modern times by any State calling itself civilized. The brutality and the duplicity with which the measure has been enforced have augmented (if such a thing be possible) this unprece-

dented scandal; they have wrung from Belgium, which seemed to have already reached the limit of the afflictions of a nation at war, a cry of anguish which has caused an echo of horror and indignation from the neutral States.

"Although in 1863 the Instructions for the Armies in the Field, published for the use of the American troops, noted even then that deportation and reduction to servitude of the civil population of conquered States by the conqueror were no longer practiced except among barbaric hordes, the spectacle has been seen in Belgium of the regular army of a powerful empire employed in carrying out methodic slave-raids upon the citizens of a small, captive nation which had entered the war solely for the defense of its independence and for the fulfillment of its international duties. * * *

"No peace is possible, nor durable, without the observance of the elementary rules of right, one of the first of which is respect for the human person.

"No abuse of force can exhaust the resistance of the Belgian people to foreign oppression. All history witnesses that the aspiration of the Belgian people for independence is indomitable and that their endurance will win the mastery over tyranny."

Belgium's New War Industries

THE Belgian Army in 1917 is making its own cannon, its own rifles, its own shells, its own transport wagons, its own saddles and harness. After the heroic battle of the Yser in 1914 it had six divisions of infantry and two divisions of cavalry left to hold a line of approximately eighteen miles, or just about four men to the yard of front; a front where particular vigilance is required because of the German tactics of constant trial attacks. No part of the Allies' line is more closely watched and explored by the enemy's patrols. A weak spot anywhere would provoke an immediate offensive.

Belgium lost all her manufacturing establishments and all her resources in raw materials in the defeat of the Allies at Charleroi and in the retreat from Antwerp, yet M. de Broqueville, Minister of War, with Belgian ingenuity, skill, and perseverance, has built up on the hospitable soil of France artillery and munitions establishments that not only enable the Belgian Army to reply shot for shot to the Germans on the Yser front but also contribute to the armament and supplies of the allied armies.

It was to the United States that M. de Broqueville looked immediately after the termination of the heroic defense of Belgian soil on the Yser for the reconstitution of Belgian industry. Specialists were sent to purchase American machine tools for the manufacture of everything the army needed, and when the machines arrived mechanics released from military service were ready to operate them. Fourteen thousand workmen are today employed in those establishments.

The invasion found the Belgian Army in the midst of an entire reorganization of its artillery. Siege cannon ordered from the Krupp works in Germany had not been furnished. Millions of cartridges ordered from the same source also had been held up. It was with a disorganized armament and insufficient material that the Belgians held the Germans before Liége. Before Antwerp, in the retreat to Flanders, and in the defense of the Yser, it may be said that the remaining débris of the armament and munitions was exhausted.

The worn-out field guns, brought back in the retreat to the Yser, were partly replaced by French three-inchers, but at that all the Allies were short of their requirements in armament and munitions.

The Belgian Government, with no industries left nor territory remaining out of range of the German guns on which to instll new ones, began in exile to work out its great problem of war supplies. Today it furnishes saddles and harness to the British Army and other supplies

of different kinds to all its allies, including Russia, besides keeping up the equipment of its new army.

The Belgian Army is new in nearly every feature. Of the 120,000 men in the field and 60,000 men who garrisoned the forts, 30,000 fell into the hands of the Germans at Liége and Namur and in the retreat; 30,000 more took refuge in Holland, and were interned for the duration of the war; 14,000 were lost on the Yser, in addition to more than 20,000 killed and wounded in the battles of Liége, Haelen, and St. Trond. There remained neither bases, depots, nor hospitals.

The reorganization was difficult. Unable to call a session of Parliament to revise recruiting laws to accord with the new situation, the Government could only appeal to the patriotism of refugees in England and France. The response was such as to reconstitute an army of six divisions of infantry and two divisions of cavalry, while 14,000 men were detached for the manufacture of munitions in France and 600 sent to Russia for the same purpose. About 30,000 more men were raised by decree calling up all Belgians eligible for service between 18 and 40 years of age.

A regiment of automobile artillery recruited among the Belgian refugees and trained in Paris was sent to the Russian front, where it played an important part in Brusiloff's offensive in Galicia and Volhynia in the Spring of 1916.

Welding Britain's Empire Closer

Important Results of the Recent Imperial War Conference in London

TO make the British Empire a more solidly united world power was the object of the Imperial War Conference that met in London in May, 1917. England is only one of four countries which constitute the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and this kingdom is only part of an empire which embraces five self-governing colonial nations or dominions, besides the great Indian Empire and dependencies all over the world. The problems which the Imperial War Conference considered were twofold—first, to devise some method whereby the empire will be able to act as a political unit without interfering with colonial autonomy; second, to consolidate the material resources of the empire and make it as far as possible economically self-contained.

The readjusting of constitutional relations within the empire was deferred till after the war, but two important decisions were arrived at. The first was that India should be recognized as a member of the "Imperial Commonwealth," and the second that the dominions and India should have the right to "an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations," which they have not at present. While the dominions have loyally supported the mother country in the prosecution of the war, it has become obvious that if the self-governing peoples of the empire are to lend material support in future international relations, they should have a share in the shaping of those relations. The number of whites inhabiting the dominions is now nearly 40 per cent. of the population of the United Kingdom, while in regard to material resources and industrial development the dominions are steadily gaining ground.

The importance of the recent conference in London is largely to be found in the fact that the statesmen of Great Britain have now definitely conceded the right of the dominions to an active part in the solving of the empire's problems. Commenting on this subject, the Colonial Secretary, Walter H. Long, in a statement issued on May 3, said:

> The resolution with regard to the Constitution of the empire was made the occasion for striking expressions by the various speakers of attachment to the monarchical institutions of the empire and their value for the preservation of imperial unity. In the words of one of the speakers, "The monarchy is the keystone of the imperial arch."

Another set of resolutions dealt with

defense. The British Admiralty is to work out immediately after the war a scheme for the effective naval defense of the empire as a whole. Behind this resolution lies the story of controversy in which the colonial standpoint was most thoroughly sustained by Australia. This dominion some years ago insisted that in addition to the British Navy, whose function was to act as a safeguard against the great rival navies, there should be a distinctly Australian navy, under Australian control, for the defense of Australian waters and trade routes, instead of the then prevalent system of paying a money tribute to the British Admiralty. Australians argued—with increased force after Admiral Fisher's policy of concentrating the British fleet in home waters was adopted—that there must be local protection as well as a system of naval defense against Britain's most likely enemy. Australia eventually had her way, and by the time the war broke out had already created a respectable navy of her own. It was an Australian cruiser, H. M. A. S. Sydney, which finally disposed of the German raider Emden. The concentration of the British fleet in home waters also necessitated relying upon the Japanese Navy for a great deal of convoy and patrol work in the Pacific and Indian Oceans.

Other defense resolutions adopted in London call for the development of a coordinated and standardized empire-wide system of producing munitions and other war supplies.

Plans for Economic Union

Most advance was made in laying the foundations of future economic union. On this subject the resolution adopted read in part:

The time has arrived when all possible encouragement should be given to the development of imperial resources, and especially to making the empire independent of other countries in respect of food supplies, raw materials, and essential industries. With these objects in view, this conference expresses itself in favor of:

(1) The principle that each part of the empire, having due regard to the interests of our allies, shall give specially favorable treatment and facilities to the produce and manufactures of other parts of the empire.

(2) Arrangements by which intending emigrants from the United Kingdom may be induced to settle in countries under the British flag.

Having regard to the experience obtained in the present war, this conference records its opinion that the safety of the empire and the necessary development of its component parts require prompt and attentive consideration, as well as concerted action, with regard to the following matters:

(1) The production of an adequate food supply and arrangements for its transportation when and where required, under any conditions that may reasonably be anticipated.

(2) The control of natural resources available within the empire, especially those that are of an essential character for necessary national purposes, whether in peace or in war.

(3) The econonomical utilization of such natural resources through processes of manufacture carried on within the empire.

That it is desirable to establish in London an Imperial Mineral Resources Bureau, upon which should be represented Great Britain, the dominions, India, and other parts of the empire.

All the members of the Imperial War Conference signed an address to the King, which they presented in person on May 3. Part of the address read:

We further considered steps that may be required to insure that victory may not be lost by unpreparedness in times of peace, and so to develop the resources of the empire that it may not be possible hereafter for an unscrupulous enemy to repeat his outrages on liberty and civilization. We shall return to our homes inspired by the magnificent efforts put forth by all classes of your Majesty's subjects throughout the world, confident that the trials and sacrifices borne in common must draw still closer the bonds of imperial unity and co-operation, each in its own sphere, to leave nothing undone which may tend for the honor and welfare of your Majesty and your dominions.

Prime Minister Lloyd George made an important statement in the House of Commons on May 17 when he announced that in future the Imperial Conference would meet annually, instead of every four years, as heretofore, and that at the conclusion of the war there would be a special conference to adjust the constitutional relations of the empire. The new Imperial Council would be composed of the British Prime Minister, other British Cabinet Ministers concerned with imperial affairs, the Prime Ministers of the Dominions, and a specially accredited representative of India, with equal authority.

Britain's Fight on Food Shortage

Public Meals Order, April 15, 1917

LORD DEVONPORT, the British Food Controller, after trying various methods for voluntary conservation of food, finally issued an official order compelling the observation of meatless and potatoless days in hotels and restaurants throughout the United Kingdom, beginning April 15, 1917. The text of this order is as follows:

In exercise of the powers conferred upon him by Regulation 2F of the Defense of the Realm Regulations, and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, the Food Controller hereby orders as follows:

1. Except under the authority of the Food Controller the following regulations as to foodstuffs shall be observed in every inn, hotel, restaurant, refreshment house, club, boarding house, and place of refreshment open to the general public, (hereinafter referred to as a public eating place,) and by every person having the management or control thereof.

2. (*a*) No meat, poultry, or game shall be served or eaten on any meatless day. The meatless day in the area comprising the City of London and the Metropolitan Police District shall be Tuesday, and elsewhere in the United Kingdom shall be Wednesday in every week.

(*b*) No potatoes or any food of which potatoes form part shall be served or eaten on any day except on meatless days and on Fridays.

3. The total quantities of meat, flour, bread, and sugar used in or by any public eating place in any week shall not exceed the gross quantities ascertained in accordance with the following scale of average quantities per meal:

SCALE I.

	Meat. Oz.	Sugar. Oz.	Bread. Oz.	Flour. Oz.
Breakfast	2	2.7	2	0
Luncheon (including middle day dinner)..	5	2.7	2	1
Dinner (including supper and meat tea)...	5	2.7	2	1
Tea	0	2.7	2	0

4. The following provisions shall have effect as to weight: (*a*) Two ounces of poultry and game to be reckoned as one ounce of meat. (*b*) The weight of meat to be the uncooked weight, including bone as usually delivered by the butcher, and the weight of poultry and game shall be the uncooked weight, as usually delivered by the poulterer, without feathers or without skin, as the case may be, but including offal. (*c*) Twenty-five per cent. to be added to the weight of meat delivered cooked into the public eating place, and 50 per cent. when delivered cooked and without bone.

(*a*) Four ounces of bread to be reckoned as three ounces of flour.

(*b*) Cakes, biscuits, pastries, confectionery, and similar articles, when the ingredients are not otherwise brought into account, to be reckoned as containing 30 per cent of flour and 20 per cent. of sugar by weight.

5. In reckoning the quantities of meat, sugar, bread, and flour for meals served, no account shall be taken of any meal which begins before 5 A. M. or after 9:30 P. M., or, in respect of the meat allowance, of any meal which is served on a meatless day.

6. None of the foregoing provisions of this order except Article 2 (*b*) relating to potatoes shall apply to food served over the counter of a buffet at a railway station.

7. This order shall not apply to: (*a*) Any boarding house where the number of bedrooms let and available for letting does not exceed ten; or (*b*) any public eating place where no meal is served the total charge for which (exclusive of the usual charges for beverages) exceeds 1s. 3d., and where there is exhibited on every tariff card, and also in a conspicuous position in every room where meals are usually served, a notice to the effect that no such meal will be served.

8. The person or persons having the management of any public eating place shall for the purposes of this order keep a register in the form prescribed by the Food Controller, and shall also keep invoices, vouchers, and such other documents relating to foodstuffs purchased and used, meals served, and other matters as the Food Controller may from time to time prescribe.

9. For the purposes of this order, the expression "meat" includes butcher's meat, sausages, ham, pork, bacon, venison, and preserved and potted meats, and other meats of all kinds, but does not include suet, lard, or dripping. The expression "poultry and game" includes rabbits and hares, and any kind of bird killed for food. The expression "flour" shall mean any flour for the time being authorized to be used in the manufacture of wheaten bread. The expression "week" shall mean a calendar week ending on a Saturday midnight.

10. The Regulation of Meals Order, 1916, is hereby revoked as on the date when this order comes into force.

11. If any person acts in contravention of this order or aids or abets any other person in doing anything in contravention of this order, that person is guilty of a summary offense against the Defense of the Realm

Regulations, and if such person is a company every Director and officer of the company is also guilty of a summary offense against those regulations unless he proves that the contravention took place without his knowledge or consent.

12. (*a*) This order may be cited as the Public Meals Order, 1917. (*b*) This order shall come into force on April 15, 1917.

An official summary of other food regulations issued by Lord Devonport was sent to the United States Government on May 25, as follows:

No trader, in selling an article, may impose a condition involving the purchase of any other article. No person may acquire supplies of food beyond the needs of his ordinary consumption.

A tradesman shall not sell any article of food where he has reasonable ground for believing that the quantity ordered is in excess of requirements. The Food Controller may order the inspection of premises in which he has reason to believe that hoarding is taking place.

The maximum price of wheat is fixed at 78 shillings per quarter of 480 pounds; of barley (other than kiln dried) at 65 shillings per quarter of 400 pounds, and of oats at 55 shillings per quarter of 312 pounds.

The extraction of flour from wheat is raised to a basis of 81 per cent.; the percentage of flour from other cereals to be mixed with wheaten flour must not be less than 10 per cent. and not more than 25 per cent. Barley, maize, oats, and rice may be used in the manufacture of bread, but when wheaten flour is used it must not be of the regulation grade. Bread must not be sold until it has been made at least twelve hours. The only loaves allowed are the tin loaf and the one-piece oven-bottom loaf. No currant, sultana, or milk bread may be made. No sugar may be used in bread.

All bread must be sold by weight. All loaves must be one pound or an even number of pounds. No wheat, rye, rice, tapioca, sago, manioc, or arrowroot or products thereof may be used except for human food. No bread or other product of cereals shall be wasted. No maize, barley, or oats or products thereof may be used except for human or animal food.

The Food Controller has taken over all flour mills of the United Kingdom which use wheat in the making of flour, except those with an output of less than five sacks per hour.

No chocolate may be sold or bought retail at a price exceeding 3 pence per ounce, or any other sweetmeats at a price exceeding 2 pence per ounce. The quantity of sugar used by manufacturers other than of jam, marmalade, or condensed milk is reduced to 40 per cent. of the 1915 supply.

The maximum retail price of milk is 2 pence a quart over the price on the 15th of the same month in 1914.

No tea may be packed other than the net weight. After July 1 all tea sold at retail, whether contained in a package or not, shall be sold by net weight. Forty per cent. of the total imports of tea from India and Ceylon are allocated for the purpose of the sale retail at 2 shillings 4 pence per pound. An arrangement has also been made with the Coffee Trade Association to supply a good, sound, pure coffee at a rate which would enable grocers to sell retail at 1 shilling 6 pence a pound.

The Food Controller has taken over all barley, foreign and home grown, other than home-grown barley which has not been kiln dried. The output of beer is limited to the rate of 10,000,000 barrels per annum, as compared with 36,000,000 barrels before the war. The manufacture and sale of malt, or its use by other than a brewer for sale, is prohibited.

Any infringement of an order made by the Food Controller is a summary offense under the Defense of the Realm Regulations, and the offender is liable to imprisonment for six months, with or without hard labor, or a fine of £100, or both.

The order of April 15, it was estimated, would produce a saving of 65 per cent. on meat, 53 per cent. on bread, and 63 per cent. on sugar, as compared with the consumption under preceding regulations.

Lord Devonport's new measures were subjected to bitter criticism. On May 8, in the course of an interpellation in Parliament, he announced the withdrawal of the meatless feature of the order on the ground that it was found to increase the consumption of breadstuffs, the most important item in the whole food-shortage situation.

On June 1, 1917, Baron Devonport resigned his difficult and thankless position as Food Controller.

Food Restrictions in France—Use of Horse Meat

IN France the task of combating the universal food shortage is in the hands of Maurice Viollette, the Minister of Subsistence. On April 22, 1917, he issued an order that there should be one meatless meal each day. The measure was adopted as an experiment, with notice that if it was not successful two meatless days would have to be instituted. It was not successful. On May 17 a new order appeared in the Journal Officiel regulating the sale and consumption of meat, as follows:

1. Monday and Tuesday shall be meatless days.

2. On those two days of the week it is forbidden—with the exception named below—to sell meat of any kind, including tripe, fowl, and rabbit.

3. It shall be permissible, however, to sell horse meat every day in the week.

4. These measures apply to all France.

Certain modifications are allowed in cases of illness, and special arrangements are made for shipping meat to the troops. Butcher shops selling horse meat exclusively may do business on the meatless days, but the consumption of horse meat is not allowed in restaurants on those days.

Restrictions regarding the use of flour were embodied by M. Viollette in the following order, issued May 1, 1917. In a report accompanying the decree he stated that a census of food stocks had shown the necessity for scrupulous economy and that the measures adopted were intended to apportion the existing supplies to the real needs of the people with the least possible inconvenience to any class:

Article 1. Beginning on May 10, 1917, millers are forbidden to send from their mills or to place on sale any wheat flour comprising less than 85 per cent. of the wheat used to make it. Besides this flour it shall be lawful to sell only bran and the waste from wheat grains found unfit for milling. Mixtures of substitute flours with wheat flour, authorized by Article 14 of the order of April 8, 1917, will be made with the flour prescribed by the present article.

Article 2. From the date of publication of this order millers are also forbidden to deliver flour to any one except bakers and farmers who have brought their wheat to the mill to be ground; except, however, that this interdiction shall not apply to makers of health foods and the like, save to the extent determined by rules fixed by the Food Controller. Semoules must be made of Winter wheat and be delivered to pastry makers under regulations established by the said Minister.

Article 3. Biscuit factories shall henceforth work only for the needs of the army, navy, merchant marine, and Department of Public Aid, in accordance with the conditions prescribed under the order of April 19, 1917. They are, however, permitted to exhaust their stocks, though without raising the present prices of their products.

Article 4. Bakers alone are authorized to sell wheat flour at retail in quantities not exceeding 125 grams.

Article 5. Save for the exceptions provided in Articles 2, 3, and 4, wheat flour cannot be employed henceforth for any other purpose than the making of bread. Consequently, within ten days after the publication of the present order every mercantile holder of wheat flour must dispose of it to a baker or place it at the service of the Mayor, who will attend to reimbursing the holder.

Article 6. Within the same period of ten days every baker is expected to place on file at the Mayor's office of the town in which he does business, the name of the miller or millers from whom he intends to get his flour; he cannot be supplied by any other miller, save by authorization of the prefect or sub-prefect.

Article 7. Within the same ten days the owners, directors, or managers of hotels, restaurants, buffets, and other similar establishments must declare at the Mayor's office the name of the baker or bakers from whom they will get their supplies; they cannot buy of any other baker save with the authorization of the prefect or sub-prefect. All bakers are forbidden to sell to any other establishment than those for which they are the regular caterers.

Von Batocki's Bread-Card Methods in Germany

GERMANY continued to suffer from the increasing scarcity of food during the months preceding the harvest of 1917. Early in June the Food Controller, Herr von Batocki, said in a speech before the Reichstag:

In certain provinces the potato crop is much poorer than the reports led us to expect. On the other hand, home consumption by the producers is insufficiently supervised. In the occupied territories the crops are a great disappointment to the German authorities, as seed will hardly germinate in ruined soil. Rumania has given as much as could be expected, but it is less than was hoped for by the German population. The country is almost completely ruined, and the harvest is much inferior to that raised in time of peace.

With respect to Germany's allies, the situation is not much better. For six years the Turks have struggled for their existence and their production has suffered thereby. The Bulgars are in a similar position. In Austria the situation is worse than in Germany. Hungary for three years has had poor crops. The rural population will be subjected to a severe trial. An effort has been made to spare small producers, but this can hardly continue. Three-fourths of the pigs, two-thirds of the cows, and two-thirds of the potato crop are in the hands of the small producers. It is a hard trial, but the rural population will triumph by bearing in mind that the urban population last Winter suffered a still greater trial.

In the discussion which followed, Deputy Schmidt, a Berlin Socialist, expressed the grievances of the city against the rural population. "Do the peasants know," he asked, "that the urban population of the Palatinate is obliged to content itself with a quarter of a pound of potatoes daily for each person?"

The Morgen Post of Berlin said that meat was completely lacking in the metropolis. In Baden, Minister of State Bodman indicated the possibility of meatless weeks next Fall. Bavarian newspapers inserted the following notice:

"In view of the extreme scarcity of potatoes and in view of the fact that Bavarian towns and industrial centres are suffering from this lack, an attempt will again be made to seize all the potatoes available throughout the country."

The Berlin authorities published an order forbidding the eating of pork on any day but Thursday because of the insufficiency of the stocks. The forging and theft of bread cards became a serious evil throughout Germany. In Berlin a tribunal condemned an individual to three months at hard labor for having stolen 20,000 bread cards. Five new establishments in which false bread cards were being printed were discovered in Berlin. In Dresden there were frauds and speculations in flour. The newspapers asked if it would be possible to continue after Aug. 15 the meat ration of 500 grams, (17.5 ounces.)

German Bread-Card System

[This summary of the German bread-card system was prepared by a London newspaper writer with a view to its possible adoption in England.]

All the ordinary requirements of everyday life are now distributed in Germany by means of the ticket system. The earliest of these tickets was for bread, and was adopted in the Spring of 1915. It should be borne in mind that tickets do not confer on their holders any legal right to the goods to which they refer. There is this difference, however, between bread and other tickets in Germany—that while it was not always certain that the purchaser would be able to obtain butter, potatoes, meat, eggs, &c., he could generally rely on getting his bread ration. That was because quite early in the war the Government took all the wheat in the country under its control. It stands to reason that any system of bread-ticket rationing must be preceded by such a course, for unless there is a central clearing house for supplies the whole system will break down.

In Germany the Central Government decided what the bread rations should be, and issued the necessary regulations for their distribution; but the actual work of providing the population with tickets is undertaken by the local authorities, who are at liberty to adopt

any machinery for the purpose they may choose. In Greater Berlin local Bread Committees have been appointed by the various Borough Councils. There are 107 such committees in the German capital, and they have in hand the bread-ticket system. In the first place, it is the duty of house owners to make a return of all the people living in their houses who are entitled to tickets. The tickets are then issued to the house owners, whose duty it is to distribute them among their tenants, obtaining in each case a receipt which is returned to the Bread Committee.

Tickets are usually issued for a month at a time, and in the early days complaints were loud about petty abuses. On the one hand, tenants deliberately gave unpopular landlords much unnecessary trouble by making them call several times for the delivery of the tickets and the return of the receipts. On the other hand, landlords penalized tenants in arrears with their rent by refusing to issue their tickets until the rent was paid.

Tickets are non-transferable. Yet, though it is a criminal offense to utilize tickets to which the holder is not entitled, it is well-nigh impossible to prevent fraud. Tickets are often stolen, and burglaries at the offices of the Bread Committees are frequent occurrences. But this evil can at least be overcome by great caution. Not so, however, another evil, which greatly weakens the whole system. Nothing can be done to check the illegal sale or bartering of tickets. It seems to be no infrequent occurrence for people in Germany to sell their bread tickets or exchange them for other sorts. Only a high sense of public duty can be effective here. It need hardly be added that unused tickets are expected to be returned to the Bread Committee.

Besides the ordinary bread ticket there is in Germany a supplementary bread ticket. Three categories of the population receive rations over and above those generally current—growing children, ordinary factory workers who are away from home all day, (the so-called "heavy" workers,) and those engaged on particularly hard work, especially in mining and munition making, (the so-called "heaviest" workers.) The reduced bread ration which came into force in Germany on April 15, 1917, was accompanied by the abolition of the first category of supplementary tickets. The other two are issued to the different works and factories, where they are distributed among the men qualified to receive them.

What happens if a bread ticket is lost? Local practice varies. Some towns will not replace lost tickets at all, while others will partially make good the loss on payment of a fee. But so much red tape is associated with the replacement that the possibility of constant fraud is reduced to a minimum. Besides, too frequent applications for the restoration of lost tickets are bound to raise suspicions with the police.

Another difficult problem is that of providing for the floating population, as, for instance, soldiers on leave, visitors, foreigners, and commercial travelers. Temporary visitors are granted bread tickets for the period of their stay in the locality, after satisfying the local Bread Committee of their bona fides, and presenting a certificate from their own Bread Committee or other local authorities issuing bread tickets. Travelers may obtain travelers' tickets, which are valid all over Germany. It should be noted that local bread tickets have currency only in the locality where they are issued, save only that all the South German States—Bavaria, Baden, Saxony, and Alsace-Lorraine—have agreed to recognize each other's bread tickets.

The form of the tickets varies in each locality. The most common is what may be termed a central trunk surrounded by coupons, each with an amount of bread or flour imprinted upon it. The seller must sever the coupon for the amount sold, and return all the coupons to the Bread Committee. On the basis of these returns the committee determines the quantity of flour to be allowed to the different bakers, each of whom is given a buying permit entitling him to receive his allotted share of flour from the wholesaler.

The system as a whole suffers from two weaknesses which seem inherent, and

it is a little difficult, therefore, to see how they can be overcome. The one is the control of the tickets. It is true that persons leaving the district are bound to notify the Bread Committee, just as the committee is also informed of all the deaths in the neighborhood. But German experience has been that in a great many cases removal notice is not given. What is the result? Unless the landlords are scrupulously careful the Bread Committee goes on issuing bread tickets as before, and improper use is made of them. Toward the end of 1916 it was felt that the number of illegal bread tickets in circulation in Germany was alarmingly large, and a census taken on Dec. 1, 1916, showed that there were four million more bread tickets in use than the total population warranted.

Even greater is the second difficulty —to deal satisfactorily with the producer, i. e., the farmer. If he is too much interfered with he may stop producing altogether. That obviously must be avoided at all costs. Hence a certain latitude is allowed the rural population in Germany in respect of bread rations. They are permitted to consume more bread than the town population. This has been the cause of great bitterness in Germany no less than in Austria and in Hungary. In the last-named country it has been necessary to keep a tight hold on the farmers. In the first place they did not always thrash the whole of their corn. In the second, by collusion with the local miller, they had more corn ground than their official permits allowed. In the third, by all manner of subterfuges, they fed their beasts on wheat fit for bread. It is asserted that these evils still exist in Hungary.

So far as the consumer is concerned, he must have the assurance that when he presents his ticket to his tradesman the commodity will be forthcoming. Over and over again during the last two years buyers in Germany have had to leave the shops empty-handed. A system of ordering in advance has therefore been developed. The customer places his order with his tradesman, at the same time delivering up his bread-ticket coupon, for which he receives the tradesman's receipt. The tradesman is thus enabled to make provision in advance for each day's business, and when the customer arrives he finds what he wants. But obviously the system is more adapted to better-class neighborhoods. Whether it will work effectively in poorer districts is questionable. Moreover, it does not follow that, though the ration is fixed for the whole country, the quality of the bread is the same everywhere.

At best, rationing by ticket is a makeshift. It undoubtedly minimizes inequalities and reduces waste. But perfect it cannot be, and, imperfect as it is, it needs a large staff for its execution and no little expenditure both on personnel and on tickets.

"The Year's Bravest Englishman"

The Stanhope Medal of the Royal Humane Society was awarded recently to John Paxton, a marine fireman, for a remarkable feat of heroism. Some months ago his vessel was shelled and sunk by a German submarine in the Mediterranean. In the hurry of leaving the vessel Paxton and three other men, none of whom could swim, were left behind. Immediate action was necessary, and Paxton, at once jumping overboard, called on the first man to follow, which he did, and Paxton swam with him to the nearest boat. Returning, he called on the second man, and he also was taken to a boat. Again Paxton came back, and in like manner rescued the third man, and this in spite of the high wind and rough sea.

The medal is awarded annually for what is regarded as the bravest feat of the year. It was presented to Paxton by the Lord Mayor of Liverpool at the annual meeting of the Mercantile Marine Service Association in May.

Jewish Liberty in Rumania

King Ferdinand's Promise

CHARGES of ill-treatment of Jews in Rumania, where more than 250,000 of that faith still live, have been frequent since the removal of the Rumanian capital to Jassy, and there have also been countercharges of pro-German intrigue in connection with Jews who remained in Bucharest under German rule. Agitation of the subject has now led to a clear and important promise of Jewish liberty by King Ferdinand.

On May 11, 1917, a deputation from the Rumanian Jews in Jassy waited upon the King to present to him the assurance of their loyalty. The deputation recounted the grievances of the native Jews and assured him that they would prove in all circumstances that they were an element of order, as sincerely devoted to their native land and to its ruler as was the case in countries where Jews enjoyed full equality. A note handed to the King begged him to take the native Jews under his protection. Accompanying the note was an appeal which the native Jews had distributed in Jassy on May 6.

In this appeal the Jewish Committee set forth the wish for national unity and the victory of the allied armies; they denounced those among them who had shown that they did not share the patriotic views of the nation, and they stated that they relied on the wisdom of the Rumanian people as regarded the solution of their question. This manifesto laid stress on the decision arrived at by the Rumanian Jews at the beginning of the war not to increase the difficulties of the situation by raising their question at the present time. The manifesto concluded as follows: "Having confidence in our fellow-citizens, we will do our duty toward our country, sparing no sacrifice and taking into consideration nothing but the welfare of Rumania."

King Ferdinand made the following reply:

After having been long in close touch with the daily life of all classes of people in the country, I formed the conviction—and I am pleased to bear testimony to the fact in the present circumstances that I was not mistaken—that all the inhabitants of Rumanian soil, irrespective of differences of origin, of race, or of religion, were actuated by the same exalted ideas of fraternity. This fraternity and community of aspirations constitutes the surest guarantee for the future of the country and the realization of our national ideal. One of the glorious characteristics of our native Princes was that, while preserving their faith in its traditions, they permitted the existence and the celebration of all the religions of their subjects. King Carol was so faithful to this tradition that he, a Roman Catholic, requested that his body might be laid to rest in one of the oldest religious monuments belonging to the worship of our ancestors.

I ascended the throne impressed with the same sentiments. When I undertook the task of uniting all Rumanians under the same flag I realized that that flag must be at the same time a symbol of the union and of the religious, political, and economic freedom of all the sons of the Fatherland. All who have striven for the realization of the aspirations which Rumanians have entertained for so many ages, by shedding their blood, by enduring the difficulties and sacrifices imposed by the war and invasion, whether they are Christians, Jews, or adherents of any other form of belief, will equally have a right to the gratitude of the country and to that of the King, and will enjoy equal rights in a free, great, and flourishing Rumania, closely united, all of us, under the folds of the national flag.

A Jewish demonstration took place on May 13 in Odessa, Russia, where some thousands gathered in front of the Rumanian Consulate to protest against recent ill-treatment of Jews in Rumania. The crowd elected delegates, one of whom presented to M. Grecianu, the Consul General, a written protest against the reported acts of violence. The Consul General telegraphed the protest to Jassy and communicated to the delegates a telegram from Jassy stating that the whole Jewish question was to be dealt with in the current session of the Rumanian Parliament.

The War in Western Asia

By James B. Macdonald

BRITISH and Russian operations in Western Asia are widely dispersed and appear to be unconnected, yet they are all concentric and tend to merge into a single campaign. Each and all have a common objective, and co-operation is secured through the higher commands being kept advised of the plans of the allied war council. To the latter they are units in a single campaign comprising the Russo-Siberian right wing in Armenia and Kurdistan, the Anglo-Indian centre operating from Bagdad, and the Anglo-Anzac left wing advancing through Palestine.

The centre is thrusting as a javelin at Aleppo and the Cicilian Gate, and, incidentally, seeking to establish contact with the right wing beyond Mosul. Its Euphrates column will later co-operate effectively with the left wing in Syria. The operations of the centre are of supreme interest, as they threaten to cut the Ottoman Empire in two.

Kut-el-Amara did not fall to the British for the second time as the issue of a hard-fought battle, but rather as the sequence of a successful series of small tactical engagements. These were strictly in accordance with military maxims on minor tactics and are interesting in themselves.

The Tigris, in its course below Bagdad and until it passes beyond Kut-el-Amara, assumes a remarkable series of corrugations inclosing little peninsulas, some of which project into the side held by the British and others into the side held by the Turks. Kut-el-Amara itself is situated at the point of one of these peninsula projections which encroach upon the British side, and it was flanked on either side by a reverse salient peninsula across which the Turks had intrenched themselves to the next bend in the river. They could only protect the town in this way, because if they abandoned these trenches the British, without crossing the river, could fire into Kut-el-Amara from three sides and make its retention impossible. As a further protection, the Turks held some points of vantage on a line running south from the Shamrun bend, which were so situated as to enfilade any direct assault upon the trenches and at the same time to circumvent any flanking movement to the north.

Fall of Kut-el-Amara

Before daybreak on Feb. 15 British infantry rushed some ruins on their left flank, while the machine guns picked off the defenders as they retired. A heavy bombardment followed, and a direct assault was ordered upon the Ottoman right centre. As the infantry approached, the Turks surrendered and the trenches were further extended by bombing. Similar procedure in the afternoon secured the remainder of the trenches. The whole of the Dahra Peninsula, west of the town, had now been captured, with the exception that a few Turks still held out at the extreme tip. After dark these were rushed and surrendered. Meanwhile cavalry cleared the vantage ground to the south and west of the Shamrun bend. These tactical successes were no sooner achieved than the rain came down in torrents—too late to save the Turks. Further operations were stopped for the time being. In all 1,995 prisoners were taken, which for a minor engagement compares with the 1,650 taken by General Townshend at the first battle of Kut-el-Amara, the 1,600 taken by him at Ctesiphon, and the 2,080 taken at Amara.

By way of diversion the operations were next resumed at the Sanna-i-yat Gap, some twenty miles away, and were so far successful that they drew the enemy's attention in that direction. General Sir F. S. Maude now deemed it possible to force a crossing of the Tigris River, which was then in flood, and planned accordingly. Early on the morning of Feb. 23 covering parties were ferried across the river and others later in the day, while the resistance of the Turks was held down by artillery and machine-gun fire. When sufficient clearance had

been obtained, a pontoon bridge was thrown across the 400 yards of flooded river and troops streamed across. By next morning the neck of the Shamrun Peninsula had been captured and 544 prisoners taken. Simultaneously the third and fourth line of trenches at Sanna-i-yat were taken by assault.

The Turks, recognizing that the game was up, evacuated Kut-el-Amara and retired rapidly toward Baghela, their forward base, some twenty-four miles upstream.

Capture of Bagdad

The Anglo-Indian cavalry and horse artillery rode hard for the enemy's right flank, while the infantry engaged his rear guard and the river gunboats harassed his left. On the afternoon of Feb. 26 the gunboats Tarantula, Mantis, and Moth passed the Ottoman Army in retreat and inflicted heavy loss on it. They later captured a number of Turkish steamers and barges and recovered the gunboat Firefly, which had been abandoned in the retreat from Ctesiphon in December, 1915. The pursuit on land was maintained, notwithstanding a sand storm, and came up with the Turkish rear guard at Lajj, who moved on when the Anglo-Indian vanguard attacked from three sides. The cavalry swept through Ctesiphon without opposition and drew rein six miles south of the Diala River, which joins the Tigris eight miles below Bagdad. Ctesiphon was the Winter capital of the Parthians, the redoubtable horsemen who checked the Roman power in the East. It was near here that the Roman Emperor Julian was defeated in 363 A. D. and lost his life. On the opposite bank of the river are the ruins of Seleucia, the capital of the Syrian Kings who succeeded to the empire of Alexander the Great.

The left wing of General Maude's army, under Sir Percy Lake, threw a bridge across the Tigris below its confluence with the Diala, and, crossing over, marched upon Bagdad. After a trying march of eighteen miles in the heat and dust they were confronted with the Turkish intrenchments six miles southwest of Bagdad. These were attacked at once and the defenders driven back upon their second line, two miles in the rear.

Meanwhile, the centre and right wing under General Kearny met with considerable resistance from the Turks on the Diala front, but succeeded in forcing a passage on the night of March 8, and improved their position next day. On March 10 a concerted assault on both sides of the river drove the Turks back upon the environs of Bagdad, and during the night they evacuated their defenses. At dawn next morning the British entered the city and recovered the guns surrendered at Kut-el-Amara. The Turks abandoned 500 of their wounded and two-thirds of their artillery.

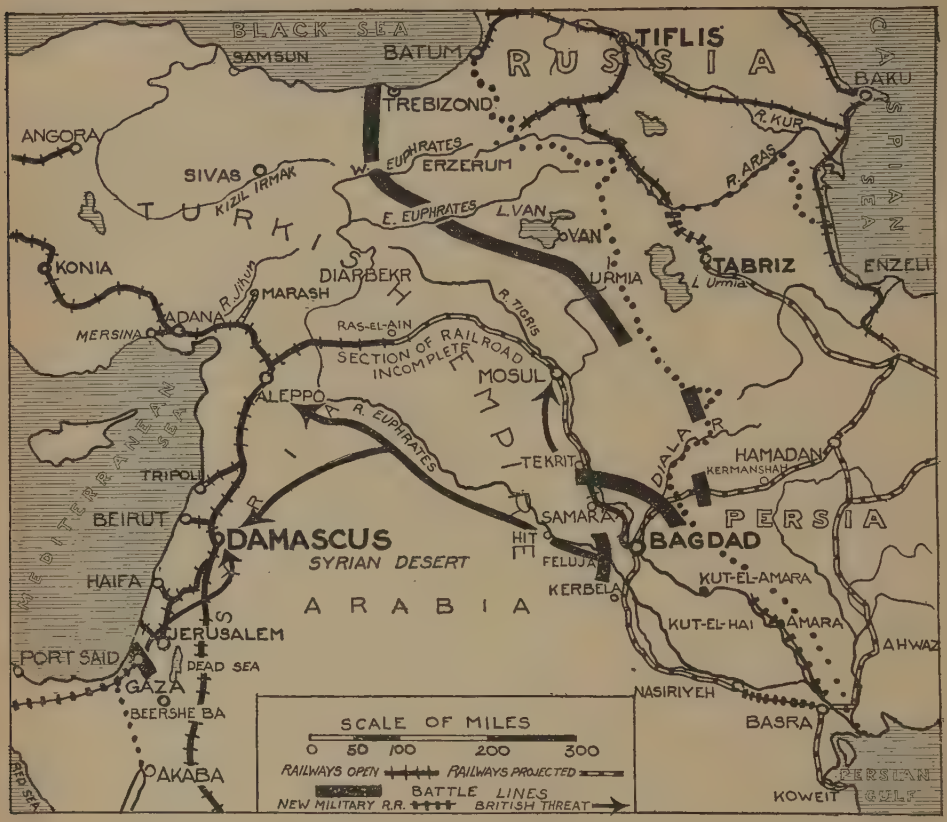
Bagdad is not of strategic importance, situated as it is in the centre of an open plain 200 miles wide and built on both sides of the Tigris. It is connected by canal with the Euphrates, which at this point is only twenty miles distant. This juxtaposition of the two rivers in relation to the City of Bagdad made it impossible for the Turks to retain their hold on the lower Euphrates above Nasiriyeh when their main force on the Tigris withdrew from Kut-el-Amara. The whole of the grain-bearing and irrigable lands of Babylonia, therefore, fell to the British with the capture of Bagdad.

Civil Rule of Babylonia

The British Commander in Chief issued a proclamation to the people of Bagdad stating inter alia: That the British and Bagdad merchants had traded for 200 years with profit and mutual friendship; that the Turks since the time of Midhat Pasha had been profuse with promises of reform and barren of performances; and that the Germans during the twenty years they had been in Bagdad had made of it a centre from which to assail the great British Raj and the mighty Russian Empire. It concludes by emphasizing that the British Government cannot permit this to happen again in Bagdad and calls upon the inhabitants to co-operate with the British civil authorities who will now administer the country.

The Flight from Persia

The Persian boundary hills rise abruptly from the Mesopotamian plain like a natural wall 4,000 to 5,000 feet high.



SCENE OF BRITISH AND RUSSIAN OPERATIONS IN WESTERN ASIA

In this respect they resemble the Himalayas in India, although not so high or so steep. From the western plain two tolerable roads penetrate this mountain barrier, but they are tolerable only in a comparative sense. One is the caravan route from Mosul to Tabriz, and the other is the caravan route from Bagdad to Teheran via Kermanshah and Hamadan. These boundary hills are inhabited by the Kurds, a brave and warlike race who, in the present war, have thrown in their lot with the Turks, but as they acknowledge neither Shah nor Sultan as their suzerain the political boundary between Turkey and Persia in these parts has little meaning.

East of the Kurd country the hills sink down into the Iran Plateau, and there the roads are better, although difficult in places.

The most westerly of the Persian main roads is the one running north and south from Tabriz to Kermanshah, where it connects at right angles with the Bagdad-Teheran caravan route. The Turkish contingents in Persia were spread out along these roads when the order of recall reached them after their main army commenced its retreat from Kut-el-Amara. One detachment was away to the east of Hamadan, while another was north of Sakhiz. Both had to fall back beyond the crossroads at Kermanshah, and if their arrival at that place did not synchronize then the laggard would be cut off by the Russian vanguard pursuing the leading contingent. This actually happened. The retreat of the Hamadan contingent was so rapid—probably due to the defection of the Kurds—that the Russians entered Kermanshah before the Sakhiz contingent had arrived. The latter, therefore, were cut off and took to the Kurd hills.

Meanwhile the Indian Government has

re-established order and stable conditions within the British sphere of influence in Southern Persia. Sir Percy Sykes, with an Indian escort, marched from Bander Abbas to Ispahan and later to Teheran—a journey of over a thousand miles overland. His mission was to establish a Government in Persia satisfactory to the Entente, and to raise a force of military gendarmerie under Anglo-Indian officers. Both objects have been attained.

Invasion of Palestine

The British Army from Egypt under General Sir Archibald Murray, formerly Chief of the General Staff, having laid down a military railway across the Sinai Desert to Rafa on the Turkish border, embarked upon the invasion of Palestine. The topography of the country, which is familiar to Biblical students, left no doubt as to the route they would take even had there not been the historical precedent of Napoleon's march from Gaza to Acre in 1799, where he was repulsed after a 61-day siege by the Turkish garrison under old Djezzar Pasha, assisted by a British naval contingent under Sir Sidney Smith. The whole of the western side of Palestine is an open plain bordering upon the Mediterranean and flanked on the east by the hills of Hebron, Jerusalem, and Gibeon. Whatever sentimental interest may attach to the famous City of Jerusalem, it is not a military objective in the present campaign; the immediate purpose is to seize Damascus and Beirut, and join hands with the left wing of General Maude's army in Mesopotamia.

The invasion of Palestine commenced with a march of fifteen miles to the Wadi Ghuzzeh, a river five miles south of Gaza, with the object of advancing the railhead. The river was reached without opposition, but as the Turks seemed undecided to stand, and it was desirable to hold them, General Sir Charles Dobell, in command of the advance forces, decided to strike for the town of Gaza. A dense fog delayed the advance, and then the water supply gave out, so that the contemplated manoeuvre had to be abandoned, and a defensive position was taken up midway between Gaza and the river. The Turks, with 20,000 men, attacked on March 27, but were repulsed everywhere with heavy loss. The British camelry corps completely outfought the Turkish cavalry and captured a General and the entire divisional staff of the Fifty-third Turkish Division. The Turkish losses are estimated at 8,000 men, including 950 prisoners, and two Austrian howitzers were captured. The British losses are given as 400 dead, 200 missing—believed to have fought their way into Gaza and been cut off—and wounded not stated. Their advance column retired on the river, leaving the camelry in contact with the Turks, who showed no disposition to renew the attack.

Gaza has been prominent in the world's history. It was near here that Selim I. of Turkey decisively defeated the Sultan of Egypt in 1517 and led to the Ottoman acquisition of that country. After the Generals of Alexander the Great disagreed as to how they should divide his empire among themselves, Ptolemy gained a sweeping victory over Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, at Gaza in 312 B. C., and this enabled Selucus Nicator, then a refugee in Egypt, to return to his satrapy at Babylon and regain most of the dominion of his great predecessor.

British Aim in Palestine

Syria in bygone days has been conquered by Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Macedonians, Seleucidae, Romans, Arabs, Egyptians, Mongols, and Turks, but never in its long history have such large armies been aligned for battle as are now contending for its possession. To meet the new invasion the Turks have 120,000 men deeply dug in between Gaza and Beersheba, while another army is protecting them from a flank attack upon their communications by the Anglo-Indian force ascending the Euphrates. The Turks consider Syria and Palestine of vital importance to them—not so much that it threatens Egypt as that it is a necessary point d'appui for recovering the holy cities of Mecca and Medina from the Arabs; Jerusalem, also, is a sacred city as well

to the Moslems as to the Christians and Hebrews.

The British, on the other hand, are committed to the policy of setting free the Semitic races in Arabia, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Syria from Turkish domination, and this policy marches with their own interests in safeguarding India and Egypt. The collapse of Russia, whether temporary or otherwise, will not deter them from their purpose, for India is set on removing the Teuton menace and ending the religious and rapacious prestige of the Turks. India is specially interested in the Euphrates and Tigris Valleys, and her troops are mainly operating in this theatre. Imperial and oversea troops only are engaged in the Holy Land.

The Russian revolution, coinciding with the Ottoman defeats in Palestine and Mesopotamia, enabled the Turks to withdraw troops from Armenia and the eastern front and send them to oppose the British. This had the immediate effect of checking the progress of the latter until they, too, could be reinforced. Particularly it affected the position in Palestine and caused a reversion to trench warfare. Gaza is now a modern fortress flanked by trenches and commanding eminences as far as Beersheba. The country to the south of Gaza is an open plain traversed by the Waddy Guzzeh, (River Gaza,) which at present is dry, although at times a raging torrent. To the west are sand dunes reaching to the Mediterranean, and to the east a range of hills.

At daybreak on April 17 the British advance began under cover of an enfilade fire from a warship and the usual field artillery preparation. The Turkish advance positions were captured on a front of over six miles. Next day advantage was taken of a duststorm to rush up supplies to the front while the movements of the motor transport were obscure to the opposing artillery, and the following morning the bombardment of the main position commenced. The infantry attack was only partially successful, and, although continued next day, was not pushed home, as the frontal position was apparently too strong for direct assault. A Turkish counterattack in one section of the front by 3,000 infantry and 800 cavalry was broken up through a squadron of British airplanes dropping forty-seven bombs directly on them. When last seen the Turkish cavalry was still flying. Reinforcements have since reached the British commander.

Strategic Considerations

After the fall of Bagdad, the Turks had the choice of two routes along which to retreat—either to ascend the Tigris to Mosul or the Euphrates to Aleppo—and they decided to take both. The Euphrates Valley had been the old caravan road between Syria and Mesopotamia for 3,000 years, and it offered the best march, yet it had few natural defenses to impede a pursuing enemy. Nevertheless, it was necessary to send some troops by this route to delay the British as long as possible while fresh troops were being assembled for the defense of Aleppo, the Amanus Tunnel, and the communications of the Syrian Army. On the other hand, the only hope of extricating the Turkish contingent in Persia was for the main army to retire up the Tigris and attempt to hold on the headwaters of the Diala River until such time as a reunion had been effected with their detached wing. The railway had been completed from Bagdad to Samara, but there was nothing in the way of rolling stock except the construction outfit. Beyond Tekrit a range of hills runs southeast toward the Diala River in the direction of Khanikin, whence the Persian column might be expected to emerge. Here the Turks decided to make a stand.

In Upper Mesopotamia

Sir Stanley Maude's operations from Bagdad are projected upon five lines of advance. His left wing crossing the intervening space between the two rivers —from which Mesopotamia takes its name—seized Feluja on the Euphrates as its starting point. Its immediate purpose is to ascend that river and hold the crossroads at El Deir, which lead to Damascus, Homs, Aleppo, Urfa, Mosul, and Bagdad. Possession of El Deir would afford opportunities for striking at the main communications of the Turks in

Syria and Mesopotamia, since these are both based upon Aleppo, which itself is threatened by this column. The direction of this blow will depend upon the measure of success attained by the other columns in Southern Palestine and the Tigris Valley. Holding the interior position with good lateral communications by means of which one column can assist its neighbor, the strategic advantage lies with the British. Midway between Bagdad and El Deir lies Hit, where there are important oil wells in which Anglo-Dutch capital is interested.

The right wing of General Maude's army was assigned the duty of clearing the Turks from the caravan route between Bagdad and Persia, and further to endeavor to hold up the retreat of their army corps in Persia before it could escape through the famous pass known as "the gate of Zagros." This object it was the aim of the opposing Turkish commander to frustrate. In consequence, the whole of the British centre and right wing became engaged with the enemy at widely dispersed points. The route mapped out for the Anglo-Indian centre was for one column to advance direct on Mosul by the road alongside the Tigris, but to keep in alignment with the other columns, and for another to take the road to Kifri and Erbil, which lies midway between the Tigris and the Kurd hills. This last road strikes the caravan route from Mosul to Tabriz in rear of where the Turks are holding up the main Russian left wing near Rivanduz and preventing a junction between the main allied armies.

The scheme then was for an advance in force by the centre upon Mosul and Rivanduz along three parallel routes, while the right wing secured the Bagdad caravan way into Persia, and the left wing ascended the Euphrates to El Deir and awaited further orders.

The Ottoman forces were disposed as follows: The Thirteenth Army Corps on both banks of the Tigris, the Eighteenth Army Corps between the Tigris and Diala Rivers, the Sixth Army Corps retiring from Persia by the Bagdad caravan route, and another force withdrawing before the British on the Euphrates. The Jeb-el-Hamrin hills lay diagonally on the flank of General Maude's line of march on Mosul, and by holding them the Turks reckoned not only to delay his advance but to enable their Sixth Army Corps to make good its escape by taking a bypath through the mountains from Kasr-i-Shirin to Kifri in rear of their left flank. These expectations were borne out, but under severe punishment, and it remains to be seen whether in saving the small force in Persia they have not compromised their whole army.

Open warfare prevails in this theatre and the scenes change rapidly. The operations consequently are of particular interest to military students. While progression may appear to be slow on the Tigris and in Syria, such delaying tactics may be considered by the British as an advantage provided their Euphrates column is making good progress toward the vital communications of the enemy. This is an unknown but all-important factor. Meanwhile, we may record the actual progress of the Tigris column.

The Advance on Mosul

The short section of the Bagdad Railway, which from this end is completed as far as Samara, about seventy miles up stream, is built on the west bank of the Tigris, but the road to that town follows the east bank part of the way. The Tigris and its tributary, the Diala, take parallel courses, about fifteen miles distant, as they approach Bagdad, and the road to Persia, as well as the one to the north, both emerge from this narrow area with the Tahwila Canal separating them. All these roads were made use of by General Maude in his advance from Bagdad. His left centre, on the west bank of the Tigris, came up with the enemy's rearguard holding a ridge covering the railway station of Mushaidie, and attacked it during the night of March 14. The engagement was continued next day, when the position was carried and three Turkish divisions defending it retired to the north.

Simultaneously, the right wing crossed the Diala to the east bank and seized the town of Bakuba, through which the main caravan road runs to Khanikin on the Persian border. They also se-

cured the village of Bahriz, through which a subsidiary road runs through Mendeli into Persia.

Meanwhile, the Russians in Persia under General Baratoff continued their

REGION OF RUSSIAN OPERATIONS

pursuit of the Sixth Turkish Army Corps, which had been recalled after the retreat from Kut-el-Amara began, and occupied Kirind on March 17. The Turkish left fell back toward Khanikin to cover the retirement of the Sixth Army Corps. The converging Anglo-Russian armies encountered considerable natural difficulties, for while the Indian troops on the plain were delayed by numerous small canals and rivers, the Russians were traversing snow-clad mountains and confronted with the formidable obstacle of the Paitak Pass to the east of Kasr-i-Shirin. The Turks in the foothills were assembled in strength, for they were battling to avoid the surrender of their Sixth Army Corps, whose retreat was precarious unless the British advance could be delayed. After numerous engagements the British right pushed on, and Shahroban was occupied, fifty-five miles northeast of Bagdad. The Ottoman centre now advanced and the opposing forces clashed near Deltawa, when the Turks were repulsed and retired across the River Adhaim, a tributary of the Tigris. The British centre continued its advance and entered Deli Abbas on March 31.

The Turkish Sixth Army Corps, in the meantime, was approaching Kasr-i-Shirin, whence their escape was assured by a side track to Kifri. When they took the latter road, a squadron of Russian Cossacks sped on along the caravan route and established contact with the Indian cavalry on April 2. The main Russian column deflected its course in an endeavor to intercept the Turkish left wing, which was falling back before the British, but they were held up at the crossing of the Diala. Persia is now free of the Ottoman invasion, although some small contingents were cut off in the re-retirement and sought refuge in the Kurd hills to the west of Bana.

While these events were in progress the Anglo-Indian column on the west bank of the Tigris fought the Turks out of Balad Station, some fifty miles north of Bagdad. General Maude, finding his advance to the north threatened by the Turkish concentration on his flank in the Jeb-el-Hamrin hills, manoeuvred to give them battle. On March 10 he ordered his advance detachments on the west bank of the Diala to fall back, whereupon the Turks, leaving the hills, pressed on after them. During the night General Maude dispatched another force from the east bank of the Tigris to the scene of action, and at daybreak a general engagement commenced against the Thirteenth Turkish Army Corps. The British artillery soon established an ascendency, but a mirage temporarily interrupted the duel.

When the infantry was brought into action the enemy abandoned their positions, ten miles northeast of Deltawa, and retired rapidly on the Jeb-el-Hamrin hills, leaving 300 dead on the field. Their casualties are reported as 700. The British centre now continued its march, and on the night of April 17 forced the passage of the River Adhaim, which was held by a detachment of the Eighteenth Turkish Army Corps; next day a battle ensued on the east bank of the Tigris,

when the Turks were again routed and 1,250 prisoners taken, but their guns escaped, owing to the exhaustion of the pursuing cavalry from the intense heat and their arduous advance.

Capture of Samara

The operations of the next few days were directed against the enemy's positions on the west bank of the Tigris between Istabulat and Samara. Severe hand-to-hand fighting took place with numerous counterattacks, but in the end the Turks had to yield their carefully prepared intrenchments, together with a 5.9 howitzer, 14 Krupp guns, and 687 prisoners. Their demoralization was due to the enfilade fire of the British artillery posted on the east bank of the river and the threatening manoeuvres of the Indian cavalry on the other flank.

On April 23 Anglo-Indian troops entered Samara, and at the railhead captured 16 locomotives and 240 trucks, while in the town a large quantity of military stores and munitions was secured. The Bagdad-Samara railway is now entirely in the hands of the British and will soon be available to bring up munitions and supplies from Bagdad.

The Turks depend on river transport from Mosul to meet their requirements, but this service is liable to constant attack from British flying squadrons. The Thirteenth Turkish Army Corps ventured to leave the Jeb-el-Hamrin hills in an attempt to relieve the pressure on their Eighteenth Army Corps, and, marching southwest, came in conflict with the British centre. A force detached from the latter made a night march on April 24 and surprised an Ottoman division on the west bank of the River Adhaim, about seven miles north of its junction with the Tigris. The Turks were routed with the loss of 150 prisoners and many transport mules, ponies, and camels.

A moving fight ensued for the next few days, while the Turks were falling back upon their prepared positions on either side of the River Adhaim where it issues from the Jeb-el-Hamrin hills, ome twenty-five miles southeast of Kifri. Early on the morning of April 30 the major portion of the British column, which had crossed the river during the night, stormed and carried the first two lines of the Turkish defenses, including a fortified village, but during a sandstorm they were driven out of the village, only to return and recapture it. The whole of the Thirteenth Turkish Army Corps then retired into the Jeb-el-Hamrin hills, covered by strong rearguards. Their known losses include 359 prisoners and 182 dead. The prevailing duststorm seriously interfered with the artillery and flying corps, and facilitated the Ottoman retreat.

The Eighteenth Turkish Army Corps, after its defeat at Samara, continued its flight to Tekrit, thirty-two miles further up stream. The total loss of this corps during the fighting from April 18 to April 22 is reported as 4,000.

The British in the Promised Land

W. T. Massey, war correspondent with the Desert Column in Egypt, wrote to The London Times under date of March 20, 1917:

THE Promised Land! After twelve months' incessant toil in the Sinai Desert, sometimes fighting hard, always digging, making military works, building railways, constructing pipe lines and roads, and forever marching over the heavy, inhospitable wastes, our troops have at last come into the Promised Land.

What a marvelous change of scene! They are in Palestine. Behind them is a hundred miles and more of monotonous sand. Before them, as far as the eye can reach, is unfolded a picture of transcending beauty. No wonder, when the troops come up to Rafa and look over the billowy downs, they break into rounds of cheers.

Before and around us everything is green and fresh. Big patches of barley, for which the plain south of Gaza is famous, shine like emeralds, and the im-

mense tracts of pasture are today as bright and beautiful as the rolling downs at home.

I have been out on a reconnoissance over ground evacuted by the Turks and toward positions which the enemy at present holds. The high minaret of Gaza showed itself to us from above the dark framework of trees inclosing the town. That mosque was formerly a Christian church built by the Knights Templars in the twelfth century, when the Crusaders fortified themselves within Gaza's walls, but Saladin drove them out.

After many centuries, (Napoleon's hold on Gaza was merely temporary,) British forces are within sight of the town. Away on our right over the abandoned Turkish stronghold of Wali Sheikh Narun is Beersheba, tucked in the plain beneath the southern end of the hills of Judea. These two of the most ancient cities of Palestine—it was in Gaza that Samson was betrayed by Delilah to the Philistines, and Abraham dug the "well of the oath" in Beersheba—have been seen by some of our troops, and the Desert Column is exceeding glad.

The Battle of Gaza

The fighting for Gaza developed into a pitched battle and then settled into trench warfare. Following is Mr. Massey's description of the battle of Gaza, written on April 21, 1917:

The biggest battle in all Palestine's long history is being fought at Gaza by bodies of troops on both sides immeasurably larger than any armies which have taken part in the countless campaigns of the Holy Land. Though we have only fought the first phase, it is clear that we are engaged upon the hardest struggle in this age-worn battle area. We have gained our first line, which we are consolidating, but apparently there is a period of trench warfare before us ere we reach the important system of trenches which has lately been cut to turn Gaza into a modern fortress of great strength. We paid a price for our gains, but we inflicted very heavy casualties on the Turks, whose counterattacks were repulsed with sanguinary losses. With the conditions pre-eminently favorable to the defense, an early decision before Gaza must not be expected.

We had to dispose the British forces on a sixteen-mile front, practically the whole of which the Turks had intrenched deeply. The positions we had to attack on the Gaza front could not be stronger if the whole country had been built up for defense. There are sand dunes two miles deep between the sea and the town and an extraordinary variety of redoubts, trenches, and pits covering the western town, while Samson Ridge, 3,000 yards to the southwest, is strongly held to secure the enemy observation posts.

Southeast of Gaza there is a green plain a mile and a half wide and six miles deep inclosed on the sea side by sand dunes, on the north by the town, and the east by a range of hills running to Alimuntar, the spot where Samson displayed his prodigious strength. The plain is intersected by the Wadi Ghuzze, a ravine with precipitous sides, through which the Winter rains on the Judea hills pour in terrific torrent to the sea. It is now dry, but crossings have been made for guns, cavalry, infantry, and supply columns. The northernmost part of the plain is covered with trenches protecting the town, and for two miles to the southeast of Alimuntar the enemy on the irregular hills and deep woods, at one spot, prepared an intricate system connected up with trenches of great defensive power.

Mounted Troops Engaged

Three miles due south of Alimuntar is Mansura Ridge, facing another important series of defenses. About a mile further to the east is Sheikh Abbas Ridge, backed by ground torn and cracked as if by an earthquake, and looking over the country rolling to the Beersheba road. East by south are the tiny villages of Sihan, Atawinieh, Aseiferieh, and Munkheileh, near which our cavalry fought strong actions against infantry counterattacking from Hareira Sharia.

The whole country is extremely difficult for cavalry, as it constitutes a continuous bottle neck, full of deep ravines, but the part played by the mounted troops under these disadvantageous circumstances was superb. Soon after daybreak on April 17 our movement began.

A war vessel assisted the shore batteries to cover a short advance of infantry to take up positions from which we might hope to secure our first objective at a subsequent date. The operations were brilliantly successful. We got to our mark on the sand dunes quickly, reached the positions in front in a few minutes, and took Sheikh Abbas Ridge by half-past 7, with remarkably small casualties. The cavalry were out on the right during this blazing hot morning, but it was impossible to hide them owing to every movement raising dense columns of dust. A wet night would have been of immense advantage, but throughout the operations rain was denied to us.

On April 18, while the country was obscured by dust clouds, we made ready for the next advance, sending much supplies forward. The whole terrain was covered with supply columns, and when the wind decreased an enormous pall of dust hung over the area. An occasional motor rushing across country raised a trail of dust like steam issuing from an express train. Bombardment of the outer trenches of Gaza began as the sun lifted over the black hills of Judea on the 19th.

Infantry and a "Tank"

Infantry attacks were launched at 8:30 o'clock. On the left they gained Samson Ridge and found the trenches full of Turkish dead. The enemy observation posts were seized. Toward Alimuntar and south of Gaza progress was more difficult and slower, but Scottish troops went forward with splendid steadiness under a desperately heavy machine-gun fire, and ultimately advanced 2,000 yards to Outpost Hill, south of Alimuntar, where they have consolidated their gains.

There was also considerable progress from Sheikh Abbas Ridge. Between 9 and 10 I saw a "tank" go into action against a green hill near a warren in front of the Alimuntar. She stood with her nose posted in the air across a trench, down which her crew poured rapid fire right and left. Then she crossed the trench and turned south. The Austrian gunners with the Turks soon found the range, and turned an immense volume of fire on the tank, which seemed completely surrounded by bursting high-explosive shells. For several minutes I lost sight of her, but presently she emerged, pursuing the uneven tenor of her way toward our lines. Then a second succession of rapid artillery fire again enveloped the tank. When the fire ceased she had disappeared. I thought she had been smashed to pieces. But I learned she dropped back into the trench we had captured.

During the day, particularly in the afternoon, our mounted troops were heavily engaged. The Turks made five desperate counterattacks with infantry against the mounted troops and camel corps. Though inflicting considerable losses on us, they must have suffered very severe casualties.

Heroic Camel Corps

One heroic episode I did not see, but I repeat it from the evidence of competent witnesses. It was an effort by sixty men of the Camel Corps. The enemy had concentrated considerable forces at one spot to break through. A junior officer of the Camel Corps saw the preparation and took his men forward, with two machine guns, up a grassy slope, to prevent the advance, with absolutely no cover. His small party crept on stealthily, undeterred by a murderous machine-gun fire, in what was a forlorn hope. A tremendous shellfire fell about them, but the party, gradually becoming smaller through inevitable losses, pressed on until within 300 yards. The crest was lined with scores of machine guns and hundreds of riflemen. There they stopped, and kept the Turks from issuing to attack by sound and accurate bursts of fire every time the enemy showed themselves. For an hour and a half this gradually reduced band staved off attack until every one was hit. Most of them were killed, and the wounded fell into Turkish hands. It was too late in the day for the Turks to get through. My informant declared that every Camel Corps man in this section deserved the Victoria Cross, whether he be alive or dead.

The War's Effects on Turkish Railways

THE war has had some unforeseen effects on the economic life of Turkey. To a certain extent that country has become the port of entry through which Central Europe seeks to escape the Entente blockade, and the Austro-German engineers are bending all their energies to draw from it every ounce of available resources. The men in control of the Ottoman Empire allow them to do this the more willingly because they regard the present epoch as essentially one of transition. They seem to be seeking especially to develop Asia Minor with the aid of German technicians, holding themselves ready, once the difficult task of economic rehabilitation is accomplished, to get rid of all foreign control and to adopt a frankly nationalist policy. Already, under German protection, they are breaking the contracts which bound them to other European powers.

Let us glance at what has taken place in the domain of transportation. As soon as the war had demonstrated the strategic and commercial importance of the railways, the Germans applied themselves, first, to utilizing the existing lines for intensive exploitation of resources; second, to finishing the construction of railways begun before the war, and, third, to establishing entirely new lines.

With the closing of the Dardanelles the traffic between Asia Minor and Turkey in Europe became extremely active, and the new state of things was immediately reflected in the movement of freight through Haidar Pasha, the gateway to the Bagdad Railway, lying just across the Bosporus from Constantinople. The report of the Anatolian Railway, which handles the Bagdad Railway traffic at that point, showed for the year 1915 a total of 510,236 tons of merchandise transported through Haidar Pasha, as against 317,217 tons in 1914.

The increase was due especially to the provisioning of Constantinople and of the Turkish troops fighting at that time in the Peninsula of Gallipoli; in fact, out of a total of 510,236 tons, 419,920 tons were carried over the road in Asia Minor toward Turkey in Europe, and only 90,316 tons in the opposite direction. The report for 1916 has not yet been issued at this writing, but it will show a much greater increase, as the construction of the Bagdad Railway has made extensive progress in the interval.

By virtue of the convention of March 5, 1903, the Bagdad Railway Company undertook to seek from the Ottoman Government a separate authorization for each section to be constructed. The Turkish authorities, usually very slow and negligent, in this case, under the stimulus of the war, granted the necessary authorizations with exceptional rapidity.

Konia, the southern terminus of the Anatolian Railway, is the western terminus of the Bagdad Railway proper. Between Konia and Bagdad there remain only two sections yet to be built; otherwise the whole enterprise is complete. The following table from the Paris Temps shows the progress of the work:

Sections.	Kilometers.	Opened.
Konia to Bulgurlu	200	Oct. 25, 1904
Bulgurlu to Ulukishla	38	July 1, 1911
Ulukishla to Bozanti	53	Dec. 21, 1912
Bozanti to Dorak	42	Not comp't'd
Dorak to Adana	15	Apr. 27, 1912
Adana to Osmanie and Namurie	100	Apr. 27, 1912
Osmanie to Alexandretta	59	Nov. 1, 1913
Namurie to Islahie	54	Feb., 1916
Islahie to Radjun	47	Oct. 20, 1915
Radjun to Muslimie and Jerablus	203	Dec. 15, 1912
Muslimie to Aleppo	15	Dec. 15, 1912
Jerablus to Tel-el-Abiad	101	July 11, 1914
Tel-el-Abiad to Tuem	62	June 1, 1915
Tuem to Raz-el-Ain	41	July 23, 1915
Raz-el-Ain to Samara	541	Not comp't'd
Samara to Istabulat	30	Oct. 7, 1914
Istabulat to Sumiken	38	Aug. 27, 1914
Sumiken to Bagdad	62	June 2, 1914

Of the whole 2,435 kilometers (1,510 miles) that separate Haidar Pasha from Bagdad there remain 583 kilometers (361 miles) still to construct; but the connection between the Bosporus and the Euphrates is already made, and it should be noted that the greatest engineering difficulties of the whole en-

terprise have been surmounted since the beginning of the war. Two important gaps remained to be filled when the war broke out. One was the road across the Taurus Mountains, the other that across the Amanus Mountains. Now, the Namurie-Islahie section, opened in February, 1916, and built at an altitude of 874 meters, connects the plain of Adana with that of Mesopotamia. The great tunnel at Bagtche, pierced on June 16, 1915, is in this section. The crossing of the Taurus was effected at an altitude of 1,465 meters. In that section several tunnels, totaling eleven kilometers in length, were bored, including that at Bilemdik, opened in December, 1914. Only a few more tunnels remain to be finished in that part of the road in order to complete the Bozanti-Dorak section. Meanwhile their place is supplied by automobile roads, which also have been constructed during the war. On April 30, 1915, the Germans completed the great 810-meter bridge, weighing 3,400 tons, across the Euphrates.

The Turks also have carried through other railway projects of some importance. They have finished the line from Haifa to Jerusalem and made considerable progress on that to Sinai, which branches off from the other at Afoule, and is soon to furnish connections with the Sinai Peninsula. The Young Turks expect the port of Haifa to supplant that of Beirut when the railway is completed.

The task of building the great Black Sea railway system—from Samsun to Sivas, from Angora to Erzerum, &c.—was handed over by Russia to France after M. Poincaré's journey to Petrograd; a Turkish law of June 25, 1915, however, transferred this work to the Ottoman Government. Meanwhile the presence of Russian troops in Armenia has prevented the Turks from doing anything on it. The Germans attach great importance to this project, which they regard as furnishing the missing link in their great waterway system to connect the North Sea with the Persian Gulf by way of the Rhine, Danube, Black Sea, and Tigris River.

Cruelties to Jews Deported From Jaffa

Djemal Pasha, Turkish Governor General in the Palestine region, signalized the approach of the British expeditionary force by driving all Jews from Jaffa, north of Gaza. The cruelties perpetrated in the execution of his order early in April, 1917, were reported to the United States Government by Consul Garrels at Alexandria. Ambassador Elkus advised the State Department on June 12 that no massacres had taken place, though the Jews had been compelled to leave Jaffa. Mr. Garrels's report follows:

THE orders of evacuation were aimed chiefly at the Jewish population. Even German, Austro-Hungarian, and Bulgarian Jews were ordered to leave the town. Mohammedans and Christians were allowed to remain provided they were holders of individual permits. The Jews who sought the permits were refused. On April 1 the Jews were ordered to leave the town within forty-eight hours. Those who rode from Jaffa to Petach Tikvah had to pay from 100 to 200 francs instead of the normal fare of 15 to 25 francs. The Turkish drivers practically refused to receive anything but gold, the Turkish paper note being taken as the equivalent of 17.50 piastres for a note of 100 piastres.

Already about a week earlier 300 Jews had been deported in a most cruel manner from Jerusalem. Djemal Pasha openly declared that the joy of the Jews on the approach of the British forces would be short-lived, as he would make them share the fate of the Armenians. In Jaffa Djemal Pasha cynically assured the Jews that it was for their own good and interests that he drove them out. Those who had not succeeded in leaving on April 1 and following days were graciously accorded permission to remain at Jaffa over the Easter holidays until April 9. Thus 8,000 were evicted from their houses and not allowed to carry off

their belongings or provisions. Their houses were looted and pillaged even before the owners had left. A swarm of pillaging Bedouin women, Arabs with donkeys, camels, &c., came like birds of prey and proceeded to carry off valuables and furniture.

The Jewish suburbs have been totally sacked under the paternal eye of the authorities. By way of example two Jews from Yemen were hanged at the entrance of the Jewish suburb of Tel Avid in order clearly to indicate the fate in store for any Jews who might be so foolish as to oppose the looters. The roads to the Jewish colonies north of Jaffa are lined with thousands of starving Jewish refugees. The most appalling scenes of cruelty and robbery are reported by absolutely reliable eyewitnesses. Dozens of cases are reported of wealthy Jews who were found dead in the sandhills around Tel Avid. In order to drive off the bands of robbers preying on the refugees on the roads the young men of the Jewish villages organized a body of guards to watch in turn the roads. These guards have been arrested and maltreated by the authorities.

The Mohammedan population have also left the town recently, but they are allowed to live in the orchards and country houses surrounding Jaffa and are permitted to enter the town daily to look after their property, but not a single Jew has been allowed to return to Jaffa.

The same fate awaits all Jews in Palestine. Djemal Pasha is too cunning to order cold-blooded massacres. His method is to drive the population to starvation and to death by thirst, epidemics, &c., which, according to himself, are merely calamities sent by God. Those who know his methods will not be surprised if after a short time severe punishment is dealt out to those who have looted and pillaged under his orders, or at least with his connivance. This would be in accordance with his settled policy of exciting one part of the population against the other, and exterminating all those who are not Turanians.

Djemal Pasha—A Turkish Ivanoff

[Cartoon from the American Jewish Chronicle]

Wartime Suffering in Turkey

A foreign official, whose duties took him to Constantinople in April, 1917, gave the following account of conditions in the Turkish capital:

THE reports which reach the outer world from time to time about conditions in Turkey invariably understate the facts. The vast mass of the Turkish population is now subsisting on the verge of starvation. The misery which prevails at Constantinople among the middle and working classes is heart-breaking; while conditions inland, owing to the epidemics which prevail, are even worse. There is no cholera at Constantinople, and the admirable sanitary measures imposed on the city by the Germans have succeeded in keeping typhus within close limits. The Germans tried to make the tramway company daily disinfect its vehicles, but, as usual, they acted in the matter without tact, and, the company refusing, no European now travels in the tramcars.

Pitiful incidents, indicating the misery of the people, can be witnessed daily at any street corner. The faces you see are haggard, pinched, and worn, the eyes haunted, the frames feeble. I do not know whether people die of starvation in Constantinople, but I have frequently seen old men and women collapse—I suppose from hunger—in the streets. Poor people will pay enormous sums for worm-eaten figs with which one would not attempt to poison a mad dog. In the old far-off days of peace the average humble-class Turk would make a piece of bread and cheese, some olives, and some Turkish delight form his principal meal. To-day such a meal would cost him about $1.25.

Prices have risen steadily since the beginning of the war, and in American terms are something like the following: Butter, $2.50 a pound; cheese, $3.50 a pound; olives, 75 cents a pound; sugar, $2.50 a pound; rice, $1 a pound; Turkish delight, $2 a pound. The veritable famine in sugar which now prevails in Constantinople is a great blow to the sweets-loving Turk. Lumps of sugar at 5 cents each are hawked about the streets. Austria recently promised to send Turkey 2,000 carloads of sugar at the rate of 200 cars a month, but owing to the great scarcity of rolling stock nobody takes the promise seriously. In spite of the hunger and abject misery everywhere prevailing, the Turk manifests no desire to revolt. Food riots are unknown at Constantinople, and the shops are never looted.

The shortage of bread is a great cause for complaint among the women. The Turkish Government, at the instigation of the Germans, early in the present year introduced a rationing system, but the wealthy Turks declined to submit to it, and the elaborate organization set up speedily collapsed. The apathy of the Turks angers the foreign observer. Only once have they been roused from their apathy, and that was when the thousands of wounded poured into Constantionple from the Dardanelles. The sight of their dying men-folk caused several hundred women to march to the War Office to call on the Government to give them back their husbands and sons.

In Turkey, as in other belligerent countries, the war has opened up new avenues of employment to women. The Greeks and Armenians formerly employed at the post and telephone offices have been dismissed and their places taken by Turkish women and girls. The war has hastened rather than checked the emancipation of Turkish women. All the young women wear veils of the flimsiest description, and in the tramcars they always draw them up from their faces. An incident which illustrates the strength of the "new woman" movement in Turkey occurred quite recently. The following notice was issued by the police department.

The adoption of new forms of apparel has become a public scandal in Constantinople. All Mohammedan women are given two days in which to lengthen their skirts, discard corsets, and substitute thick for flimsy veils.

Two days passed, and the following notice appeared:

We regret that through the interference of certain old women a subordinate of the Police Department has attempted to regulate

the costumes which Mohammedan women wear. The Police Department regrets this blunder and cancels the previous order.

The "police subordinate" who blundered was an invention of the department, anxious to find an excuse to capitulate to the storm which the original order provoked. The wives of Turkish aristocrats, Ministers, and high Government officials threatened to hold up the Red Crescent nursing work in Turkey, the telephone girls threatened to strike, the Post Office girls to leave the Post Office, unless the offending order was canceled; and before two days had passed Turkish women, determined to be Westernized, had won. The incident provoked an outburst of indignation on the part of the women against the German authorities in Turkey, who were accused, probably wrongly, with wanting to keep Turkish women in a backward condition.

It may be mentioned that some illusions are entertained outside Turkey regarding the powers possessed by the German authorities in Turkey. The Germans are certainly the masters of the Turks in the sense that they control the Turkish Government, but the influence of the German officials over the civilian population is very small. The German police in Constantinople are strictly forbidden to interfere with the population, and even in the army Turkish soldiers are not compelled to be subservient toward their German officers. Besides holding them responsible for the misery and misfortune which have befallen their country, the Turks dislike the Germans personally. On the other hand, the German naval and military officers make no secret of their contempt for what they regard as the laziness and slackness of their Turkish charges. Admiral von Souchon, the German Admiral at Constantinople, is never tired of declaring to other Europeans at the Constantinople Club that the Turks as fighting men are hopelessly inefficient.

The principal preoccupation of the Turkish Parliament is the deplorable financial condition of the country. Gold, nickel, and copper have long since vanished from circulation, and the country is flooded with notes and stamps—the latter worth about 5 cents each—of all kinds. At the backs of the notes in one of these categories is a design of Kut, and an inscription, rather amusing in the light of recent events, to the effect that, thanks to the bravery of the Turkish troops and their German allies, the town will remain in Turkish hands until the end of time. Turkish finances are run on the simplest lines. Every time that the Turkish Government is hard up it asks Berlin for a "loan." The "loan" consists in permission by the German Government for the Turkish authorities to issue paper money for the amount required. The German Government has promised to redeem, out of the indemnities exacted from its enemies, all the paper money issued in Turkey during the war. The mark has dropped extremely low lately in value in Turkey.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE—Owing to the existing blockade CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE has been unable to obtain any German cartoons for this issue.

[Italian Cartoon]

Uncle Sam's First Projectile

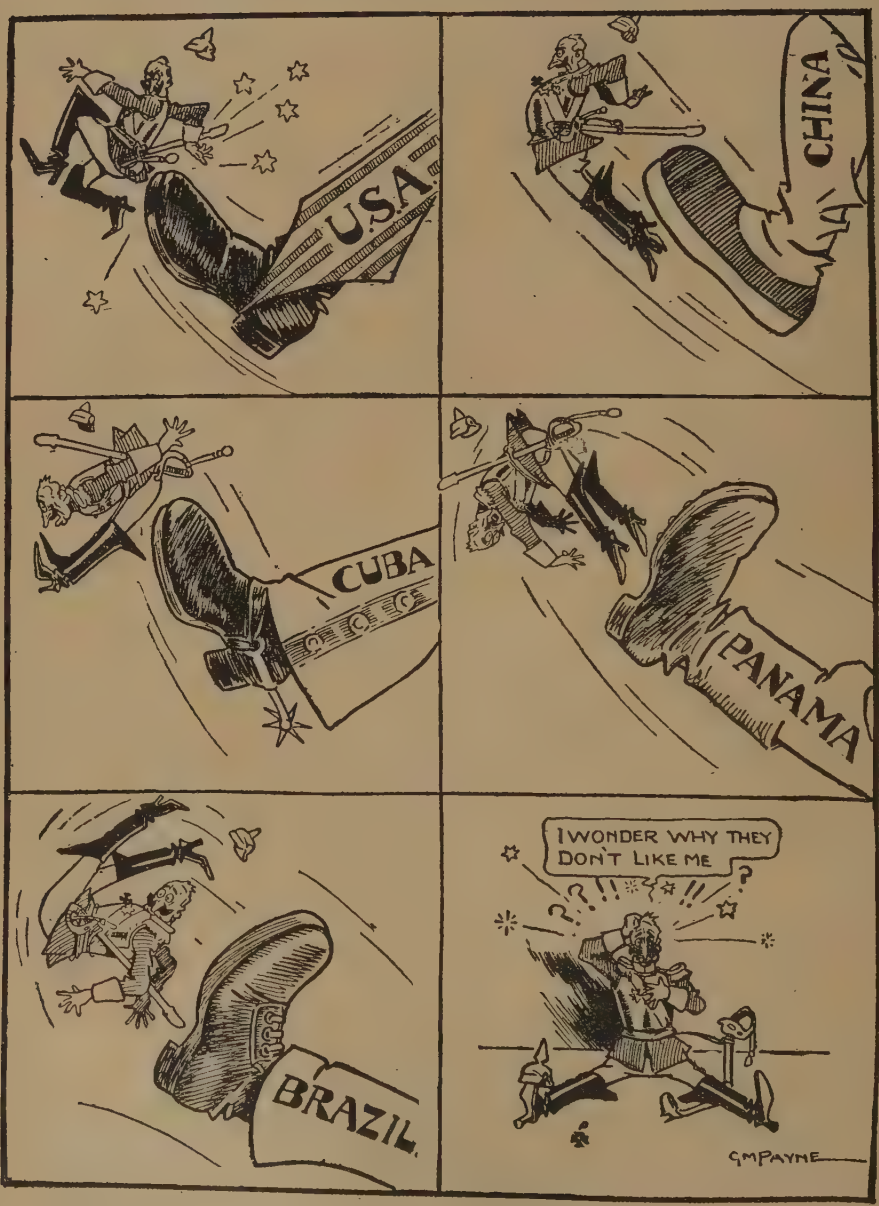
"The United States has voted a loan of $3,000,000,000 to the Entente."—Cable news.

—From Il 420, Florence.

AMERICA TO GERMANY: "First I'll hand you this one. Other presents will follow later."

[English Cartoon]

Receiving the Order of the Boot

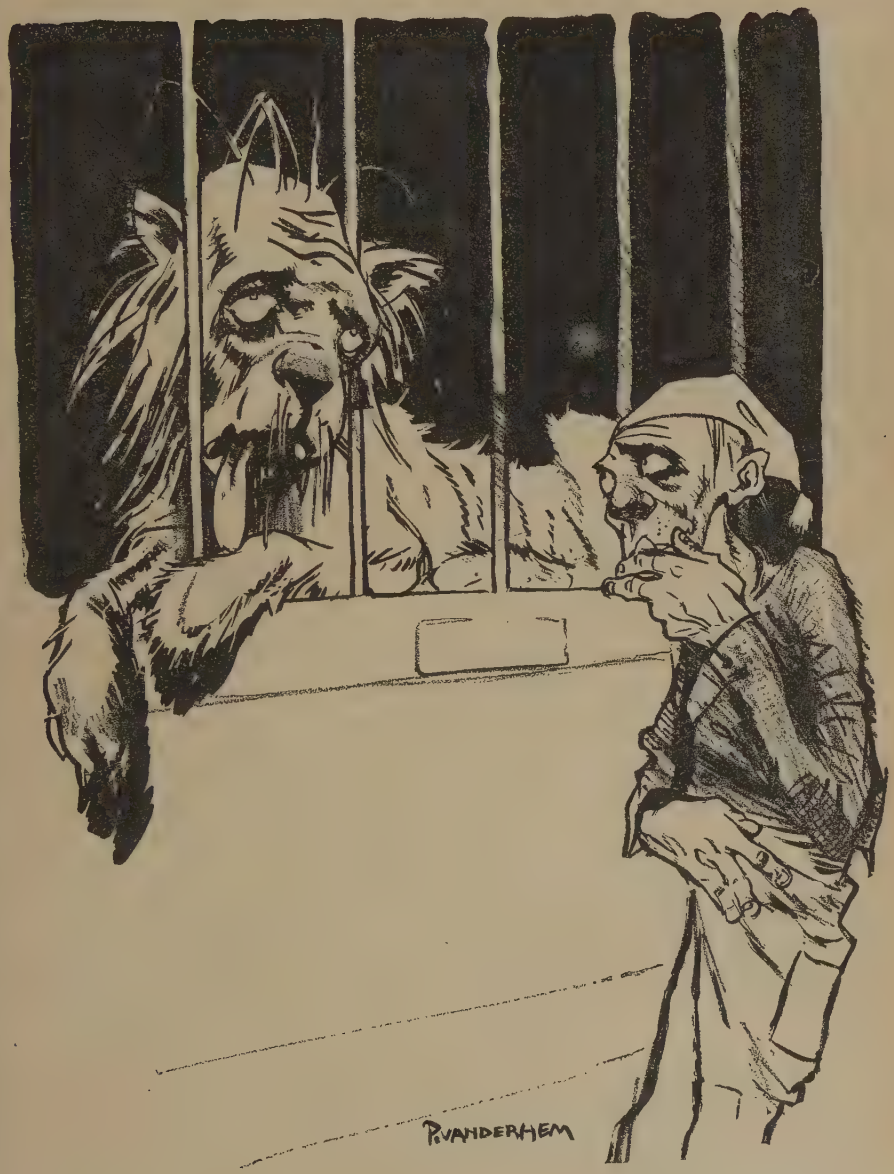


—From The Sunday Pictorial, London.

THE KAISER (to the republics who have revolted against U-boat savagery): "It's all very well to dissemble your love, but why did you kick me down stairs?"

[Dutch Cartoon]

Times Change



—*From De Nieuwe Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.*

THE GERMAN PEASANT: "I always used to think how that beast would like to eat me, but now I think how much I should like to eat it."

[Spanish Cartoon]

Compensation

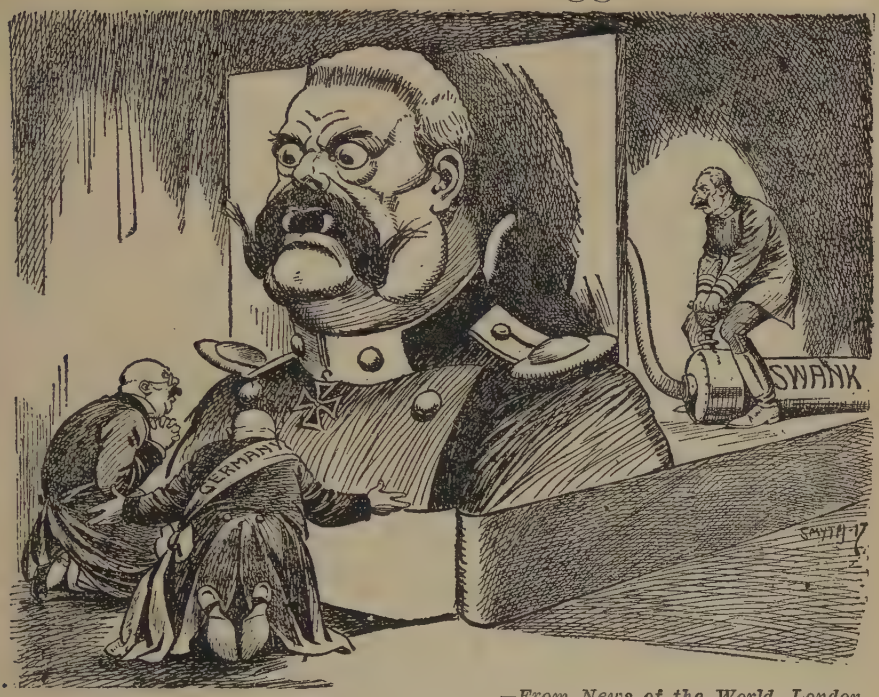
—From Espana, Madrid.

FIRST DUTCH SEAMAN: "They have sunk seven of our ships, at one stroke, after promising not to touch them!"

SECOND SAILOR: "Yes, and they did not touch the Rochester and the Orleans after threatening to smash them! Probably that is because America is not a little country."

[English Cartoon]

The Hindenbeggar

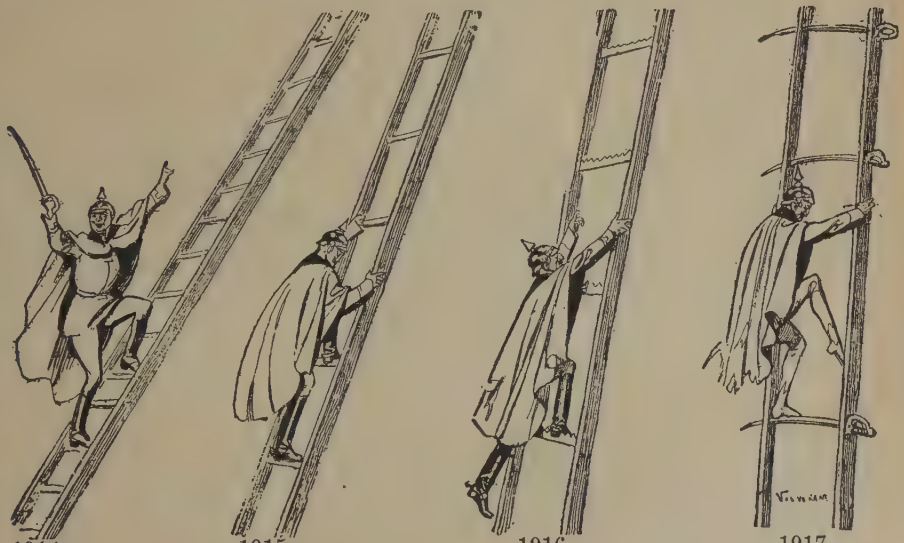


—From News of the World, London.

WEARY WAR LORD (at the hot air pump): "Ach, Himmel! What'll happen when the beggar bursts!"

[French Cartoon]

The Fatal Ladder



1914. 1915. 1916. 1917.

—From Le Pele-Mele, Paris.

[English Cartoon]

The Two Giants

—*Raemaekers in Land and Water, London.*

GERMANY: "I destroy!"
AMERICA: "I create!"

[Italian Cartoon]

The Return Visit

1492.—The caravels of Columbus visit America.

—*From Il Numero, Turin.*

1917.—The naval squadron returns the call.

[French Cartoon]

Every Man to His Trade

—From Ruy Blas, Paris.

CROWN PRINCE: "Louis XVI. was a locksmith, Nicholas a carpenter, and I—oh! I'm a furniture remover."

[English Cartoon]

Beware the German Gift!

—From The Passing Show, London.

[In the Trojan war the Greeks, unable to capture Troy by fighting, resorted to the treacherous gift of a huge wooden horse, which they pretended was an offering to the gods, but was in reality full of armed men. The Trojans admitted the innocent-looking gift, and Troy fell. The German peace offers to Russia correspond to the Wooden Horse.]

[English Cartoon]

Spades Are Trumps

—From The Passing Show, London.

England mobilizing against the U-boats.

[Dutch Cartoon]

David and Goliath

—From De Nieuwe Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

David Lloyd George, the giant Germania, and the results of the Somme offensive.

[American Cartoon]

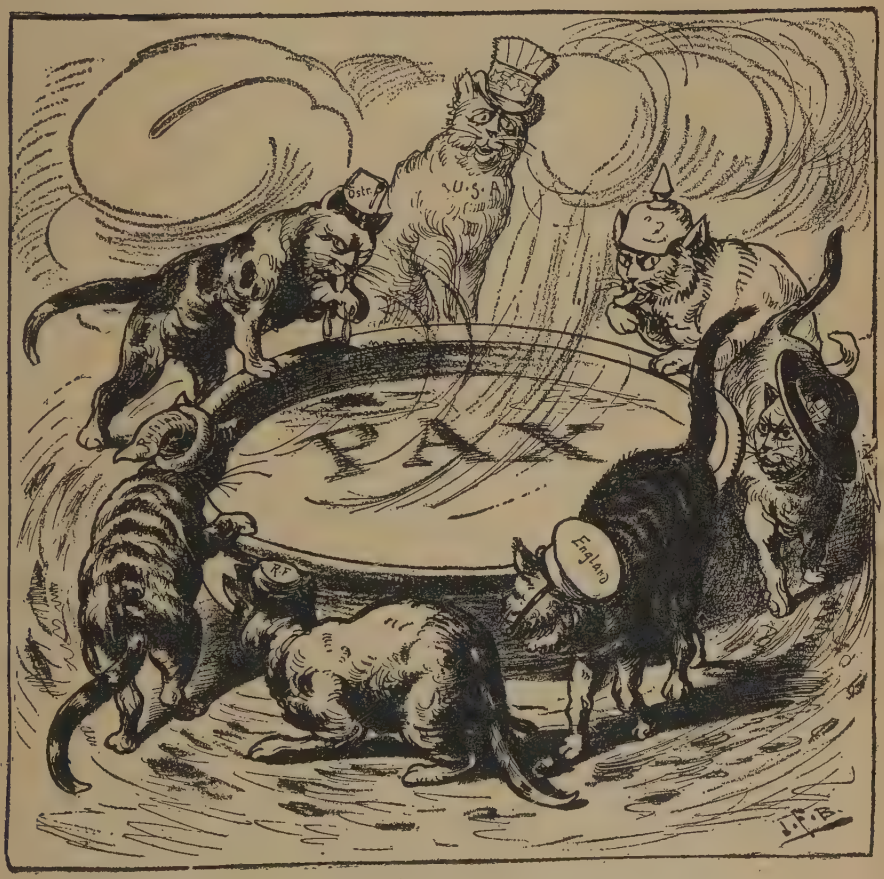
Another Plan Gone Wrong

—From The New York Times.

KAISER: "So! You've failed again!"

[Swiss Cartoon]

The Hot Peace Soup



—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

All eager to taste it.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Russia's Temptation to Make Separate Peace

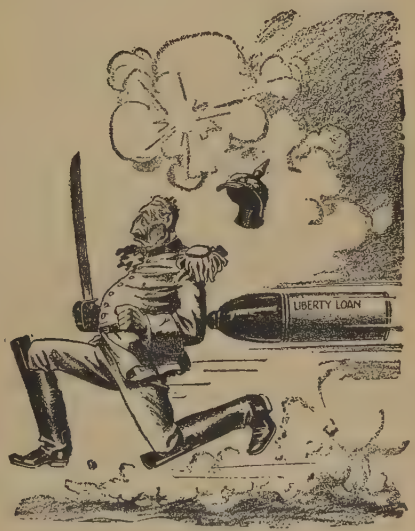
—*Broakensiek in De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.*

The fox tempts the bear to put his paws between the cleft oak in quest of imaginary honey.

Hold Fast, Young Russia!

One He Can't Submerge

"It Beats the Dutch"



—From The Baltimore American.

[Swiss Cartoon]

Spring in the War Zone

—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

The ogre of death and the spirit of awakening life.

"U-Boats Be D—d!"

—From The Los Angeles Times.

"Oh, Say, Can You See?"

—From The Providence Journal.

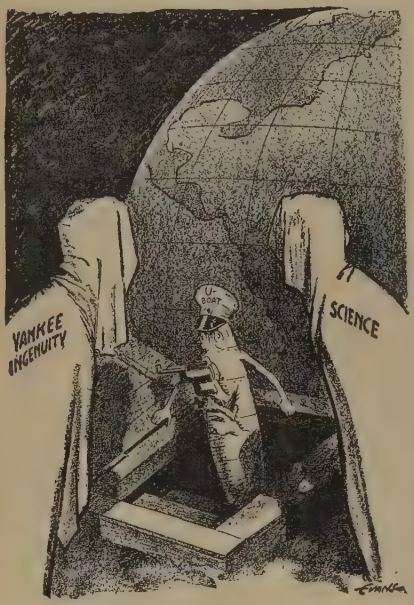
Stuck!

—From The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Hock der Kaiser!

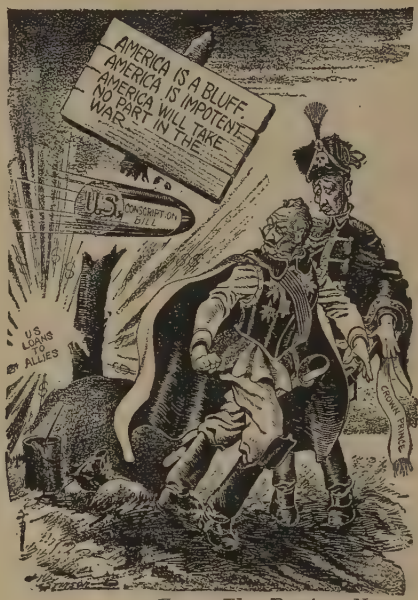
—From The Pittsburgh Post.

"The Goblins 'll Get U"



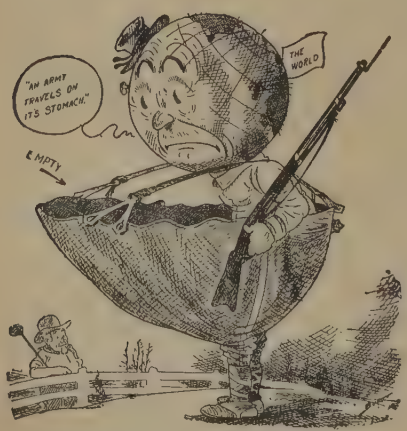
—From The Baltimore American.

"Gott! Papa, They're in Earnest!"



—From The Dayton News.

It's Up to You, Mr. Farmer



—Knoxville (Tenn.) Journal and Tribune.

Peace Chestnuts

—From The Dallas News.

Removing Those Painful Crowns

The Missing Link

The Melting Pot

The Giant Awakens

—J. E. Murphy in San Francisco Call.

The Nation's Shield

—From The Memphis Commercial Appeal.

The Eagle's New Brood

—From The Dayton News.

Mothering the Cub

—From The Providence Journal.

The Question Mark of Europe

—From The Atlanta Journal.

PERSHING'S ARRIVAL IN FRANCE

The First United States Commander to Lead an Army in Europe Arriving at Boulogne, France, June 13, 1917.

(Photo © International Film Service.)

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM L. SIBERT

Commander of the First Division of the United States Army
Sent Abroad to Serve Under the Commander in Chief,
General Pershing.

(Photo © Clinedinst from Underwood & Underwood.)

PERIOD XXXV.

The German Crisis—How the Hohenzollerns and Junkers Control — Russia's New Outlook—The First American Army in France—Joffre's Tribute to Lafayette at Baltimore—War's Inferno on the Aisne Ridge—A British Reverse on the Yser—The Submarine Situation—What the American Navy Has Done—President Wilson's Appeal Against Profiteering — China Foils a Royalist Coup—War Aims and Peace Terms Restated—Russian Mission to the United States—Brazil's Revocation of Neutrality—Greece Joins the Allies—Re-establishing Albania —Canada's Three Years of War—The Mothers—How the War Came to America—Wartime Life in European Capitals—Assassination of the Austrian Premier—The Armenian Tragedy—German Barbarities in France—Battle's Grim Realities at Ginchy.

THE GERMAN CRISIS

Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg Resigns and Is Succeeded by Dr. Michaelis and a New Ministry

GERMANY was the last of the belligerent powers to experience a political crisis due to popular dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war, but the end of the third year brought as complete a change as that suffered by any other warring Government except Russia. On July 14, 1917, after a fortnight of excitement and tension that stirred all other nations and convulsed Germany, Dr. Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor since July 14, 1909, was forced to tender his resignation, and was succeeded by Dr. Georg Michaelis, Prussian Under Secretary of Finance and Food Controller. A complete reorganization of the Ministry ensued.

Owing to the rigid suppression of news regarding internal affairs in Germany, the world could obtain only meagre details of what was happening; such news as filtered beyond the border had suffered curtailment and revision at the hands of military censors, and much even of this information came second hand from Copenhagen, Stockholm, Amsterdam, and Berne, and was incomplete and contradictory. Enough, however, managed to elude the censors by word of mouth from trustworthy travelers and correspondents to disclose late in June that a political tumult was raging in Germany and that new political alignments were forming. The influence of the Russian revolution had been far more pervasive than the censored dispatches had indicated. A new situation, too, was acutely felt to be at hand when the German people realized that the United States intended to bring at once to the support of the Allies the full weight of its resources, wealth, and military power.

The discontent, which made itself manifest in half-suppressed newspaper comment and public expressions by men of prominence in civil and political life, was lulled temporarily by the hope of a separate peace with Russia and by the popular belief that there was no possibility of Russia's again becoming a fighting factor for years. When the Russian offensive was resumed with brilliancy and with disastrous consequences to both Austria and Germany, and when the Russian armies gave proof that they possessed a greater power of offensive than at any time since the outbreak of the war, the crisis in Germany's political circles immediately became acute. It soon culminated in the collapse of the Bethmann Hollweg Government and the formation of an entirely new coalition, with all sorts of sensational possibilities in prospect as a consequence.

Revolt in the Saxon Diet

The first intimation of a serious state of affairs came in a dispatch which was permitted by the censors to pass late in June, relating that in "the Saxon Diet "the Prime Minister of Saxony declared "that the Government would fight any "attempt to secure franchise reform in "the individual States through the ac- "tion of the Reichstag, whereupon the "Socialist Vice President of the House "declared that Saxon soldiers were not "fighting because of loyalty to the King, "but 'out of love of the Fatherland and "monarchical principle.' If the Govern- "ment of Saxony persisted in its reac- "tionary attitude, he said that 'reform "would come, if not from the Crown, "then from the mob.' A Nationalist "member of the Reichstag said 'that a "vast majority of the Saxons were in- "spired by an utter lack of confidence in "the Government.'"

The next important incident which was permitted to be made public occurred June 30, when it was announced that the movement to secure an equal electoral franchise in Prussia found cham-

pions in unexpected quarters. Leading Conservatives joined in a public declaration calling on the Government to take action for the prompt enactment of legislation in favor of election reform.

Demands for Franchise Reforms

Their call, which is an unequivocal indorsement of the agitation carried on by the Social Democrats for many years past, reads:

> The mighty struggle in which the German people are now engaged is not yet ended. The undersigned until now have been largely of the opinion that the promise contained in the imperial Eastertide message for the elimination of acrimonious internal struggles might be fulfilled in co-operation with the conservative forces of our public life. However, the opposition emanating from these sources is so powerful as to call forth doubts whether this Easter message, in its true spirit, can at all become a reality after the conclusion of peace.
>
> Today such doubt is intolerable. To keep that faith with the German people to which it is entitled, it is needful to take this work in hand without further delay. We therefore do not hesitate to publicly emphasize the need of the hour which demands of the Government that it forthwith lay before the Diet a draft of an election reform which not only calls for a general, direct, secret ballot, but for an equal voting franchise for all; and, further, that the Government in addition give effective, visible expression of the confidence to which the German people are entitled.

The call was signed by Professor Hans Delbrück, historian of the University of Berlin; Alexander Dominicus, Chief Magistrate of Schoeneberg; Professor Emil Fischer, Dr. Adolf von Harnack, Dean of the German theologians; Professor Friedrich Meinecke, Count Monts, retired Ambassador; Professor Walter Ernst, Dr. Paul Rohrbach, Dr. Friedrich Thimme, and Professor Ernst Troeltsch. The signers, almost without exception, have been looked upon generally as stalwart conservatives.

This call was hailed with enthusiasm by the Berliner Tageblatt and other important papers, and the Socialist newspaper Vorwärts pronounced it "an historic document."

Agitation in the Reichstag

The Executive and Constitutional Committees of the Reichstag met July 4, preliminary to the opening of the new session of that body. The Socialists demanded that immediate steps be taken to bring about electoral reform by having the Reichstag initiate the measures to bring about reforms in the individual States. The Government was reported as being willing to proceed at once with Reichstag election reform, involving subdivisions of the larger election districts and introduction of the proportionate ballot system which is quite well known in certain States of the American Union, but the Government did not think it advisable that the Reichstag should make ballot reform in the individual German States, especially Prussia, its own business.

The Socialists, however, wished to make it the business of the Reichstag, because the Prussian Diet was ultra-Conservative and would not favor reform; hence they announced a preference to have the settlement of Prussian ballot reform placed in the Reichstag's power; that body, according to the Socialists' idea, need only pass a law making the individual State electoral systems conform to that of the Reichstag. This, translated into American politics, would mean that Congress in Washington has the right to dictate to Ohio or Idaho what ballot system these States have to employ in their home elections.

These episodes were but the mutterings before the storm. It broke forth in its furry on July 6 at a joint session of the Main Committee and Constitutional Committee, held prior to the meeting of the Reichstag. Although the sessions of these committees were strictly executive, the comments in the newspapers next day indicated that very serious dissensions occurred.

Erzberger's Change of Front

It became known that Mathias Erzberger, a leader of the Clerical Centre, one of the most influential Catholics in Bavaria, which is one of the most powerful States in the German Confederation, created a profound sensation by deserting the Pan German and War Junker factions, and declaring for peace without annexations or indemnities. He severely criticised the Government's submarine policy

and the blundering diplomacy which had brought America into the conflict as Germany's enemy. This was a complete volte face, as Herr Erzberger had previously been regarded as a stanch Government supporter and his party as a main factor of the coalition. When it became known that the majority of his party, representing the influential Catholic faction of the Reichstag, was with him, it was clear that a crisis was impending, and that a majority in the Reichstag was probably against the Government.

Crown Council Summoned

Only fragmentary dispatches appeared for several days after this, and these were contradictory, but the world knew that the situation was serious. The Kaiser summoned a Plenary Crown Council. The Crown Prince was called to Berlin, as were Field Marshal von Hindenburg and Chief Quartermaster General Ludendorff. On July 8 the Hamburger Fremdenblatt said:

> We are now living through the greatest crisis in our political life which has arisen since the outbreak of the war. This crisis centres around the fundamental questions of war and peace as well as the reorganization of our internal political system. It is in the nature of things that every such event crystallizes into a personal contest. Member of Parliament Erzberger's speech in the Reichstag General Committee was an attack on the Government, which means against the Secretary of the Navy as well as against the Chancellor. To avoid misunderstanding it should be said that the continuation of the submarine war does not come into the question, not even so far as Erzberger is concerned. The question is of the revising of the war aim formula somewhat on the lines demanded by our Social Democrats. Resolutions in the Reichstag will not accomplish this.
>
> Since May there have been many changes. One thing, however, has not changed, and that is the complete lack of contact between Government and people. The reason for all these happenings? One has only to remember that the speech of a member of Parliament who chanced to be called Erzberger has sufficed to overthrow the entire structure of both our internal and external politics, nor was the Government able to stop it. That shows the bankruptcy of the system. The Kaiser is today in Berlin and conferring with Hindenburg, Ludendorff, and the Chancellor. Is it thinkable that at such a time the party leaders should not be present and that what they have to say should not be also considered?

Harden's Magazine Suppressed

On July 11 Die Zukunft, Maxmilian Harden's publication, was suppressed, and Herr Harden was drafted under the auxiliary civil service law to be employed as a military clerk. The following is an extract from the article which caused the suppression:

> Herr von Bethmann is like neither Buddha nor a preacher in the mountains. He who hopes for his world to be saved by heavy guns, poisoned gas, mines, flame throwers, submarines, and air bombs must do without a reputation for sublime humanity. Every child understands that. Are impartial neutrals, then, to learn to dream with their eyes open that in the pure scales of the North Germans gentle humanity weighs heavier than rattling armor of power? Neutrals will never learn.
>
> Are they (Germany's rulers) allowed by slandering an enemy who is not yet ready to conclude peace and by insisting all too loudly upon their deep belief in the nearness of peace, to nourish the mad but damaging belief that Germany is more weary than the league of her enemies? Must we not demand that our rulers shall learn and apply properly the principles of psychology and acoustics? Must we not demand that before they choose new weapons, and even before they resume the use of old weapons, they shall think out to the end every possible effect—not merely the effect which is desired by the commander in the field?

Harden reviewed once more the efforts to make capital out of the Russian revolution. He argued that it might have been possible for Germany to imitate the methods by which Frederick the Great ended the Seven Years' War after the death of Empress Elizabeth of Russia, but it would have been necessary to act promptly and make complete concessions, and the achievement would have required powerful statesmanship instead of "the Swiss pills" which merely reminded foreign countries of Herr Zimmermann's proposals to Mexico.

The first official utterance as the outcome of the crisis was the following manifesto, issued July 13, and addressed to the President of the State Ministry:

> Upon the report of my State Ministry, made to me in obedience to my decree of April 7 of the current year, I herewith decide to order a supplement to the same,

Reichsrat should be immediately constituted, which would be a sort of Committee of National Defense, and would for the time being act as a go-between twixt the Reichstag and the Emperor, thus instituting on a modified scale the principle of Parliamentary responsibility; the second that the Government should immediately make an authoritative declaration of "no annexations or indemnities." Both these proposals, it is asserted, had the backing of Bavaria and Austria, although Austria naturally had no open voice in the matter, which was purely a German internal affair.

Both proposals were violently opposed by the Crown Prince, von Hindenburg, and Ludendorff. It is declared that von Hindenburg came out openly for a "German peace."

Gain for Militarist Party

The official view at Washington was that the crisis had resulted in a complete triumph for the Militarist Party, headed by the Crown Prince, and in a lessening of the prestige of the Emperor and the Moderates.

The letter of the Kaiser accepting the resignation of Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg was made public July 16, as follows:

I decide with a heavy heart by today's decree to grant your request to be relieved from your office. For eight years you have occupied the highest and most responsible offices in the imperial and State services with eminent loyalty, and have successfully placed your brilliant powers and personality at the services of the Kaiser and the empire and the King and the Fatherland.

In the most grievous times that have ever fallen to the lot of the German countries and peoples—times in which decisions of paramount importance for the existence and future of the Fatherland have had to be taken—you have stood by my side with counsel and aid. It is my heart's desire to express my most cordial thanks for your faithful service.

First Address of the New Chancellor

DR. MICHAELIS, the new Chancellor, made his initial address to the Reichstag July 19. He paid a warm tribute to his predecessor. In the course of his remarks he said:

Unless I had believed firmly in the justice of our cause I would not have accepted office. We must keep before our eyes daily the events of three years ago, which are fixed in history and which show we were forced into the war by Russia's secret mobilization, which was a great danger to Germany. To have participated in a conference while the mobilization proceeded would have been political suicide. [Exclamations of "quite right" from the Conservatives.]

The mobilization of the Russian Army compelled Germany to seize the sword. There was no choice left to us, and what is true of the war itself is true also of our weapons, particularly the submarine. We deny the accusation that the submarine warfare is contrary to international law and violates the rights of humanity.

England forced this weapon into our hands through an illegal blockade. England prevented neutral trade with Germany and proclaimed a war of starvation. Our faint hope that America, at the head of the neutrals, would check English illegality was vain, and the final attempt we made by an honorably intended peace offer to avoid the last extremity failed.

Then Germany had to choose this last weapon as a countermeasure of self-defense. Now, also, she must carry it through for the purpose of shortening the war.

The submarine war is accomplishing all, and more than all, it is expected to. False reports which found their way into the press as a result of the secret session of the Reichstag evoked for a time a certain feeling of disappointment which ended at a particular time. They did the Fatherland no service.

I declare, in fact, that the submarine war accomplishes in the destruction of enemy tonnage what it should. It impairs England's economic life and the conduct of the war month to month in a growing degree, so that it will not be possible to oppose the necessity for peace much longer. We can look forward to the further labors of the brave U-boat men with complete confidence. * * *

Russian Offensive Unimportant

In the East, in consequence of the confusion in Russia, the attack of Russian millions did not materialize, and there is comparative calm. Only after false reports and incitement by Russia's allies

had stirred the Russian soldiers did the present offensive develop. Its goal was Lemberg and Drohobycz. General Brusiloff, with all his enormous sacrifices, has gained only a slight advantage. * * *

Greece was forced by violence to enter the war against us. Our common front with the brave Bulgarians stands firm.

Italy, even through the eleventh Izonso battle against our war-tried Austro-Hungarian brothers, will not be able to attain the goal of its breach of faith—the possession of Trieste.

We look without serious concern upon the optimistic sentiment in the Entente countries caused by America's intervention. It is easy to reckon how much tonnage is necessary to transport an army from America to Europe, how much tonnage is required to feed such an army. France and England are scarcely able to feed and supply their own armies without influencing the economic situation still further. After our previous success we shall be able to master this situation also through our fleet, particularly the submarines. That is our firm conviction and assurance. We and our allies, therefore, can look forward to any further development of military events with calm security.

How Much Longer?

The burning question in our hearts, however, is how much longer the war is to last. With this I come to a matter which stands in the centre of all our interest and all our proceedings today. Germany did not desire the war in order to make violent conquests and, therefore, will not continue the war a day longer merely for the sake of such conquests, if it could obtain an honorable peace.

The Germans wish to conclude peace as combatants who have successfully accomplished their purpose and proved themselves invincible. A condition of peace was the inviolability of Germany's territory. No parley was possible with the enemy demanding the cession of German soil.

We must, by means of understanding and in a spirit of give and take, guarantee conditions of the existence of the German Empire upon the Continent and overseas. Peace must offer the foundation of a lasting reconciliation of nations. It must, as expressed in your resolution, prevent nations from being plunged into further enmity through economic blockades and provide a safeguard that the league in the arms of our opponents does not develop into an economic offensive alliance against us.

These aims may be attained within the limits of your resolution, as I interpret it. We cannot again offer peace. We have loyally stretched out our hands once. We met no response, but with the entire nation and with Germany, the army and its leaders in accord with this declaration, the Government feels that if our enemies abandon their lust for conquest and their aims at subjugation and wish to enter into negotiations we shall listen honestly and readily to what they have to say to us. Until then we must hold out calmly and patiently.

Nation's Most Serious Crisis

The present time is, in regard to food conditions, the most severe we have experienced, and the month of July has been the worst. Drought has delayed the crops, and want exists in many cases, but I can declare with glad confidence that relief will shortly set in and the population can then be supplied more adequately.

On the occasion of his acceptance of the Chancellorship Dr. Michaelis sent a message to Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, saying that he considered it his chief and inviolable duty to preserve the previous inheritance of the closest and most loyal confederation. It was his firm conviction that Austria-Hungary and Germany would be victorious and that the war would secure for the heroic people a happy and bright future. Count Czernin, in reply, said he saw the best guarantee of a happy future in intimate and confident co-operation with the leaders of the German policy and firm insistence upon the well-tried alliance.

How the Hohenzollerns and Junkers Control

By Charles Downer Hazen

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THE German Empire is a confederation, founded in 1871—founded by the Princes, not by the people—and consists of twenty-five States and one imperial territory, Alsace-Lorraine. The King of Prussia is ipso facto German Emperor. The legislative power rests with two bodies—the Bundesrat, or Federal Council, and the Reichstag. The Emperor declares war with the consent of the Bundesrat, the assent of the Reichstag not being required. He is Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, he has charge of foreign affairs, and makes treaties, subject to the limitation that certain kinds of treaties must be ratified by Parliament. He is assisted by a Chancellor, whom he appoints and whom he removes, and who is responsible to him, and to him alone. Under the Chancellor are various Secretaries of State, who simply administer departments, but who do not form a Cabinet, either in the English or French or American sense. They are responsible to the Chancellor.

The laws that govern the German Empire are made by two bodies—the Bundesrat and the Reichstag. The Bundesrat, of which we in America hear very little, is the most powerful body in the empire, far more powerful than the Reichstag, of which we hear a great deal. It possesses legislative, executive, and judicial functions, and is a kind of diplomatic assembly. It represents the States; that is, the rulers of the twenty-five States of which the empire consists. It is composed of delegates appointed by the rulers. Unlike the Senate of the United States, the States of Germany are not represented equally in the Bundesrat, but most unequally. There are sixty-one members. Of these Prussia has seventeen, and the three votes allotted to Alsace-Lorraine since 1911 are "instructed" by the Emperor. Thus Prussia has twenty, Bavaria has six, Saxony and Württemberg four each, others three or two, and seventeen of the States have only one apiece. The members are really diplomats, representing the numerous monarchs of Germany.

Voting Under Orders

They do not vote individually, but each State delegation votes as a unit and as the ruler orders it to. Thus the votes that Prussia controls are cast always as a unit and as the King of Prussia directs. The Bundesrat is in reality an assembly of the sovereigns of Germany. It is responsible to nothing on earth, and its powers are very extensive. It is the most important element of the Legislature, as most legislation begins in it; its consent is necessary to all legislation, and every law passed by the Reichstag is, after that, submitted to it for ratification or rejection. It is therefore the chief source of legislation. The Princes of Germany have an absolute veto upon the only popular element in the Government, the Reichstag. Representing the Princes of Germany, the Bundesrat is a thoroughly monarchical institution, a bulwark of the monarchical spirit. The proceedings of this princely assembly are secret, which is one reason why we know and hear less about it than we do about the Reichstag.

Much less important than the Bundesrat is the Reichstag, the only popular element in the government of the empire. It consists of 397 members, elected for a term of five years by the voters, that is, by men 25 years of age or older. The powers of the Reichstag are vastly inferior to the powers of the House of Commons or the Chamber of Deputies or the House of Representatives. While it, in conjunction with the Bundesrat, votes

the appropriations, certain ones, notably those for the army, are voted for a period of years. Its consent is required for new taxes, whereas taxes previously levied continue to be collected without the consent of Parliament being again secured.

The Reichstag has no power to make or unmake Ministries; in other words, to control the executive, the Emperor. It may reject the measures demanded by the Government, it may vote what amounts to a lack of confidence in the Chancellor, but to the Chancellor it makes notoriously little difference. As long as he enjoys the confidence of the Emperor he continues on his way. Bismarck was fond of repeating from the tribune that he was not the servant of the Reichstag, but exclusively of the Crown. William II. dismissed in turn Bismarck, Caprivi, Hohenlohe, and Bülow. The imperial will determines the fate, dictates the rise and fall of the Chancellor.

Bethmann Hollweg has been the Emperor's man in body and soul. No valleity of independence has surged up in that submissive bosom. A bureaucrat of forty years' standing, advancing by regular gradations from the lowest rung of the administrative ladder to the highest, his view has remained the same, his gaze has been at every stage and is still riveted solely upon his superior, and his superior never has been nor is now the Reichstag. His source of inspiration is in the Schloss, not in the benches of the popularly elected Legislature. Bethmann Hollweg is sometimes frank, frank to the point of rudeness. "Gentlemen," he said at the beginning of his Chancellorship, "I do not serve Parliament," and was loudly applauded for his insolence by the members of the conservative parties of the Parliament, thus a victim of the proud man's contumely. And he ended this scornful speech with the statement that there was one rôle which he absolutely refused to play, that of the servant of the people's representatives. Bethmann Hollweg, who has curiously been considered a liberal by some ill-informed and putative American liberals, has the merit of great clarity in his consistent, undeviating hostility and contempt for parliamentarism and for democracy. When reproached by the Socialists for not resigning after a vote of censure, as they do in France, he retorted that even children knew the difference between France and Germany.

"I know full well that there are those who are striving to establish similar institutions here," he said. "I shall oppose them with all my force."

Only the other day this "liberal" told the Right and the Left contemptuously that he was serving neither of them. He had a more august master. Not only does the Reichstag have no control over the Government, not only is it blocked and immensely outweighed by the Emperor, by the Bundesrat, and by the army, but it is itself, even within the sacred circle of its impotence, a very inaccurate representation of the people. The electoral districts as laid out in 1871 were equal, each representing approximately 100,000 inhabitants. But since that day there has been practically no change, although population has increased in some, decreased in others, so that there now exists a glaring inequality between the districts. There are some members of the Reichstag elected by a few thousand voters, others by the hundreds of thousands. The voter in some districts counts for only a thirtieth of the voter in certain other districts. The large districts are naturally progressive cities, the small ones the conservative country regions. A Berlin Deputy represents on the average 125,000 voters; a Deputy of East Prussia, home of the far-famed Junkers, an average of 24,000.

The Impotent Reichstag

But the fundamental evil is that the elections to the Reichstag result in the creation of an Assembly politically impotent, which does not control the executive and whose powers of legislation are subject to an absolute veto by the Bundesrat—that is, by the reigning Princes, big and little. German government is government by the Emperor and the dynasties, with the consent of the Reichstag, a consent which in practice can be forced, if not given voluntarily, for the

Bundesrat has the power of dissolving the Reichstag whenever it wishes to, a power always efficacious thus far. The German governing classes, the Princes, the bureaucracy, agree with Moltke, who said that the real ballot was the cartridge which the German soldier carried in his cartridge box, that the real representative of the nation was the army.

For all practical purposes the Reichstag is merely a debating club, and a debating club that has no power of seeing that its will is carried out. As late as January, 1914, Dr. Friedrich Naumann of "Middle Europe" fame described the humiliating position of the body of which he was a member in the following words:

"We on the Left are altogether in favor of the parliamentary régime, by which we mean that the Reichstag cannot forever remain in a position of subordination. Why does the Reichstag sit at all, why does it pass resolutions, if behind it is a wastepaper basket into which these resolutions are thrown? The problem is to change the impotence of the Reichstag into some sort of power." He added: "The man who compared this House to a hall of echoes was not far wrong. To those who are accustomed to do practical work in life it appears a mere waste of time to devote themselves to this difficult and monotonous mechanism. * * * When one asks the question, What part has the Reichstag in German history as a whole? it will be seen that the part is a very limited one."

"Many millions among us," said Dr. Frank in the Reichstag on Jan. 23, 1914, "feel it a burning shame that while Germans achieve great things in trade and industry, in politics they are deprived of rights."

In the determination of national policy the German Nation has, therefore, no way of enforcing its wishes through the only agency it possesses. In other words, the nation does not govern itself. The mainspring of power lies, not in the Reichstag, but in the Bundesrat, the organ of the Princes, every one of whom claims to rule by Divine right, not one of whom has his policy dictated to him by his people's representatives—and in the Kingdom of Prussia.

Absolutism in Prussia

The Kingdom of Prussia is larger than all the other German States combined, comprising two-thirds of the territory and about two-thirds of the population of Germany. The empire differs from other confederations in that the States composing it are of unequal voting power in both the Bundesrat and the Reichstag. It was Prussia that made the German Empire, and made it by blood and iron, and in the empire she has installed herself at every point of vantage and guards jealously not only the primacy but also the actual power.

Prussia has, since 1850, had a Constitution and a Parliament. What are they like? The Constitution was granted by the King, and nowhere does it recognize the sovereignty of the people. What the monarch has granted he can alter or withdraw. All the restriction the Constitution imposes upon the monarchical principal is that henceforth it shall be exercised and expressed in certain forms, with a certain procedure. Prussian statesmen and Prussian jurists maintain with practical unanimity that this does not mean any diminution of the power of the monarch, that the fact that he creates a Legislature does not for an instant mean that he devolves upon it a part of the sovereignty.

The Legislature of Prussia is the Landtag, which consists of two chambers, the House of Lords and the House of Representatives. The Legislature does not initiate much legislation. Most of the bills passed by it have been proposed by the Government; that is, by the King. The Legislature has practically no control over the administration; that is, over the powerful and permanent bureaucracy. It can in this sphere express opinions and practically nothing more. The Constitution does not determine the composition of the House of Lords, but leaves that to the King to determine by royal ordinance. As a matter of fact, this House is really overwhelmingly dominated by the land-owning nobility, the famous Junkers, men frequently more royalist than the King, conservative and militaristic to the marrow of their bones. The House is subject to the absolute

control of the monarch through his unrestricted power to create peers. It is really a sort of royal council, an extension or variation of the royal power. It is a body that in no sense represents the people of Prussia. It has a veto upon all legislation, and the King has an absolute veto also.

Yet there exists another House in this Legislature which enacts the laws that govern 40,000,000 Prussians—the so-called House of Representatives; and marvelous, indeed, is the construction and composition of that body. Every Prussian man who has attained his twenty-fifth year has the vote. Is Prussia, therefore, a democracy? Not exactly, for the exercise of this right is so arranged that the ballot of the poor man is practically annihilated. Universal suffrage has been rendered illusory. And this is the way it has been done: The voters are divided in each electoral district into three classes according to wealth. The amount of taxes paid by the district is divided into three equal parts. Those taxpayers who pay the first third are grouped into one class; those, more numerous, who pay the second third, into another class; those who pay the remainder, into still another class. The result is that a very few rich men are set apart by themselves, the less rich by themselves, and the poor by themselves. Each of these groups, voting separately, elects an equal number of delegates to a convention, which convention chooses the delegates of that constituency to the lower house of the Prussian Parliament.

No Chance for the Poor

Thus in every Electoral Convention two-thirds of the members belong to the wealthy or well-to-do class. There is no chance in such a system for the poor, for the masses. This system gives an enormous preponderance of political power to the rich. The first class consists of very few men, in some districts of only one; the second is sometimes twenty times as numerous, the third sometimes a hundred, or even a thousand times. Thus, though every man has the suffrage, the vote of a single rich man may have as great weight as the votes of a thousand workingmen. Universal suffrage is manipulated in such a way as to defeat democracy decisively and to consolidate a privileged class in power in the only branch of the Government that has even the appearance of being of popular origin. Bismarck, no friend of liberalism, once characterized this electoral system as the worst ever created. Its shrieking injustice is shown by the fact that in 1900 the Social Democrats, who actually cast a majority of the votes, got only 7 seats out of nearly 400. It is one of the most undemocratic systems in existence.

The voters do not choose their representatives directly. The suffrage is indirect, and is, moreover, as we have seen, grossly unequal. As this system is in vogue for municipal elections as well as for State elections, it throws power, whether in the municipality or in the nation, into the hands of men of wealth.

In 1908 there were 293,000 voters in the first class, 1,065,240 in the second, 6,324,079 in the third. The first class represented 4 per cent., the second 14 per cent., the third 82 per cent. of the population. In Cologne the first class comprised 370 electors, the second 2,584, while the third had 22,324. The first class chose the same number of electors as the third. Thus, 370 rich men had the same voting capacity as 22,324 proletarians. In Saarbrücken, the Baron von Sturm formed the first class all by himself, and announced complacently that he did not suffer from his isolation. In one of the Berlin districts Herr Heffte, a manufacturer of sausages, formed the first class.

This system would seem to be monstrous enough by reason of the monstrous plutocratic cast. But this is not all. This reactionary edifice is appropriately crowned by another device, oral voting. Neither in the primary nor the secondary voting is a secret ballot used. Voting is viva voce. Thus every one exercises his right publicly in the presence of his superior or his patron or employer, or his equals or the official representative of the King. In such a country as Prussia, where the police are

notoriously ubiquitous, what a weapon for absolutism! The great landowners, the great manufacturers, the State, can easily bring all the pressure they desire to bear upon the voter, exercising his wretched rudiment of political power.

On Feb. 10, 1910, Herr von Bethmann Hollweg defended this system in the Landtag with great frankness: "We are opposed to secret voting because, instead of developing the sense of responsibility in the voter, it attenuates it, and, on the other hand, it favors the terrorism which Socialists exercise over the bourgeois voters."

As a matter of fact, a large number of voters prefer to forego their miserable privilege entirely and stay at home. In 1903, 23.6 per cent. only of them voted for the Prussian House of Representatives, while the same year 75 per cent. voted in the elections for the Reichstag, where the secret ballot is used. Of those who failed to vote, much the larger percentage is from the third class, whose members evidently feel the nullity of the privileges they enjoy in this "people's kingdom of the Hohenzollern," as the Kaiser alluringly describes it.

An additional evidence as to the perfection of the "people's kingdom" is this: With the exception of a thoroughly insignificant measure passed in June, 1906, there has been no change in the electoral districts since 1858. No account has been taken of the changes in the population, and there are the same or worse disparities than there are in the case of the Reichstag, as previously stated. It thus happens that 3,000,000 inhabitants of four large Prussian districts return nine representatives, while three other million, divided among forty smaller districts, return sixty-six. Here again the natural result of the change of the population owing to the economic evolution has inordinately increased the influence of the rural districts, prevailingly Conservative.

In 1903 under this system 324,157 Conservative votes elected 143 representatives; but 314,149 Social Democratic votes did not secure the election of a single member.

Princes Have the Veto

Neither in the empire nor in Prussia nor any of the other States that compose the empire does the elected Chamber control the Government. In every case the Prince has the absolute veto. Where there are second Chambers, as in many of the States, they are not elected, but are nominated, and are a bulwark of a privileged class. And in Prussia even the so-called popular House is merely another name for a privileged class. Neither in the nation nor in the States are the Ministers controlled by the popular assemblies. They may vote a lack of confidence as often as they feel like it. The Ministers will go right on as long as the Emperor, King, Grand Duke, or Prince desires. You cannot amend the Constitution in any German State without the consent of the Prince. You cannot amend the Constitution of the empire without the consent of one man, William II. Reichstag committees may discuss and propose amendments to their hearts' content. After they have obtained the consent of the Reichstag a rocky road opens out broadly ahead of them. For they must have the approval of the Bundesrat, which is appointed by the reigning Princes of Germany and is obliged to vote as they direct. No amendment can pass the Bundesrat if 14 votes out of the 61 are cast against it. Of these 61, Prussia has 20. The Prussian votes are cast as the King of Prussia directs. If every individual in Germany except this one, and including the other Kings and Dukes, wanted a change in the Constitution, they couldn't get it if William II. said No! This is the people's kingdom with a vengeance!

The power of the Prussian Crown is virtually absolute — "absolutism under constitutional forms," said Rudolph Gneist, once considered in Germany a great authority on public law, before the modern school of publicists — Laband, George Meyer, Bornhak, Jellinek, Delbrück—became the teachers of Germany, and taught the most reactionary political philosophy that Europe has heard since the time of de Bonald and de Maistre. They have taught that the complete, uncontrolled power of the "Government"

(Regierung) is in the power of the Prince, that the granting of Constitutions did not mean the recognition of popular sovereignty in the slightest degree, that Legislatures are not representations of the people but are mere organs of the State, that Legislatures have no right to bring the State to a standstill, that is, have no right to refuse a budget until their wishes are respected; that, if they do, they are acting not in a constitutional but in a revolutionary sense; that if such a step is taken, then it is the right of the sovereign to recur to the principle that existed before the granting of the Constitution, absolute monarchy, and to do what he regards as wise.

German Legislatures are impotent and ineffective. The effective seat of political power in Germany is, as it has always been, in the monarchs. Germans may have the right to vote, but Napoleon I. and Napoleon III. showed men (and Bismarck among others) that that made no difference, if the vote led nowhere, if the body elected by the voters was carefully and completely nullified by other bodies over which the voters had no control whatever.

The Legislatures of Germany are really only royal councils, consultative assemblies. Bismarck's defiance of the Prussian Chamber and the voters who elected it, in the Conflict Period, from 1862 to 1866, has been decisive for the fate of popular government in Germany.

The All-Powerful King

Prince von Bülow, the ablest Chancellor of the empire since Bismarck, said in 1914: "Prussia attained her greatness as a country of soldiers and officials, and as such she was able to accomplish the work of German union; to this day she is still, in all essentials, a State of soldiers and officials." The governing classes are, in Prussia, which in turn governs Germany, the monarch, the aristocracy, and a bureaucracy of military and civil officials, responsible to the King alone. The determining factor in the State is the personality of the King.

Prussia has been the strongest obstacle the democratic movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has encountered. Germany in 1914 was less liberal than in 1848. The most serious blow that the principle of representative government received during that century was the one she received at the hands of Bismarck. We have expert testimony of the highest and most official sort that the effects of that blow are not outlived. Prince von Bülow, writing in 1914, said:

"Liberalism, in spite of its change of attitude in national questions, has to this day not recovered from the catastrophic defeat which Prince Bismarck inflicted nearly half a century ago on the party of progress which still clings to the ideals and principles of 1848."

Parliaments will not control in Germany, the civil power will not dominate the military, until the present régime, exalted and strengthened by the victories of 1864-70, is debased and disgraced by resounding and disastrous defeats. It is doubtful if there will be any change even then, for the German people are the most docile in Europe, with no taste for revolutions, with no revolutions to their credit, as have England, France, America, Russia, even China. Personal Government has brought the present calamity upon the world, and the possessors of that power will fight to retain it, and will, if necessary, treat the German people with the same ruthlessness as they have treated the other peoples of Europe. Moreover, the solidarity of governed and governors, in atrocious crimes, during the past three years gives little hope to liberals in other countries who desire liberalism in Germany.

Let us not be hoodwinked by Easter messages from William II., or by cloudy and ambiguous utterances of Bethmann Hollweg, as presaging forthcoming liberalization of Germany. Prussian Kings have shown that not only are treaties scraps of paper but that Constitutions are also scraps of paper when their provisions annoy the monarch. And Prussian monarchs have never been squeamish about perjury. The famous Easter "promises" of this year will not be a greater hindrance to imperial and royal volition than previous, celebrated promises to Belgium and to the United States have been.

RUSSIA'S NEW OUTLOOK

Achievements and Problems, Both Civil and Military, in the Fourth Month of the Revolution

THE situation in Russia improved, on the whole, during the fourth month after the abdication of Nicholas II. The marked feature of this advance was the way in which the civil power and the army reacted upon each other, each strengthening and steadying the other. The great offensive, which began on July 1—the anniversary of the battle of the Somme—and which, up to the middle of the month, had netted some 35,000 prisoners, was made possible by the strong hand of Alexander Kerensky at the War Ministry and the iron discipline which he promised to introduce, aided by the power of his fiery eloquence, which swept through Russia like a flame. And, once the offensive was started, the rapid succession of victories gained by the far-sighted military genius of General Brusiloff reacted in a very favorable sense upon the position of the Provisional Government, giving it new strength and prestige. Hindenburg checked the advance on July 17, but success had already consolidated the Russian Army and hardened and condensed the national spirit of the civil population behind the lines.

The instant success of Brusiloff's army, which duplicated the striking achievements of June, 1916, went far to show that the demoralization of the Russian Army had not gone to anything like the point suggested by pessimist cablegrams from Petrograd. It was evident that General Brusiloff to a large degree succeeded in shutting out from the army under his personal command—the Army of the Southwest, which was attacking—the wave of demoralization which turned the heads of the troops at Kronstadt and Schlüsselburg; succeeded also to a great extent in preventing the "fraternization" which is believed to have been a war ruse of the German Intelligence Department. Further, he kept his men vigilant and prepared along the fighting front; for during the three months of inactivity and disorder following the revolution the combined Teuton armies did not gain a foot of ground anywhere along the long Russian line. This was no doubt due in part to a politic holding back inspired by the illusive hope of a separate peace; but at the same time it showed that the Russian lines all the way from the Baltic to the Danube were kept watertight during all the months of political turmoil. Finally, the supply of shells must have been steadily accumulating behind the lines, in spite of all obstructions in traffic arrangements.

Two difficult problems confront the Provisional Government, both due to groups calling themselves Socialists. There have been armed riots on the Nevsky Prospect. The most serious disturbances since the new Government was organized occurred in Petrograd on July 17. The radicals, by continued agitation and inflammatory appeals against the Provisional Government under the leadership of an extremist named Lenin, succeeded in precipitating disorders in the streets, and a number of disaffected soldiers and sailors co-operated with them. There was fighting between mobs and the troops of the Provisional Government, and fully 500 were killed and wounded during the two days. It was openly charged that documentary evidence was discovered which showed that Lenin and other radical leaders were in the pay of pro-Germans.

The avowed purpose of the anarchist demonstrations was to overturn the Provisional Government and seize the reins of power, immediately recalling the Russian Army from the fighting line.

The Government succeeded in restoring order on July 19, and received evidences of renewed support from all parts of the country. A special Congress of Delegates representing all the Councils

REAR ADMIRAL ALBERT GLEAVES

Commander of the Naval Force Which Safely Convoyed the First Part of the United States Army Across the Atlantic.

MAJOR GENERAL GEORGE BARNETT

Commander in Chief of the United States Marine Corps,
Whose Motto Is "First to Fight."

(Photo © Harris & Ewing.)

of Russia was summoned to meet July 28 to determine the future Governmental policy.

The second difficulty is also due to "Socialist" tendencies. It appears that two members of the Provisional Government, the Georgian Tseretelli and Terestchenko, Foreign Minister, whose name shows him to be of South Russian origin, were deputed to meet representatives of the so-called Ukrainian Party, which demands autonomy, if not independence, for a region partly in Southwestern Russia, partly in Galicia, called the Ukraine, or Borderland, (from the Russian "krai," a border.) It appears that these two Ministers committed the Provisional Government to certain extreme concessions, which practically suspend the authority of the Provisional Government in this loosely defined territory lying along and immediately behind the fighting line. The insistence that autonomy be granted at once caused the resignation July 15 of five members of the Cabinet, who were Constitutional Democrats.

The so-called "Ukraine" movement, which is very like the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, had a certain development among emigrants to the United States, and there was good reason to believe that it had strong German support. Whether its recrudescence in Russia is directly due to this cause, or simply represents the efforts of Socialist extremists bent on carrying out a theory of decentralization at whatever cost to the State, it is evident that the Ukrainian movement will require very careful handling if it is not to become an open menace.

Finland presents a like problem. The people of the Ukraine are of Slavonic blood, speaking a dialect so close to Russian as to be easily intelligible to all Russians. The Finns, on the contrary, are non-Aryan, remotely allied to the Magyars and the Turks, and also to a wide strip of peoples along Northern Russia and through the whole length of Siberia. On the ground of difference of race they now demand separate treatment, further alleging that the rights of the former Czar, as Grand Duke of Finland, did not pass automatically to the Provisional Government at the revolution, but reverted to the Finnish people.

There is reason to see the hand of Germany in the Finnish imbroglio also. While the bulk of the population is Finnish, the ruling class is Swedish, speaking the Swedish tongue, and, like Sweden itself, strongly sympathizes with Germany in the present war. It has been announced that some kind of a working compromise with the Finnish "nationalists" has been reached, in part through the efforts of the Georgian, Nicholas Tscheidze, conspicuous during the early days of the revolution as President of the Committee of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which made so many difficulties for the Provisional Government during its early existence, especially by demanding that all army orders must be submitted to this committee before coming into force. This danger was measurably removed by the strengthening of discipline in the army, by the formation of committees of the army itself and of its officers, but even more by the strong and successful offensive. C. J.

July 20, 1917.

Premier Lvoff on Russia's Situation

[*Statement made July 7, 1917*]

PRINCE LVOFF, Russian Premier and Minister of the Interior, made a public statement at Petrograd on July 7 for the information of America. He began by declaring his unshaken conviction that, despite grave difficulties to be faced, Russia was marching toward reconstruction and stability, and that the war was developing toward victory Prince Lvoff continued:

> Regarding the war, say that the latest action of our army inspires in me full hope. I am convinced that the new advance, even if temporarily stayed, is not finished, but is a prelude to much

greater successes. The advance thoroughly confutes the pessimists who unanimously predicted that an offensive by our supposed disorganized troops was impossible. From actual intercourse with delegates from the army and with other observers on the spot, I know that the offensive spirit is spreading.

This is no gradual reconstruction of the army, but the first stage of a complete process of recreation, which is almost miraculous, proving, in my judgment, that the troops are infected with a genuine revolutionary and crusading spirit and the consciousness of a mission to save Russia and influence world events in the direction desired by all progressive men.

The good side is the army's supply of munitions and other necessaries, in which we are markedly better off than last year; in fact, guaranteed for the immediate future. The bad side is the transport difficulties, which still are serious. These are an evil heritage from the old régime, and, naturally, it is impossible to restore order in three months crowded with revolutionary activities. Even with stable political conditions the creation of efficient transport is a problem of years. Our great hope of speedy improvement lies with the Stevens Railroad Commission, (the American Commission,) from which we expect much.

American Aid Welcome

With regard to American help generally, I lay down no specific program. It will be simplest to say that all conceivable American aid is wanted in every domain. But the key to the solution of all our military and economic difficulties is transport amelioration, in which it is impossible to do too much.

Send my hearty thanks for the American project, the dispatch of the Red Cross mission, as here we have serious defects and deficiencies. I follow the news on this subject from New York with intense interest, but, having myself ceased to direct Red Cross and sanitary affairs, I can only beg America as far as possible to meet the requests for material and personal help made by our official Red Cross, in the consciousness that the triumph of our common cause will be furthered thereby.

I hope also for further American financial support. I am unable to say what form this will take, presumably a loan, but on this subject our Finance Minister, M. Shingaroff, in his discussion with the financial members of the Root Commission, will no doubt produce a practical program which America can help realize. America should note that we ourselves are ready to bear the heaviest monetary sacrifices and have already passed more drastic measures respecting taxation on property than any of the other belligerent powers and are ready to go much further.

Among our other economic problems the most vital is food. Here again the central question is transport, and if America helps in this we can do the rest ourselves, as the total stock of food is sufficient for both the army and the civilian population.

The Internal Situation

Prince Lvoff proceeded to discuss the internal situation, declaring that this has had a marked influence on Russia's ability to carry on the fight in the war with vigor. He said:

I am glad to see last week's marked signs of amelioration. Tell America that I have daily evidence of the rallying of all the rational elements of the nation round the Coalition Cabinet. The irrational elements, such as the anarchists and Bolsheviki, are in such a minority that there is no reason to fear their getting the upper hand. Not only the bourgeoisie, but an overwhelming majority of the workingmen are against them. Their present excesses are merely a last desperate reaction against their conciousness of this.

On the whole, the nation is satisfied with the Provisional Government, because the Government, though hampered by grave military and diplomatic preoccupations, has already successfully carried through internal reforms which embody the traditional aspirations of Russia's progressives. Do you know that within a few weeks of the Czarists' downfall the Government realized a liberal fivefold program, giving complete liberty of person, speech, press, meeting, and religion, and going therein further than most progressive democracies in Europe or America?

Although these tremendous reforms were pushed through hastily in the absence of legislative machinery, not one of them has been subjected to serious criticisms even by the avowed anti-Government factions. Perhaps America knows of this, but does she know that we have also executed a comprehensive scheme of minor economic, financial, and social reforms, which has been unanimously approved?

I refer you, for instance, to the complete democratization of the country, local self-government in the towns throughout the country, with the universal and equal suffrage for both sexes regardless of qualifications, the special feature of which is the establishment of a smaller unit of local government, in which is abolished the inequality between peasants and the other classes, thus eradicating from the Russian law the ancient and degrading distinction of "the privileged

classes"; the reform of the military courts and of local courts of justice, with the admission of women to the magistracy and legal profession; educational reform, including a new university in the City of Perm; secondary school reconstruction, the reform of the backward parish elementary school, the democratic income property tax, with the proposal for the reform of succession taxation; the organization of peasant home work, which is an important factor in our village economy; the mobilization of the nation's technical knowledge for war purposes; many church reforms, among them the election of the highest prelates by popular vote, and the preparations for an ecumenical church council, aiming at the abolition of State despotism in church affairs.

Through these reforms Russia in 100 days has advanced 100 years.

America as Russia's Ideal

Prince Lvoff went on to declare that diplomatic relations with the Allies were much improved; that, despite three months of stagnation on the part of Russia's Army and the critical attitude of her democracy to the Allies, the program of mutual confidence was unshaken. "Equally satisfactory," said Prince Lvoff, "are our relations with America. Let me here express to America our hearty satisfaction at the visit of the Root Mission." In conclusion he discussed Russo-American and Russian world relations with fervor, declaring that the greatest hope lay in Russia's new approximation to America. He added:

For decades of darkness and oppression America had been our ideal of freedom and intellectual and material development; rather, not our ideal, for we had considered it unattainable, but a remote fairy tale of happiness. Now we have in one jump reached America's condition of freedom. There remains the slower but not impossible task to overtake her in education, material progress, culture, and respect for order.

We are on the right track. The spirit of new Russia is closely akin to the immemorial spirit of free America, and where the spirit is, work follows. That means Russia's salvation. But that is not all. I am convinced that our revolution is no mere domestic affair, but a stage in the new world movement toward liberty, equality, fraternity—perhaps the greatest stage in the world's history. Equally, I consider that the war, like, indeed, preceding wars, is a stage in world evolution. This war's mission is to spread throughout the world all that is vital and abiding in our revolution. That is why as a citizen of the world I desire victory.

I regard the growing friendship between Russia and America as a Providential instrument in this world process. Therefore I consider that all the help, sympathy, and encouragement we get from your people beyond the seas constitute not merely a local, temporary benefit, but a permanent contribution toward the regeneration of the world.

Russian Ambassador's Formal Address

BORIS BAKHMETEFF on July 5 formally presented his credentials to President Wilson as Russian Ambassador. The formal addresses were as follows:

Mr. President, I have the honor of presenting to you the letters by which the Provisional Government of Russia is accrediting me to the Government of the United States of America as its Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

My Government has directed me to express to you its profound gratitude for the noble act of prompt recognition by your Government of the new order established in Russia and to convey to the Government and to the people of the United States the feelings of sincere sympathy and friendship.

At the present time the historical paths of the United States and Russia have been drawn close in the common struggle for freedom and lasting peace of the world, and in this strife the new-born Russian democracy is being guided by the same unselfish aims, the same human and democratic principles, as this great Republic.

The success of our mutual task makes essential the firm establishing of the democratic régime in Russia, as well as the consolidation of Russia's fighting power. To that end are tending the efforts of the Provisional Government which is awaiting to find a source of new strength in the hearty spirit and brotherly support of the United States. For such attainments the Provisional Government is endeavoring to establish a full understanding and a close co-operation with the Government of this country, whose immense resources and unlimited energy can contribute most effectively to the achievement of our cause. To bring such co-operation into effect and to establish

means of common activity on the most practical lines and with no loss of time, the Provisional Government has considered it necessary to bestow on me exceptional powers to treat and decide, on behalf of my Government, all manifold questions in which such co-operation should have to reveal itself.

To secure unity of action the Provisional Government has concentrated under my supreme guidance the activities of various Russian institutions and representatives in this country, and has provided for amplified efficiency by sending a number of new competent delegates who have accompanied me on my mission.

Confident that the natural sympathy of the two nations will grow now into bonds of solid friendship, I look forward with the greatest hopes to the results of united efforts of the two great democracies, based on mutual understanding and common ends.

The President's Reply

Following is the reply of the President:

Mr. Ambassador, to the keen satisfaction which I derived from the fact that the Government of the United States was the first to welcome, by its official recognition, the new democracy of Russia to the family of free States is added the exceptional pleasure which I experience in now receiving from your hand the letters whereby the Provisional Government of Russia accredits you as its Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States and in according to you formal recognition as the first Ambassador of free Russia to this country.

For the people of Russia the people of the United States have ever entertained friendly feelings, which have now been greatly deepened by the knowledge that, actuated by the same lofty motives, the two Governments and peoples are co-operating to bring to a successful termination the conflict now raging for human liberty and a universal acknowledgment of those principles of right and justice which should direct all Governments. I feel convinced that when this happy day shall come no small share of the credit will be due to the devoted people of Russia, who, overcoming disloyalty from within and intrigue from without, remain steadfast to the cause.

The mission which it was my pleasure to send to Russia has already assured the Provisional Government that in this momentous struggle and in the problems that confront and will confront the free Government of Russia that Government may count on the steadfast friendship of the Government of the United States and its constant co-operation in all desired appropriate directions.

It only remains for me to give expression to my admiration of the way in which the Provisional Government of Russia are meeting all requirements, to my entire sympathy with them in their noble object to insure to the people of Russia the blessings of freedom and of equal rights and opportunity, and to my faith that through their efforts Russia will assume her rightful place among the great free nations of the world.

Indictment of Czar's Former Officials

LATE in June, 1917, the Provisional Government began to take severe measures against the highest officials of the old régime who are declared to be guilty of breaches of the laws of the empire.

An indictment was handed down against former Prime Minister Stürmer under a law which provides severe punishment for the arbitrary transgression by an official of the limits of his rightful power.

Former Secretary of the Empire, M. Kruizhanovsky, the strongest man in the Government under former Premier Stolypin, was indicted for issuing a decree in June, 1907, by which the election law was violated in defiance of the Constitution of 1906.

M. Chtyheglovitoff, former Minister of Justice, was indicted for unlawfully stopping the prosecution of former Governor Skallon of Warsaw, who was charged with having accepted a bribe of 100,000 rubles.

Former Governor Kourloff was charged with complicity in the murder of Colonel Karpoff, Chief of the Secret Police of Petrograd, who was assassinated in 1909 and whose death caused a great sensation.

General Rennenkampf, one of the army commanders in the early part of the war, and who was defeated by von Hindenburg in East Prussia, was indicted for alleged offenses, conviction of which means imprisonment.

Against M. Protopopoff, former Min-

ister of the Interior, was preferred a new charge—that of stealing from the telegraph archives the original dispatches between the late mystic monk Rasputin and Emperor Nicholas and Empress Alexandra. On conviction Protopopoff would be subject to a jail sentence.

Officials in Their Cells

A correspondent who visited the Fortress of Peter and Paul thus describes the prison cells of the former Ministers of the Czar:

In the bastion are more than eighty cells, some above and some below. I entered one of these cells. A room twenty-one feet long and and about twelve feet broad, rather high, lit by one semicircular window almost at the ceiling. It is impossible to peep out of it, as the iron bed and the table are fixed to the wall. The window is stoutly barred with iron. The air in the cell is damp and stuffy.

The bed consists of wooden planks laid over the iron framework. It has a straw mattress and a single straw pillow. Above is a coarse cloth blanket. The table is painted dark gray. A water tap and basin are fixed to the wall and there are the necessary toilet utensils; nothing more.

The cells below are furnished similarly, but they are much damper and colder. In them one feels the nearness of the waters of the Neva, the plash of which on the stone walls is heard by the captives. Every quarter of an hour the boom of the big cathedral clock bell reverberates through the bastion.

The captives have exactly the same rations as the soldiers, mainly stew, black bread, and soup. They are allowed to purchase no dainties. The same conditions apply to all, to Stürmer and Protopopoff, to the former Minister of War, Sukhomlinov, and his wife, to Fräulein Virubova—companion of the former Czarina and close friend of Rasputin.

Sukhomlinov makes a painful impression on the observer. A thin old man with an unkempt gray beard and narrow little eyes. His troubled glance met ours as we peeped through the hole in the door.

The notorious "hangman" the gendarmeries officer, Sobestchanki, lay on his bed, enveloped in tobacco smoke through which faintly appeared his cruel features.

Stürmer, when I peeped in, was sitting, with bowed shoulders, on the end of his bed, his back to the door.

Fräulein Virubova sat on her bed, now and then crossing herself. Near her lay a crutch. Since her injury in a railroad smash on the Moscow-Windau-Ribinsk road two years ago she has had to get about with crutches.

Protopopoff, like a beast in its den, strode to and fro, to and fro, incessantly from corner to corner of his cell. He paid no attention to the sound of men moving in the corridor. He did not even glance at the hole in the door.

New Financial Measures

The Provisional Government issued a law June 29 increasing the existing progressive income tax to 30 per cent. on incomes over $200,000. Another new law increases the war tax on increment of industrial profits to 60 per cent. A third law establishes a supplementary progressive income tax, rising on the largest incomes to more than 30 per cent., and making, together with the highest ordinary income tax, 60 per cent. of the income.

The new Russian loan received subscriptions amounting to $1,500,000,000, bringing the total debt to $20,500,000,000.

A dispatch dated July 12 from Petrograd stated that the deposed Emperor Nicholas had appealed to the Provisional Government to allow him and the members of his family to acquire stock in the "Loan of Freedom." He announced that the amount of their investment in the loan depended upon whether the Russian State intended to support his family. He added that of his own property he possessed now only 900,000 rubles, his wife 1,000,000 rubles, his heir, Alexis, 1,500,000; his daughter Olga 3,000,000, and his other daughters between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 rubles. The nominal value of the ruble is 51.46 cents.

The Grimm Episode

The German conspiracy for a separate peace received a severe setback when the General Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates of all Russia, by a vote of 640 to 121, approved the attitude of the Government in expelling from Russia Robert Grimm, a Swiss Socialist pacifist, who had received the following communication, when in Petrograd, from M. Hoffmann, member of the Swiss Federal Council:

Germany will not undertake an offensive so long as she considers it possible to arrive at an understanding with Russia. Numerous conversations with prominent politicians lead me to believe that Germany is seeking to conclude with Russia a mutually honorable peace, and a peace

which would result in the re-establishment of close economic and commercial relations with Russia; the financial support of Germany to Russia for her restoration; no intervention in the internal affairs of Russia; a friendly understanding with regard to Poland, Lithuania, and Courland; and the restoration to Russia of her occupied territories, in return for the districts of Austria invaded by Russia. I am convinced that if the allies of Russia desired it, Germany and her allies would be ready immediately to open peace negotiations.

On hearing of this document the Russian Government requested the Socialist Ministers MM. Tseretelli and Skobeleff to demand an explanation from M. Grimm, who handed to these Ministers a document in which he sought to prove that he had had no communication, either direct or indirect, on the subject of peace negotiations, and that the telegram mentioned above was an endeavor on the part of Germany to profit by his stay in Russia to re-establish the bonds of international Socialists and a general peace in the interests of the German Government; and, furthermore, that when in Berne having his passport viséd, he avoided all political conversations and all contact with the German Majority Socialists; and that finally, in his capacity of a Socialist, he could not be the intermediary for imperialistic peace projects between Governments.

MM. Tseretelli and Skobeleff found these explanations unsatisfactory, and the Provisional Government therefore requested M. Grimm to leave Russia, and he left. The episode caused the resignation of M. Hoffmann from the Swiss Council.

Regiment of Russian Women

One of the most picturesque episodes of the return of Russia into the war was the formation of a woman's regiment known as "The Command of Death," which was reviewed at Petrograd June 21 by Minister of War Kerensky.

The Associated Press correspondent who visited the barracks found posted at the gate a little blue-eyed sentry in a soldier's khaki blouse, short breeches, green forage cap, ordinary woman's black stockings, and neat shoes. The sentry was Marya Skrydloff, daughter of Admiral Skrydloff, former commander of the Baltic Fleet and Minister of Marine. Inside there were four large dormitories, the beds without bedding and strewn with soldiers' heavy overcoats. In the courtyard 300 girls were at drill, mostly between 18 and 25 years old, of good physique, and many of them pretty. They wore their hair short or had their heads entirely shaved. They were drilling under the instruction of a male Sergeant of the Volynsky regiment, and marched to an exaggerated goosestep.

Commander Lieut. Buitchkareff explained that most of the recruits were from the higher educational academies or secondary schools, with a few peasants, factory girls, and servants. Some married women were accepted, but none who had children. The girl commander said:

> We apply the rigid system of discipline of the pre-revolutionary army, rejecting the new principle of soldier self-government. Having no time to inure the girls gradually to hardships, we impose a Spartan régime from the first. They sleep on boards without bedclothes, thus immediately eliminating the weak. The smallest breach of discipline is punished by expulsion in disgrace.
>
> The ordinary soldier's food is furnished by the guards' equipage corps. We rise at 4 and drill daily from 7 to 11, and again from 1 to 6. The girls carry the cavalry carbine, which is five pounds lighter than the regular army rifle. On our first parade I requested any girl whose motives were frivolous to step out. Only one did so, but later many who were unable to stand the privations left us.
>
> We are fully official, and are already entered on the list of regiments. Uniforms and supplies are received from the Ministry of War, to which we render account and present reports. Yesterday the commander of the Petrograd military district reviewed us, and expressed his satisfaction. I am convinced that we will excel the male fighters.

Asked as to the attitude of the male army, Commander Buitchkareff said that only the Volynsky regiment, which led the Petrograd revolution, was really favorable. The regimental clerk is Mme. Barbara Rukovishikoff, editor of the weekly Woman and Economy and author of some admirable short stories.

Duma Refuses to Be Abolished

The Pan-Russian Congress of Soldiers' Deputies on June 23 passed a resolution to abolish the Duma, but this was ignored

by the Duma, which passed a resolution on June 29 as follows:

> The Duma, having powerfully contributed to the abdication of Nicholas, and the formation of the provisional revolutionary government, which the entire country immediately recognized, thus showing its confidence in the Duma, and, having in this manner acted as a revolutionary institution independently of its position during the old régime, is of the opinion that it cannot cease to exist as an organ of national representation, and will adhere to its patriotic duty of raising its voice, if necessary, to preserve the fatherland from the dangers which threaten it, and guide it in the right path.

Courts-martial have been abolished by the Provisional Government. It is provided, when offenders are caught in circumstances of particular gravity the case will be submitted under forms of urgent procedure to a permanent military court.

Root Commission in Russia

THE first formal address to the Russian Government in behalf of the American Mission was made by Elihu Root, the Chairman, at Petrograd, June 15, (printed in July CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.) The mission immediately plunged into active work, the various members taking up separately the various features, and dividing their functions. On June 22 the entire body proceeded to Moscow, where, at the palace of the Governor General, they met representatives of the Zemstvo and Municipal Unions, the Zemstvo Industrial Committee, and the local Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

Root's Address at Moscow

The meeting was in the nature of a test case to determine whether the commission was to have the real sympathy of the Socialist element in the country. It is said here that no foreigner ever before succeeded in enlisting the attention and interest of this association of committees representing the working masses of Moscow. But as Mr. Root began to speak, antagonism and indifference yielded to rapt attention, and he was warmly applauded at the conclusion. In the course of his address Mr. Root said:

> We have seen nothing since we came to Russia that gives cause for criticism. We marvel at the self-control, the kindliness of spirit, and the sound common sense that the Russians display. We feel that the work you are doing in the committees is on the right path toward an actual permanent democracy.
>
> The Government of Germany, the German social system, even German socialism, are all militaristic in their essential nature. They shall not gain control of free America, and if we can help you to prevent their gaining control of free Russia we shall be happy in feeling that we have assisted in the perpetuation of the ideals of our fathers who fought and sacrificed to make us free.

The representatives of the various groups replied, formally welcoming Mr. Root and the other members of the commission. At the second meeting, before the City Duma, Mr. Root said:

> We have heard reports about dangers threatening your new liberty, but we hope you will find a way of expanding your experience in local self-government into power which will govern the whole nation. We have the marvelous spectacle of a people remaining peaceful and preserving the rights of others without the enforcement of law—a people waiting only for the establishment of a strong Government, which will lay down the proper basis for law and order. You have made sacrifices in the past; we know that you will still make sacrifices to preserve your freedom, won at such a high cost. Now comes the test. You must make sacrifices. You must struggle until your liberty is secure. We have faith that Russia will do this.

The Mayor in reply said: "Russia welcomes America's assistance in her present period of infirmity and economic exhaustion." He concluded with a eulogy of President Wilson, saying: "The aims of the war, the definition of the problems standing before humanity have been given by your great pacifist, President Wilson, who, in preserving the ideal of peace, has realized the vital importance of the struggle. His way of speaking appeals to us."

On motion of the Mayor the meeting unanimously decided to send a telegram to President Wilson, thanking him for sending the Root Commission to Russia. The experiences at Moscow gave much

encouragement to the mission, and Mr. Root announced that he felt that the situation was rapidly clearing.

Admiral Glennon's Service

An interesting episode occurred at Sebastopol when the American Admiral, James H. Glennon of the mission, succeeded in tranquilizing sailors of the Black Sea fleet who had mutinied and dismissed all their officers. He arrived soon after the sailors had sent away Admiral Koltchak. At the request of the sailors, Admiral Glennon addressed them, urging a continuance of the war without cessation.

He was heartily applauded. He also addressed a general meeting of representatives of all the councils of soldiers, sailors, and workmen of Sebastopol, where his advocacy of renewed energy in pushing the war was well received. After hearing the Admiral, the meeting voted, 60 to 3, to restore all the Black Sea fleet officers, with the exception of Admiral Koltchak and his staff, who were distrusted by the sailors. The meeting also voted to support the Provisional Government. Conditions with the fleet since then have been tranquil.

Work of Mr. Russell

Charles Edward Russell, Socialist and a member of the American Commission, outlined the aims of the United States and the reasons which brought the country into the war before a full Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates on June 25. Mr. Russell was warned in advance that he might expect an unfriendly demonstration on the part of the extremists among his auditors, but for the most part his hearers were sympathetic, and often interrupted him with applause.

The declaration of Mr. Russell that the United States was fighting only because the democracies of the world were in danger, and that after democracy was safe the people would turn to social reform, was cheered to the echo.

M. Tcheidze, President of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, in replying to the speech of Mr. Russell, said the democracy of Russia was built upon the same foundation as that of the United States, and that Russia would carry on the war until mutual aims were achieved. The American Mission announced on July 10 that its purpose had been accomplished in a month's visit. Chairman Root sent this statement:

> The mission has accomplished what it came here to do, and we are greatly encouraged. We found no organic or incurable malady in the Russian democracy. Democracies are always in trouble, and we have seen days just as dark in the progress of our own.
>
> We must remember that a people in whom all constructive effort has been suppressed for so long cannot immediately develop a genius for quick action. The first stage is necessarily one of debate. The solid, admirable traits in the Russian character will pull the nation through the present crisis. Natural love of law and order and capacity for local self-government have been demonstrated every day since the revolution. The country's most serious lack is money and adequate transportation. We shall do what we can to help Russia in both.

Stevens Railway Commission

John F. Stevens, as head of the American Railroad Commission in Russia, has officially reported recommending certain reforms and asking that Russia be given a credit of $375,000,000 in this country for new locomotives, cars, and other equipment.

The construction of workshops at Vladivostok for the putting together of locomotives imported from the United States is deemed necessary by the commission. In all repair shops work must continue uninterruptedly twenty-four hours a day, thus enabling a reduction in the percentage of locomotives out of use. It also will be necessary to take rational measures for the acceleration and regulation of exchange of cars between the different roads and for the speeding up of the system of loading.

The creation of a special State Department, the chief of which will be an Inspector General responsible for seeing that the whole network of roads is supplied with all necessary material both for traffic and repairs, and also for the responsible distribution of such material between the different roads, is recommended by the commission. This official must have the right to demand the necessary material, and he himself must take measures to insure its delivery.

Russian Church Reforms

By Charles R. Crane

Member of United States Commission to Russia

[Cable to The Chicago Herald, June 27, 1917, from Petrograd]

IN the revolution that is taking place, the Russian Church is making more rapid progress toward adjusting itself to the new conditions than the State. It has practically been separated from the State and is now managing its own affairs. More changes were made in the Russian Church during the month of May than had been made in two centuries before.

The process has been one of democratization. Every priest has had to have his position confirmed by a vote from the people of his parish. Twelve Bishops have been dismissed, including the Bishop of Petrograd, and new Bishops have been installed only after election by congregations. The physical property of the churches has been transferred from the State and is to be administered by the congregations, the clergy and Bishops occupying themselves solely with theological affairs.

During the last weeks two very significant sobors, or assemblies of the Church, have been taking place at Moscow. One of them was that of Old Believers, who include some 15,000,000 people and who never were reconciled to the reforms of Nicon, representing the oldest and most uncompromising division of the Russian people. The other sobor was that of the Orthodox Church, the former State Church, and was the first one to meet in some 250 years.

They were the most representative gatherings it was possible to have in Russia, and the delegates came from every corner of the empire, two priests and two laymen being elected to represent every 100 churches, the whole body numbering 1,268 delegates. As the political organization is entirely shattered, the Church represents at present the only unifying fundamental idea.

The two most effective members of this latter sobor were the former Archbishop of the United States, Platon, and Pastor Alexanderoff of a San Francisco church. In various questions that arise in the sobor the appeal was always made to these two authorities, as to the way these problems were solved in America, and their answer was usually enough to determine the action of the sobor.

John R. Mott, the leader in Young Men's Christian Association work, was invited to address the sobor, and every member was present. His speech was interpreted, sentence by sentence, by Father Alexanderoff, who was in entire sympathy with Mr. Mott and who himself was a member of Mr. Mott's organization in San Francisco. It was a moving address and was received with great emotion.

Mr. Mott divided his address into three parts. The first was expression of gratitude for the many acts of friendship Russia had shown for America in the course of the last hundred years, with special emphasis on its enormous sacrifices during the present war, which the American people now recognize, he said, as having been made quite as much for them as for Russia. He also expressed his gratitude for the contributions the Russian Church had made to a common Christianity.

The second part of his address was the expression of solicitude lest in the great upheaval now going on the Church might lose its central position and that, although, if carefully arranged, the process of democratization ought only to strengthen the Church, the members must be very careful to guard historical Christianity, the creed, mystical Christianity, and vital Christianity.

The third part of the address was a message of hope and reassurance, and went over in detail America's plans for

aid to Russia and the other Entente Allies in the war, closing with a stirring appeal to Russia to do its best on every front.

The reception of Mr. Mott's address was very sympathetic, and unanimous, and at its end the whole body rose, and for half an hour sang the most moving of their old church hymns. This was followed by fine responses from the Chairman of the meeting, Prince Lvoff, the head of the Synod; Prince Eugene Troubetzkoy, one of the first citizens of Russia, and Bishop Andre, the greatest spiritual force in the Russian Church today.

Immediately after the meeting Prince Lvoff, who is charged with the chief responsibility for all these things, asked Mr. Mott to spend the afternoon with the leaders and go over in detail all the various reforms. He was also invited to engage in a meeting of the professors who were revising the courses of the theological academies and also to address the synod in formal session.

All Anti-Jewish Laws Repealed

THE Russian Provisional Government issued a decree repealing absolutely all laws restricting the civil, political, and religious rights of the Jews. The text of the decree, as published in The New York Jewish Chronicle, July 13, 1917, is as follows:

All existing legal restrictions upon the rights of Russian citizens, in connection with this or that faith, religious teaching or nationality, are revoked. In accordance with this:

I. Repealed are all laws existing for Russia as a whole, as well as those of separate localities, embodying limitations concerning:

1. Selection of place of residence and change of residence or movement.

2. Acquiring rights of ownership and other material rights in all kinds of movable and immovable property, and likewise in the possession of, the use and the managing of all property, or receiving such for security.

3. Engaging in all kinds of trades, commerce and industry, not excepting mining; also equal participation in the bidding for Government contracts, deliveries and in public auctions.

4. Participation in joint stock and other commercial or industrial companies and partnerships, and also employment in these companies and partnerships in all kinds of positions, either by elections or by hiring.

5. Employment of servants, salesmen, foremen, laborers, and trade apprentices.

6. Entering the Government service, civil as well as military, and the grade or condition of such service; participation in the elections for the institutions of local self-Government, and all kinds of public institutions; serving in all kinds of positions of Government and public establishments, as well as the prosecution of the duties connected with such positions.

7. Admission to all kinds of institutions of learning, whether private, Government or public, and the pursuing of the courses of instructions of these institutions, and receiving scholarships. Also the pursuance of teaching and the other educational professions.

8. Performing the duties of guardians, trustees, or jurors.

9. The use of languages and dialects, other than Russian, in the proceedings of private societies, or in teaching in all kinds of private educational institutions, and in commercial bookkeeping.

Paragraphs II., III., IV., V., VI., VII., and VIII. proceed to enumerate and cite section by section, paragraph by paragraph, each and every law that was in existence coming within the broad terms of the repeal enumerated. The enormous number of the citations and the minuteness of their character testify in themselves to the thoroughness in which the Jewish restrictions were carefully searched out, so as to leave not the slightest question as to the exact laws which were abolished. They also serve to bear out quite convincingly the statement which Baron Gunzburg made, that prominent Jewish lawyers were called into consultation by the Ministry of Justice in the searching for these laws and the drafting of the repealing laws.

Early in July Jewish Chaplains were sent to the front.

First American Army in France

A Memorable Welcome

THE first contingents of the first United States Army to fight in Europe arrived at a port in France on June 26 and 27, 1917. The President's order had been issued on May 18 and the transports had departed from various Atlantic seaports in less than four weeks. Never before, it was stated, had a military expedition of such size been assembled, transported, and landed without mishap in so short a time. The only rival in magnitude was the movement of British troops to South Africa in the Boer war, and that was made without danger from submarines, mines, or other obstacles.

Although the first contingents reached their destination in safety, it was not without some thrilling moments during which disaster was an imminent possibility. Rear Admiral Albert Gleaves, who commanded the convoy squadron, reported to the Navy Department that German submarines twice attacked the transports, but were each time beaten off.

The first attack took place in the night of June 22, and was over before any one except the crews of the warships and the officers on the bridges of the transports were aware of the peril. The first sign of the presence of German submarines was a streak of shining foam noticed by a look-out man high above on one of the big ships. Almost at the moment that the alarm was given a gleaming line of bubbles, scarce twenty feet from the bow of one of the transports, announced the torpedo with its fatal burden of explosive. Then, in the words of an eye-witness:

> Hell broke loose. Our (the big ship's) helm was jammed over. Firing every gun available, we swung in a wide circle out of line to the left. A smaller ship slipped into our place, and from what the lookout told me I think one of her shells must have landed almost right above the submarine. But they are almost impossible to hit when submerged, and the periscope is no target, anyway.
>
> They fired three, if not four, torpedoes. It was God's mercy that they all went astray among so many of our ships. One passed just astern. As you see, our helm jamming was absolutely Providential.
>
> Naturally the old —— acted quite differently from what the Boches expected; otherwise they might have got us. It was simply extraordinary. We drove right at them, (really, I suppose, the safest thing to do, as the bow gives the smallest mark to shoot at,) and it seems to have rattled Brother Boche considerably. After all, we draw enough water to smash a submarine at a level of the periscope awash, and no doubt he did not care to wait for us. Or perhaps a lucky shot disposed of him. We can't be certain either way. Anyhow, he disappeared, and we saw no more of him.
>
> The whole business lasted only about a minute and a half. But, believe me, it added more than that to my life. While the thing was happening I had no time for anything but to attend to my job. Afterward I found myself sweating and my breast heaving as if I had run five miles. The other boys told me the same thing, but we got a compliment on the rapidity with which the guns were served, so I guess it didn't interfere any with our action.

The second attack occurred the next morning. No periscope was visible this time, but the unmistakable bubble line, clean across the bows, put the certainty of danger beyond question. The submarine was in front instead of in the deadliest position on the flank toward the rear. Like a striking rattlesnake, one of the American destroyers darted between a couple of the transports. As it flashed at nearly forty miles an hour across the spot where the submarine was supposed to be hidden the commander of the destroyer gave orders. A column of smoke and foam rose a hundred feet in the air, and in the waterspout that followed it the soldiers on the nearest transport, (she had swung in a headlong curve to the left,) distinguished clearly pieces of wood and steel and some dark blue fragments that a moment before had been living men. Any uncertainty was impossible. Transport after transport passed through floating oil, patched with wreck-

age. This submarine, at least, had timed its hour too well.

Soldiers Welcomed in France

The arrival in France of the first United States troops, which were under the command of Major General William L. Sibert, was the occasion of a magnificent welcome by the French people. The transports, whose arrival had not been previously announced, steamed into the harbor of the seaport [the name was suppressed by the censor] at an early hour on the morning of June 26. The news that the Americans were arriving spread with amazing rapidity, and by the time the troopships drew alongside the quays where the men were to debark thousands of persons were on hand to greet them. A wild welcome was shrieked by whistles of craft in the harbor, and cries of "Vive la France!" and "Vivent les Etats Unis!" seemed to come from every throat in the crowd, which was thickly dotted with the varicolored uniforms of French soldiers and sailors. Meanwhile the bands on the warships were playing "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the "Marseillaise" as the American colors were hoisted to their staffs. The town soon took on a holiday appearance, and, before the day was over, scores of American flags were flying along with the Tricolor of France over public buildings and private homes.

The American soldiers were spontaneously dubbed "Sammies" by the excited French crowds, to distinguish them from the British "Tommies."

Delegations of American Army officers from Paris and American naval men from elsewhere were present, with French military men of high rank, and a similar representation from the French Navy to receive the new fighting forces of the Allies, who were soon after transferred to a camp not far distant from the port where they arrived. General Sibert took up his quarters at the camp as commander of the first United States force sent abroad, under General Pershing as Commander in Chief.

The last units of the expedition, comprising vessels loaded with supplies and horses, reached port on July 2. Their coming, one week after the first troops landed, was greeted almost as warmly as the arrival of the troops themselves, because it meant complete success of the undertaking.

Probably the happiest man in port was Rear Admiral Gleaves. From the bridge of his flagship he watched the successful conclusion of his plans and with characteristic modesty insisted upon bestowing the lion's share of credit for the crossing on the navigation officers of his command. All units of the contingent had to keep a daily rendezvous with accompanying warships. Thanks to his navigation officers and despite overcast skies which made astronomical observations impossible, each rendezvous, the Admiral said, had been minutely and accurately kept by each unit. This exactness on the part of the navigation officers was responsible in no small degree for the brilliant success of the entire undertaking.

Two Statements by Pershing

General Pershing, accompanied by General Pelletier, representing French General Headquarters, visited the camp on June 28, and after inspecting the troops made the following statement:

> This is the happiest of the busy days which I have spent in France preparing for the arrival of the first contingent. Today I have seen our troops safe on French soil, landing from transports that were guarded in their passage overseas by the resourceful vigilance of our navy.
>
> Now our task as soldiers lies before us. We hope, with the aid of the French leaders and experts who have placed all the results of their experience at our disposal, to make our force worthy in skill and in the determination to fight side by side in arms with the French Army.

On returning to his headquarters in Paris on June 30, General Pershing made a further statement:

> The landing of the first American troops has been a complete success. In this remarkable transfer of a large force across the ocean (one of the largest operations we have ever undertaken) not a man or an animal was lost or injured, and there was not a single case of serious sickness—nothing but a few unimportant cases of mumps. The men landed in splendid morale, with keen, confident, and eager spirit.
>
> The physical appearance of our men is truly inspiring. They are all fine, husky young fellows, with the glow of energy,

good health, and physical vigor which will make them a credit alongside any troops.

They are exceptionally well camped and cared for, with substantial wooden barracks, good beds, good food, and the best sanitary arrangements. They are located on high ground. For all of this we are deeply indebted to French co-operation with members of my staff.

How Order was Maintained

The question of maintaining order in the town where the camp was situated was settled by the French authorities transferring to the United States military police the necessary authority for maintaining discipline in the town, which now became overwhelmingly American in appearance and public life. In order to assist the Americans to keep order, however, the authorities issued new and stringent regulations forbidding the sale of spirituous liquors to any men in uniform, regulating the hours the men might be admitted to or served in cafés and restaurants, and specifying that disputes and disorders should be referred to and decided by the Americans.

The necessity of good behavior was set forth by General Pershing in the following general order:

For the first time in history an American Army finds itself in European territory. The good name of the United States of America and the maintenance of cordial relations require the perfect deportment of each member of this command.

It is of the gravest importance that the soldiers of the American Army shall at all times treat the French people, and especially the women, with the greatest courtesy and consideration. The valiant deeds of the French armies and the Allies, by which they together have successfully maintained the common cause for three years, and the sacrifices of the civil population of France in support of their armies, command our profound respect. This can best be expressed on the part of our forces by uniform courtesies to all the French people and by the faithful observance of their laws and customs.

The intense cultivation of the soil in France, under conditions caused by the war, makes it necessary that extreme care be taken to do no damage to private property. The entire French manhood capable of bearing arms is in the field fighting the enemy, and it should, therefore, be a point of honor to each member of the American Army to avoid doing the least damage to any property in France. Such conduct is much more reprehensible here. Honor them as those of our own country.

Fourth of July in France

General Pétain, Commander in Chief of the French armies operating on the French front, on July 3 issued the following general order:

Tomorrow, the Independence Day celebration of the United States, the first American troops which have debarked in France will defile in Paris. Later they will join us on the front. Let us salute these new companions in arms who without thought of gain or of conquest, but with the simple desire of defending the cause of right and liberty, have come to take their places in the ranks beside us.

Others are preparing to follow them. They will soon be on our soil. The United States mean to put at our disposition, without reckoning, their soldiers, their factories, their vessels, and their entire country. They want to pay a hundredfold the debt of gratitude which they owe to Lafayette and his companions.

From all the points of the front a single shout on this July 4 will be heard: "Honor to the great sister. Long live the United States!"

The Fourth of July was enthusiastically celebrated throughout France. In Paris the chief feature of interest was the presence of a battalion of United States troops which was about to leave for training behind the battle front. Everywhere the Stars and Stripes were flying from public buildings, hotels, and residences, and from automobiles, cabs, and carts; horses' bridles and the lapels of pedestrians carried them. The crowds began to gather early at vantage points. The Rue de Varenne was choked long before 8 o'clock in the morning, when the Republican Guard Band executed a field reveille under General Pershing's windows, and all routes toward the Invalides were thronged even before Pershing's men turned out.

In the chapel before the Tomb of Napoleon General Pershing received American flags and banners from the hands of President Poincaré. The enthusiasm of the vast crowd reached its highest pitch when General Pershing, escorted by President Poincaré, Marshal Joffre, and other high French dignitaries passed along reviewing the lines of the Americans drawn up in square formations. Cheering broke out anew when the Amer-

ican band struck up the "Marseillaise," and again when the French band played "The Star-Spangled Banner," and Pershing received the flags from the President. "Vivent les Américains! Vive Pershing! Vivent les Etats Unis!" shouted over and over by the crowd, greeted the American standard bearers.

Crowds in Tuileries Gardens

More people were massed in the Tuileries Gardens than on the Esplanade des Invalides. Few of them could get a glimpse of the parade, but all joined in a tremendous outburst of cheering when music from the Republican Guard Band announced the approach of the troops, and the cheering did not diminish in volume until the last man in the line had disappeared from view of the gardens down the Rue de Rivoli.

With this great demonstration the ceremonies of welcome came to an end and the serious business of warfare was taken in hand. On July 6 it was announced that the training bases for the American troops in France had been established and were ready for occupancy. They included aviation, artillery, infantry, and medical bases. The section of the battle front eventually to be occupied by the Americans was decided upon by the military authorities and approved by Major Gen. Pershing, who had thoroughly covered the ground. The location of this section was a military secret, and no actual time was fixed for American participation on the fighting front. The batttalion of United States soldiers that took part in the Independence Day celebration in Paris immediately began training at its permanent camp, over which General Sibert was placed in command.

Bastile Day Messages

Messages of mutual good-will were exchanged by President Wilson and President Poincaré on the French national holiday, July 14. President Wilson cabled:

> On this anniversary of the birth of democracy in France, I offer on behalf of my countrymen, and on my own behalf, fraternal greeting as befits the strong ties that unite our peoples who today stand shoulder to shoulder in defense of liberty, in testimony of the steadfast purpose of our two countries to achieve victory for the sublime cause of the rights of the people against oppression.
>
> The lesson of the Bastile is not lost to the world of free peoples. May the day be near when on the ruins of the dark stronghold of unbridled power and conscienceless autocracy a nobler structure, upbuilt like our great Republic on the eternal foundations of peace and right, shall arise to gladden an enfranchised world.

President Poincaré replied:

> The French people who for three years have made so many heroic sacrifices in the defense of right and liberty shall receive in grateful emotion the brotherly message which you, Mr. President, were pleased to send me for them.
>
> We shall be proud to carry on to victory, elbow to elbow with the great and generous American Nation, the war which was let loose on the world by the imperialism of our foes, in spite of the strenuous efforts which the French Republic always exerted to avert so awful a cataclysm. I, like you, have no doubt that the defeat of autocracy and German militarism will at last open a future of industrious peace and prosperity to liberate mankind.

Creating the New American Armies

THE month's progress in building up the new armies of the United States has been rather in the nature of laying solid foundations for the future than in actual results. Recruiting to bring the regular army up to its full strength of 293,000 continues slow, despite the special effort of the President to obtain 70,000 recruits in the period between June 23 and June 30, which he designated as Recruiting Week. The call was for unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 40 years. At the end of the week over 50,000 men were still needed. On July 16 the deficiency had been reduced to just under 37,000 men. Three-fourths of the States had not yet filled their quotas.

Nevertheless, it has to be remembered that, when the United States entered the war, the strength of the regular army

was only 100,000, and in about three months this has been increased to nearly 250,000 by purely voluntary methods and in competition with the recruiters of the National Guard, the navy, and the marines. Thus, by the middle of July, 1917, nearly half a million men had volunteered for service in one or other of the different branches of the army and navy, while men had been obtained for various special units, and many candidates for officers' commissions were in training.

Mobilizing the National Guard

An important step to increase the strength of the army was the calling into Federal service of the National Guard regiments not already in service. This was done in three increments, one third being mobilized on July 15 and the other two thirds being warned to be ready on July 25 and Aug. 5. It was stated that after preliminary training the National Guard would soon be sent to France and that some regiments would leave the United States as early as November. At the date of mobilization the National Guard had reached a strength of about 300,000 men, and, as the war strength had been fixed at 400,000, recruiting continued. It was the intention of the War Department that if the full quota were not secured before the draft began, the vacancies in the National Guard, as in the regular army, would be filled by conscripted men. The only members of the National Guard who were not called up were officers holding general rank, as some of these appointments had been made on political grounds.

In addition to the sixteen cantonments which were begun for the new National Army, sixteen other camps were chosen for the training of the National Guard. The sites for practically all these camps were chosen in Southern States because, as Major Gen. Gorgas, Surgeon General of the Army, explained, the climate was milder in the Winter and rain less frequent. The accommodation was planned for about 35,000 men and 10,000 horses and mules in each camp.

Army Training Camps

The following are the locations of cantonments for the training of the nation's new armies:

NATIONAL ARMY

Inf'y Div. No.	Department.	Location.
1	Northeastern	Ayer, Mass.
2	Eastern	Yapahank, Long Island
3	do	Wrightstown, N. J.
4	do	Annapolis Junction, Md.
5	do	Petersburg, Va.
6	Southeastern	Columbia, S. C.
7	do	Atlanta, Ga.
8	Central	Chillicothe, Ohio.
9	do	Louisville, Ky.
10	do	Battle Creek, Mich.
11	do	Rockford, Ill.
12	Southeastern	Little Rock, Ark.
13	Central	Des Moines, Iowa.
14	do	Fort Riley, Kan.
15	Southern	Fort Sam Houston, Tex.
16	Western	American Lake, Wash.

NATIONAL GUARD

Inf'y Div. No.	Department.	Location.
5	Southeastern	Greenville, S. C.
6	do	Spartanburg, S. C.
7	do	Augusta, Ga.
8	do	Macon, Ga.
9	do	Montgomery, Ala.
10	do	Anniston, Ala.
11	Southern	Fort Worth, Tex.
12	do	Fort Sill, Okla.
13	do	Deming, N. M.
14	do	Waco, Tex.
15	do	Houston, Tex.
16	Southeastern	Charlotte, N. C.
17	do	Hattiesburg, Miss.
18	do	Alexandria, La.
19	Western	Linda Vista, Cal.
20	do	Palo Alto, Cal.

Navy Training Camps

Sites for naval training camps were selected as follows:

Philadelphia, for 5,000 men.
Newport, R. I., for 6,000 men.
Cape May, N. J., for 2,000 men.
Charleston, S. C., for 5,000 men.
Pensacola, Fla., for 1,000 additional men.
Key West, Fla., for 500 men.
Mare Island, Cal., for 5,000 men.
Puget Sound, Wash, for 5,000 men.
Hingham, Mass., for 500 men.
New Orleans, La., for 500 men.
San Diego, Cal., for 2,500 men.
Great Lakes Training Station, Chicago, accommodations for 15,000 additional recruits.
Port Royal, S. C., 5,000 men of the Marine Corps; also a Marine Corps Camp at Quantico, Va., for 8,000 men.
Hampton Roads naval operating base, 10,000 men.
Mississippi Exposition Grounds, Gulfport, Miss., 3,500 men.
New York, a camp for 3,000 regulars adjoining the navy yard; Pelham, N. Y., 5,000 reserves.
A camp will also be located at Boston.

An indication of the merging of the National Guard with the other military forces of the United States was furnished by the War Department statement that regiments were henceforth to be num-

bered without reference to the fact that a particular regiment belonged to the Regular Army, National Guard, or National Army. The numbers of the National Army regiments begin where those of the National Guard regiments end, but locality is indicated in parentheses.

Rapid Training of Officers

The training of officers has been more rapidly conducted than that of the men, because without qualified leaders the new armies cannot be organized. The President has signed the commissions of several hundred new officers of the Army Reserve Corps, and, according to an announcement from General Pershing's headquarters in Paris, these officers are to see service in France much earlier than was anticipated. In this way the demand for regular officers to train the men in France is being met. Every trainee in the Officers' Training Corps is assured of a commission if he can qualify. The officers' training camps are at Fort Myer, Virginia, (two camps,) Fort McPherson, Georgia, (two camps,) Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia, (two camps,) Fort Benjamin, Indiana, (three camps,) Fort Logan H. Roots, Arkansas, (two camps,) Leon Springs, Texas, (two camps,) Fort Riley, Kansas, (two camps,) and Presidio, San Francisco, (one camp.)

Selecting the Conscript Army

SETTING up exemption boards and arranging for the drawing of lots to decide who shall serve in the first conscript army have been the principal developments in the operation of the selective draft law during the month.

The total registration was 9,659,382, or 95.9 per cent. of the preliminary estimate. The apparent shortage, about 413,000, is considerably less than the number of men 21 to 30 years of age, inclusive, who are estimated by the War Department to have been in the various branches of the military and naval services of the United States on June 5, and for that reason exempt from the requirement of registration. This number is 600,000. On the face of these figures, therefore, it appears that the number of men between the ages of 21 and 31 in the United States is slightly in excess of the number estimated by the Census Bureau on May 12—10,079,000.

Of the 9,659,382 registrants reported, 7,347,794 are white; 953,899 are colored; 1,239,865 are unnaturalized foreigners from countries other than Germany; 111,823 are unnaturalized Germans, including "declarants"; that is, persons having declared their intention to become citizens but not having received their final naturalization papers; and 6,001 are Indians.

There is nothing in the returns to indicate that there has been any general attempt at evasion of registration by any important element of the population.

The following table shows, by States, the total registration, the number of unnaturalized Germans, including those who have declared their intention to become citizens, and the percentage which the total represents of the census estimate:

	Total Registration.	Per Cent. of Estimate.	Unnaturalized Germans.
United States	9,659,382	95.9	111,823
Alabama	179,828	85.7	89
Arizona	36,932	106.4	193
Arkansas	147,522	94.2	98
California	297,532	82.2	3,948
Colorado	83,038	75.8	372
Connecticut	159,761	129.3	1,126
Delaware	21,864	108.8	92
District of Columbia	22,327	87.1	79
Florida	84,683	88.9	208
Georgia	231,418	90.6	120
Idaho	41,150	79.4	181
Illinois	672,498	105.2	6,051
Indiana	255,145	100.6	1,149
Iowa	216,594	108.8	1,862
Kansas	150,029	85.3	736
Kentucky	187,573	92.8	.....
Louisiana	157,827	92.3	216
Maine	69,176	95.5	120
Maryland	120,458	99.1	912
Massachusetts	359,323	101.1	1,508
Michigan	372,872	129.4	3,021
Minnesota	221,715	90.6	1,971
Mississippi	139,525	79.7	45
Missouri	299,625	94.9	1,008
Montana	88,273	120.4	687
Nebraska	118,123	91.3	1,156
Nevada	11,821	71.6	87

COLONEL CHARLES A. DOYEN

Commander of the First Division of the United States Army Sent Abroad to Serve Under the Commander in Chief, General Pershing.

(Photo © Clinedinst from Underwood & Underwood.)

SOME OF AMERICA'S WAR CHIEFS

GEN. WILLIAM CROZIER
Chief of Ordnance of the Army
(Photo Harris & Ewing)

ADMIRAL W. S. BENSON
Chief of Office of Naval Operations.

COL. ISAAC W. LITTELL
Chief of Cantonment Construction.
(Photo © Harris & Ewing)

GEN. JOSEPH E. KUHN
President of the Army War College at Washington.
(Photo © Harris & Ewing)

	Total Registration.	Per Cent. of Estimate.	Unnaturalized Germans.
New Hampshire	37,642	102.3	79
New Jersey	302,742	100.8	4,952
New Mexico	32,202	77.6	108
New York	1,054,302	99.4	30,870
North Carolina	200,032	102.9	73
North Dakota	65,007	73.0	615
Ohio	565,384	114.4	6,189
Oklahoma	169,211	79.3	219
Oregon	62,618	57.9	577
Pennsylvania	830,507	95.0	12,674
Rhode Island	53,415	88.7	126
South Carolina	128,039	93.4	28
South Dakota	58,014	72.1	484
Tennessee	187,611	96.2	85
Texas	408,702	97.3	1,834
Utah	41,952	90.8	344
Vermont	27,658	94.1	72
Virginia	181,826	97.5	179
Washington	108,330	49.8	791
West Virginia	127,409	90.0	1,003
Wisconsin	240,170	104.6	23,121
Wyoming	22,848	64.5	329
National parks	85	.....	2
Indians	6,001	.....	.....

The rules and regulations for the draft were issued to the local exemption boards by the War Department on June 21. Every board was required to make four copies of the registration list. One it kept for its own use, the second was posted in a conspicuous public place, the third was made available to the public press, and the fourth was sent to the Provost Marshal General at Washington.

Every board numbered the cards in its jurisdiction with red ink in a series running from 1 to the number representing the total number of cards in its jurisdiction, and it was provided that these serial numbers, not the names, should be drawn. Alphabetical arrangement of the names was expressly prohibited. The numbers were to be drawn at Washington. If 15 and 167 were drawn, for example, the two men in each registration district against whose names these numbers were written would be thereby automatically drafted. Exemption could be claimed only afterward—through the local board.

President Wilson on July 2 promulgated the regulations governing exemption from military service. These regulations permitted the local and appeal exemption boards already appointed to organize at once and prepare for the concluding stages of raising the draft army. In an accompanying statement the President called upon the boards to do their work fearlessly and impartially and to remember that "our armies at the front will be strengthened and sustained if they be composed of men free from any sense of injustice in their mode of selection." A statement issued by the War Department on July 13 set forth the number to be drafted from each State. The total for the first call was to be 687,000.

On July 20 all the numbered registration lists from the 4,550 districts had reached Washington, and the fateful drawing of numbers took place on that day. The story of the historic event will be told in the September issue of this magazine.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED JULY 20, 1917]

THE CHANCELLORS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

COUNT BISMARCK was the first Chancellor of the German Empire, being appointed on Jan. 18, 1871, the day on which King William of Prussia was proclaimed Emperor of Germany, in the Mirror Room at Versailles. Bismarck was then raised to princely rank. He held office until March 20, 1890, less than two years after William II. became Emperor, on the death of his father, (June 15, 1888.) During his tenure of office Prince Bismarck accomplished two things: the Triple Alliance or Dreibund, uniting Germany, Austria, and Italy, and later including Rumania and Bulgaria; and the formation of Germany's colonial empire, in 1885, in East and West Africa and New Guinea.

Bismarck was succeeded by Count Caprivi, who held office until Oct. 29, 1894. Caprivi was succeeded by Prince Hohenlohe, who gave place, on Oct. 17, 1900, to Count Bernhard von Bülow, then raised to princely rank. Prince von

Bülow was called upon to defend Kaiser Wilhelm's celebrated "mailed fist" speech on the departure of German troops to China, and, some years later, to extricate the Kaiser from the very difficult situation caused by an interview which he gave to The Daily Telegraph, (Oct. 28, 1908,) he carried the point that the Kaiser's pronouncements must first be approved by his responsible advisers. Prince von Bülow went out of office on July 14, 1909, being succeeded by Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, who held office for exactly eight years.

Primarily, the Chancellor of the Empire is the head of the Bundesrat, the Federal Council, which represents, not the peoples of the various States which make up the empire, but the Kings, (of Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and Württemberg,) Grand Dukes, Dukes, and Princes who rule them. In the Bundesrat the Imperial Chancellor represents the King of Prussia, who has preponderant power in that body. The Chancellor is responsible solely to the Emperor. It has been pointed out that Dr. Georg Michaelis is the first man not of noble birth to be appointed Imperial Chancellor.

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Austria, Bavaria, and Catholic South Germany

THE recent vigorous protest of Mathias Erzberger, the Catholic member of the Reichstag from Bavaria, against the autocratic militarism and annexationist policy of Lutheran Prussia, apparently with the knowledge, and perhaps the active consent, of Emperor Charles of Austria, suggests that one of the results of the war may be a regrouping of the kingdoms and principalities within the frontiers of the Central Empires in a way resembling their position before 1860, when Bismarck began to execute his plan to break the Austrian supremacy in German affairs and to put Prussia in Austria's place as the dominant German State, a plan furthered by the aggressive wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870, and consummated when William I. was proclaimed German Emperor at Versailles in January, 1871.

In the German Empire the Lutherans number 40,000,000; the Catholics 24,000,000, or some 37 per cent. In Prussia about two-thirds are Lutherans; in Saxony the vast majority are Lutherans; in Württemberg about two-thirds are Lutherans; these three kingdoms would form the nucleus of a Lutheran group of States. In Bavaria, on the contrary, there are about 5,000,000 Catholics to 2,000,000 Lutherans, while within the Kingdom of Prussia Catholics are in a majority in Posen, Silesia, Westphalia, and the Rhine Provinces. Austria is almost completely Catholic, having 22,500,000 Roman Catholics and 3,500,000 Greek Catholics; the Lutherans do not number 600,000. In Hungary, Roman Catholics likewise predominate, numbering 11,000,000 in a population of 21,000,000, the minority being divided between Protestants, members of the Greek churches, (Catholic and Oriental,) and others.

This would give two groups of States, the Catholic, with a population of some 60,000,000; the Lutheran, with a population of some 45,000,000. The growth of the present German Empire has largely consisted in the extension of the power of Lutheran Prussia over the Roman Catholic States, like Silesia, the Rhine Provinces, and Bavaria; to these Austria, in which Prussian influence predominates, may be added.

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The Race Question in Austria-Hungary

IN Austria (excluding Hungary) the division of races, calculated on the not wholly accurate basis of language, is approximately as follows: Germans, 10,000,000; Bohemian Czechs, Moravians, and Slovaks, (all speaking practically the same language,) 6,500,000; Poles, 5,000,000; Ruthenians in Galicia and Bukowina, 3,500,000; Slovenes, Serbs, and Croatians, (all speaking what is practically Serbian,) 2,000,000; or, in all, 17,000,000 Slavs. There are also about 1,000,000 speaking Italian or Rumanian. Thus 18,000,000 non-Germans, nearly all of whom are Slavs, are dominated politically by 10,000,000 Germans.

In Hungary there are under 9,000,000 Hungarian Magyars; just over 2,000,000

Germans, 2,000,000 Slovaks, 2,600,000 Croato-Serbians, 400,000 Ruthenians, and something under 3,000,000 Rumanians. In Hungary the 9,000,000 Magyars and 2,000,000 Germans completely dominate the 5,000,000 Slavs and 3,000,000 Rumanians.

Taking the Dual Monarchy as a whole, we find that 12,000,000 Germans and 9,000,000 Magyars exercise political control over 22,000,000 Slavs and 4,000,000 Latins. That is, 21,000,000 dominating and 26,000,000 dominated.

An ideal reconstruction along the lines of race, (or, to speak more strictly, along the lines of language as calculated by the German-Magyar enumerators,) would divide the Dual Monarchy into four States, as follows: A German State, consisting of the northern part of what is now Austria and the western corner of Hungary, with 12,000,000 inhabitants; a north Slav State, (Czech-Bohemians, Moravians, Slovaks, Poles, Ruthenians,) with about 18,000,000 inhabitants; a Magyar State with about 9,000,000, and a south Slav State, predominantly Serbian, with about 5,000,000; but this last would be practically identical in blood and speech with Serbia and Montenegro, which, before the war, had a combined population of about 3,500,000; so that we have the basis of a Pan-Serbian State with about 8,500,000 inhabitants.

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The Draft in 1863 and 1917

THE extraordinary smoothness and freedom from disturbance which have marked each stage of the enrollment of our huge national army stand out in sharp contrast with the violent outbreaks which accompanied the operation of the Conscription act signed on March 3, 1863. That act declared that all able-bodied male citizens of the United States, and foreigners intending to become citizens, between the ages of 20 and 45 were liable for military service; a second section defined exemptions, while a third favored married men. On July 7 the actual work of the draft was begun in Rhode Island; on the following day it began in Massachusetts.

Saturday, July 11, was the date set for New York City. That day everything went quietly, even gayly. But on Sunday, July 12, there were mutterings in the Ninth Congressional District, which was inhabited mainly by laborers, and which had a Democratic majority of over 3,000. These laborers, says Rhodes, when they faced the fact of three years' compulsory military service, "fell into despondency, while their wives and mothers abandoned themselves to excitement and rage." Prominent Democrats went about declaring the law was unconstitutional. A point of inflammation was the fact that a man might "buy himself loose" for $300, favoring the rich at the expense of the poor.

On July 13, at the headquarters of the Ninth District, at the corner of Third Avenue and Forty-sixth Street, where the names were being drawn from a revolving wheel by a blindfolded man, pistols were fired, brickbats were hurled through the window, the crowd burst in, poured petroleum on the floor and set the building on fire. Workmen of the Second and Sixth Avenue street railroads noisily paraded the streets. The rioters were "almost all foreign born, with a large preponderance of Irish," who vented their wrath on the negroes, shooting and hanging them by the score and wrecking a Negro Orphan Asylum on Fifth Avenue between Forty-third and Forty-fourth Streets. The rioters seized arms from the arsenals; troops were called; "cannon and howitzers raked the streets."

The battle raged during four days, more than 1,000 persons being killed and wounded, while damage amounting to $1,500,000 was done. In all, 10,000 infantry and three batteries of artillery assisted in quelling the riots. There was violence also in Pennsylvania and Wisconsin.

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THE Secretary of War reported on June 22, 1917, that there were in the United States 1,239,179 persons born in foreign countries with which the United States was not at war, who had not declared their intention to become citizens, and 111,933 persons of birth in countries with which the United States was at war, who had not declared their intention to become citizens.

Success of the Liberty Loan

THE official announcement of the Liberty Loan, the first United States war loan, was in substance as follows:

The total of the subscriptions was $3,035,226,850, an oversubscription of $1,035,226,850, over 50 per cent. More than 4,000,000 men and women subscribed. Of this number about 3,960,000 took the bonds in amounts ranging from $50 to $10,000; 21 subscriptions were $5,000,000 and over, aggregating $188,789,900. The subscriptions by Federal Reserve districts were as follows:

Boston	$332,447,600
New York	1,186,788,400
Philadelphia	232,309,250
Cleveland	286,148,700
Richmond	109,737,100
Atlanta	57,878,550
Chicago	357,195,950
St. Louis	86,134,700
Minneapolis	70,255,500
Kansas City	91,758,850
Dallas	48,948,350
San Francisco	175,623,900

Allotments were made as follows: Subscriptions up to and including $10,000, 100 per cent.; up to $100,000, 60 per cent.; up to $250,000, 45 per cent.; up to $2,000,000, 30 per cent.; over $2,000,000 and up to $6,000,000, 25 per cent.; up to $10,000,000, 21 per cent.; $25,000,000, 22.22 per cent.; $25,230,000, 20.17 per cent.

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British Cabinet Changes

IMPORTANT changes in the British Cabinet were announced July 17. Sir Edward Carson resigned as First Lord of the Admiralty and joined the War Cabinet without portfolio; he was succeeded by Sir Eric Campbell Geddes, former Director General of Munitions Supply. Winston Spencer Churchill succeeded Dr. Christopher Addison as Minister of Munitions, the latter to become Minister without portfolio in charge of reconstruction. Edwin Samuel Montagu became Secretary for India, vice Austen Chamberlain, who resigned on account of the Mesopotamia campaign disaster. Sir Edward Carson replaced Bonar Law as the fifth member of the War Cabinet, which consists of Premier Lloyd George, Labor Minister Henderson, Earl Curzon, Lord Milner, and Sir Edward Carson, the three latter being Conservatives of the most extreme type.

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British Royal House Abolishes Its German Titles

KING GEORGE of England has changed the name of his family and house from Saxe-Coburg and Gotha to the House of Windsor. He has also abolished the titles of the Princes of his family that bear German names and substituted British surnames, peerages being conferred as follows:

> The Duke of Teck, a Marquis.
> Prince Alexander of Teck, an Earl.
> Prince Louis of Battenberg, a Marquis.
> Prince Alexander of Battenberg, a Marquis.
> Princess Victoria and Princess Marie Louise of Schleswig-Holstein shall be styled Helena Victoria and Marie Louise, respectively, and the Princesses of the royal family who bear the title of Duchess of Saxony have relinquished the title. Prince Leopold of Battenberg, whose elder brother, Prince Alexander, becomes a Marquis, will take the title of Lord Leopold of Mountbatten.

The action of the King reserves the title "Royal Highnesses" to the children and grandchildren of the sovereign, consequently the titles "Highness" and "Serene Highness" will disappear from English life, as well as the rank of Prince and Princess in the families upon which the King conferred peerages.

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England's Munitions Output

DR. ADDISON, British Minister of Munitions, declared in an address to the House of Commons, that in March, 1917, England's capacity for the production of high explosives was more than four times that of 1916 and 28 times as great as that of March, 1915. He said the country was now turning out twenty times as many machine guns as two years ago. In the matter of small arms and small ammunition the country was entirely independent of outside supplies. At Woolwich there were 73,571 workers, of whom 25,000 were women, as against 10,860 workers in August, 1914, of whom 125 were women.

In May twice as many airplanes were produced as in December last. They were

producing now 10,000,000 tons of steel per annum as against 7,000,000 tons per annum in pre-war days, and by the end of 1918 the figures would have risen to 12,000,000 tons.

He announced that a plant was now available for supplying the entire quantity needed of potash; they had also a plant to supply their needs entirely in scientific instruments, optical glass, machine tools, sulphuric acid, superphosphates, and tungsten, for all of which they had been dependent on outside sources. Fully 2,000 miles of railway track had been supplied to the several fronts, together with nearly 1,000 locomotives, apart from hundreds supplied by the Railway Executive Committee. India, Australia, and Canada had sent their contributions.

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Knightly Orders for Women

RECENT distinctions conferred upon women have suggested the question whether, in the past, the services and qualities of women have ever received recognition in the great knightly orders. The answer is distinctly in the affirmative. England, which has, in some ways, the most democratic government in the world, not only possesses the oldest existing knightly order, but is also the only country in existence where the ancient knightly custom of "dubbing" by the accolade, or laying on of the sword, is still preserved, as in the days when knighthood was in flower. The oldest knightly order is the Order of the Garter, which dates from about 1350; the "garter" is ascribed by tradition to Richard I., who sent it as a battle sign to the troops before Acre; to Edward III. at Crécy; to Joan, the "fair maid of Kent," Countess of Salisbury. Ladies were systematically admitted to the Order of the Garter in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, (at a time when prioresses and abbesses had the vote;) the Queen Consort, the wives and daughters of Knights of the Order, and other women of exalted position being members, and known as "Dames de la Fraternité de Saint George," patron saint of the Garter. Entries of the delivery of robes and garters to ladies are found in the wardrobe accounts from 1376 to 1495, the first being to Isabel, Countess of Bedford, daughter of Edward III.; the last, Margaret and Elizabeth, daughters of Henry VII. Effigies of Margaret Byron and Alice Chaucer at Ewelme have garters on their left arms. The Order of the Thistle, established by James II. in 1687, under the patronage of St. Andrew, counts among its heads Queen Anne and Queen Victoria, who were also heads of the Order of the Garter, as were Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth. This is the order recently conferred on Sir Douglas Haig. The Order of the Golden Fleece, established by Philip the Good in 1492, counts Queens among its members. The Order of St. Stephen of Hungary, founded by Maria Theresa in 1764, was presided over by her. The British Order of Merit was conferred on Florence Nightingale. Women as well as men are eligible to the Imperial Service Order. The Royal Order of Victoria and Albert and the Imperial Order of the Crown of India are conferred only on women. The decoration of the French Legion of Honor, founded by Napoleon on May 19, 1802, has been conferred on several distinguished women, including Rosa Bonheur and Mme. Curie, the discoverer of radium.

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British and German Prisoners

THE British have captured 117,776 prisoners since the beginning of the war, not counting natives taken in the African campaigns, many of whom have been released, according to the statement of Major Gen. F. B. Maurice, Director of Military Operations at the War Office in London. The British have lost to the enemy 51,088 men as prisoners, including Indian and native troops

The British have captured 739 guns during the war and lost 113. Of the guns lost 37 were recaptured, and of the 96 remaining in enemy hands 84 were lost by the British on the west front early in the war. The British have not lost a single gun on the west front since April, 1915.

There are 58,138 German prisoners of

war interned in England, as against 42,831 British prisoners of war or interned prisoners in Germany, according to a report made by the Postmaster General to the House of Commons on June 20. Each week the interned Germans receive an average of 9,260 parcels and money orders having a total value of $12,000. The number of parcels received has decreased nearly one-half from last year. This was attributed by the Postmaster General to greater difficulty in obtaining materials to send from Germany.

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German Casualty Figures

GERMAN casualties reported in German official lists during May, 1917, were as follows:

	May.	Total to date.
Killed and died of wounds..	19,006	998,439
Died of sickness.....	2,994	69,688
Prisoners	886	303,309
Missing	25,676	254,101
Severely wounded.....	14,348	571,386
Wounded	3,858	310,616
Slightly wounded.....	36,133	1,599,743
Wounded remaining with units.	8,055	249,478
Total	110,956	4,356,760

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Small Armies in Decisive Battles

THE attempt of a Chinese General to restore the fallen Manchu dynasty, which conquered China in 1644, having at his disposal only 7,000 troops with which he tried to change the destinies of 400,000,000 population covering 4,000,000 square miles, recalls the fact that many of the world's decisive battles have been fought with bodies of troops which, in comparison with the numbers involved in the present war, seem absolutely insignificant. But it should be remembered that only the very recent development of railroads has made possible the moving and victualing of the huge modern armies.

On the morning of the battle of Lexington 130 answered Captain John Parker's rollcall, and not all of these took part in the fighting; at Concord, later in the same day, April 19, 1775, there were 450 minutemen; men, that is, who "answered at a minute's notice." The Americans under Lieut. Col. Smith lost eighteen killed. At the battle of Long Island, Aug. 22, 1776, Lord Howe had 20,000 men, while Washington sent to General Putnam only 7,000 men, who, however, constituted more than one-third of his entire effective force. At the battle of Harlem Heights, Sept. 16, 1776, Lord Howe had 5,000 against Washington's 1,800 Americans, and the relative numbers were about the same at Bennington, Stony Point, and King's Mountain. At the battle of Princeton, Jan. 3, 1777, Lord Cornwallis had 6,000, while Washington had 3,600 men; yet this battle held Howe up for six months and laid the foundation of the French alliance. At Yorktown, Washington had 16,600 American and French troops, while Cornwallis had 5,316.

A recent historian asserts that there were not more than 5,000 knights in the feudal army of William the Conqueror, though older traditions placed the number at 60,000. John Fiske speaks of the forces in Cromwell's wars as "trivial," though Cromwell's victories had a world-wide significance.

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THE lower house of Congress on July 14 passed without opposition a bill appropriating $640,000,000 for the creation of a great air fleet. It is understood that the personnel authorized will approximate 100,000 men.

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THE Austrian Parliament decided July 17 that Dr. Friedrich Adler, the assassin of Dr. Karl Stürgkh, Premier of Austria, should have been tried by a civil instead of a military court, consequently the death sentence imposed on him will not be carried out. His address at his trial is given elsewhere in this issue.

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TUAN CHI-JUI was reappointed Premier and War Minister of China after the collapse of the effort to restore the monarchy, and Li Yuan-hung announced that he would retire from the Presidency in favor of the Vice President, Feng Kuo-chang. Tuan favored China's entrance into the war on the side of the Allies.

Military Events of the Month

Period From June 18 to July 18, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh U. S. Cavalry

THE past month has seen one of the most remarkable events of the entire war—the renewal of the Russian offensive begun last year. On July 1, the anniversary of the beginning of the battle of the Somme, the Russians began a determined movement along the northern course of the Zlota Lipa from Brzezany to Zloczow.

From such information as had reached us as to the condition of affairs in the new republic, the conclusion was almost unavoidable that there was no hope of Russia giving any assistance to the Allies during the current year. The spirit of the army, it appeared, had been destroyed through the period of fraternization with the enemy; their discipline was believed to have broken down entirely and their morale to be seriously impaired. The ammunition industry, besides, was partially paralyzed through strikes and impossible demands of the workmen, and the transport service, by which food and supplies were sent to the front, was completely disorganized. There was also an element in Petrograd, supported by German interests, that was outspoken against a renewal of the fighting and in favor either of a separate peace or an indefinite armistice. In the face of this condition, it did not seem possible that Russia could be counted upon as a factor in the fighting until next year.

But there was one man in Russia who saw the condition of affairs in its true perspective, who knew that the success of the revolution depended upon a continuation of hostilities until Germany was beaten, and whose enthusiasm and personal magnetism were so great as to nullify all opposing influences. This man was the new Secretary of War, Kerensky. The credit for the renewal of the fighting on the Russian front is his and his alone, and its successful prosecution a tribute to his personal inspiration.

When the Russian offensive of last year was finally halted, the battle line followed the eastern bank of the Zlota Lipa from its source near Zloczow as far as Brzezany. Here it made a curve around the latter point, crossing the river, and continued southward to the Dniester, which it crossed just west of Maryimpol. Passing west of Stanislau, it continued south to the Carpathian Mountains, where it linked up to the Rumanian line along the border between Rumania and Transylvania.

First Russian Attack

The first task which the Russians had to accomplish, then, if they proposed to reach out for Lemberg from the east, was to clear the line of the Zlota Lipa throughout its length. This river flows through a deep cut with almost perpendicular sides, making it a particularly nasty line to force. All the advantage lies with the defense, and only great preponderance of artillery would give an attack a reasonable chance of success. It could, however, be flanked by a crossing to the north, where the river is narrow and presents a less difficult problem, and this the Russians tried to do through an attack between Brzezany and Zloczow.

The small village of Koniuchy was taken in this first effort, and about 10,000 prisoners fell into Russian hands. The ground gained, however, added little to their achievement. It was in every way immaterial. There was, however, a valuable significance in the character of the fighting. The Russians used artillery on a very large scale. Apparently they had a great supply of shell and were disposed to use it. There was also evidence that the army which made the attack, the army of Brusiloff, had not been seriously affected by the revolution. No army which was in an unor-

ganized condition a short time before could have been driven, thoroughly in hand at all times, as was the army which took this small village and so many Austrian prisoners. The fighting was of the heaviest kind and must have been accompanied by very heavy losses on the part of the Russians. That they

Blow South of the Dniester

Suddenly, without pausing in their attacks at Brzezany, the Russians opened up a terrific attack south of the Dniester, driving due west from the vicinity of Stanislau toward Dolina and Stryj. It is somewhere in this vicinity that the Germans and the Austrians link up, and it

MAP SHOWING PROGRESS OF THE NEW RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE IN GALICIA

kept up the fighting is another indication of the morale which prevailed.

Not meeting with any great success at this point, the attack was switched further south, to Brzezany, where an effort was made to draw a noose around that important crossing, which, because of the high hills behind it, controls the country to the south and defends the railroad from Lemberg through Rohatyn. The Russian effort here was another failure.

was the Russian idea, undoubtedly, to separate the two forces by driving a wedge between them. This idea is sound. The history of the war on the eastern front will show conclusively that the Austrian is no match for the Russian. Wherever they have met on the field of battle the Austrian has invariably been beaten.

In the early days of the war it was the first invasion of Galicia which placed the Russian Army at the gates of Cracow

and threatened Silesia. Last year it was the great blow in Volhynia which nearly destroyed the Austrian Army. And now again Russia was attempting the same thing. How reasonable the argument is is shown by the results. The Austrian line cracked, the crack widened, and finally the line broke, permitting the Russians to pour through. We hear very often of a line being broken, but we seldom see it done. It is not sufficient merely to penetrate it. The gap through which the penetration is made must be very wide, so that sufficient troops can pass through to have some effect on the two wings thus separated. But the Austrian line was truly broken, and the Russian cavalry raced through, widening the gap as they passed.

The Lukwa River was reached and crossed almost without opposition. The Lomnica, the next stream met with, was the test. The east bank is low, the west bank very high and heavily wooded. If the Austrians could hold the Russians to the east bank of the stream they still had a chance to repair the damage. But the Russians were not to be halted here. The Cossack cavalry forced the river not more than fifteen miles south of the Dniester and drove at the town of Kalusz, the Austrians' former headquarters. They found it unoccupied and took possession.

Fall of Kalusz and Halicz

The Germans, however, had hurried reinforcements south to assist the beaten Austrians, and they came in contact with the advancing Russians first at this point. A heavy but local battle occurred, and the Russians, finding themselves temporarily outnumbered, withdrew. But reinforcements were arriving for both sides, and the real battle for the town was on. It changed hands several times, but finally fell securely to the Russians. Kalusz has an importance which in every way justified the effort to take it. West of the Lomnica River there is no barrier between it and the Stryj. The country is wide open, rolling, it is true, but without any definite natural barrier which would hinder the advance. If a stand is to be made anywhere east of the Stryj, the Lomnica is the line which would be selected. Kalusz is the most important town along the river, and is, moreover, on the Lemberg-Stanislau railroad. It was for these reasons that the Austrians selected it for their headquarters. With its fall went the line of the Lomnica, the Russians, as this article is written, being apparently firmly established on the west bank.

While this wedge was being pushed between the Austrian and the German armies the town of Halicz, on the Dniester, was stormed and taken. This place is important because it covers the first large bridge east of Chotin across the Dniester, and therefore may be said to guard Lemberg from an attack from the south. A covering force to guard the bridgehead was at once thrown across the Dniester, so that the Russians are now securely on the northern bank.

Effects of Russian Advance

The net results of the Russian advance up to the present time have been large. Nearly 50,000 prisoners have been taken —mostly Austrians—together with great quantities, not enumerated in dispatches, of guns and war material of all kinds. It is certain that the latter results have been considerable. The wedge which the Russians have pushed into the Teutonic lines is over twenty miles deep and at least half that width. The rate of advance was extremely rapid, the entire advance having been made in twelve days. There was not sufficient time to remove to safety the mass of materials normally held behind such a line. The fact that the taking of a number of guns of large calibre is sufficient indication of what must have happened to the Austrian reserve supply centres.

The Russian offensive is, however, infinitely more injurious to the Teutonic cause than the military damage so far inflicted. Ever since the beginning of the war Germany has played, as a most important card, the sympathy of a not inconsiderable number of Russians close to the Petrograd Court. Stürmer was almost openly a German tool. The result was hardly what Germany had been led to expect; nevertheless, it was not for the moment without a decided element of advantage.

When the Russian revolution broke, the German military councils had before them

two alternatives. It was inevitable that such a tremendous civil upheaval should bring in its wake a military upheaval of equal intensity. Disorganization in the military would follow as a matter of course. Should the German Army take advantage of the military situation and attack with chances of a conclusive victory, or should Germany play the diplomatic game, trusting to her complete organization in Russia to produce either a separate peace or a perpetual armistice? Either way the chances of success were bright. While Germany was hesitating between the two, the British and the French on the western front became most active. A perfect hurricane of attacks followed, almost without cessation, demanding all Germany's reserve strength to fight back. The situation was desperate.

A Diplomatic Battle Lost

Confronted, then, with this resistless, unrelenting pressure on the western front, Germany decided to fight Russia with diplomacy rather than with force of arms. It was a gamble, but, as far as was apparent at the time, in no sense a desperate gamble. There was no indication that Russia could get her organization straightened out for some time to come. German Socialists were continually active and had formed an anti-war party in Russia which precluded the idea of any immediate military activity. To them Germany intrusted the task of neutralizing Russia. To have attacked Russia under such circumstances would have been to run the danger of solidifying, on the theory of the defense of the new freedom, all the discordant elements. And a new Russia in the field, with all elements of treachery removed—a Russia in control of the people rather than of a weak aristocracy—would possess an element of potential force that Germany could not face with equanimity.

There were, moreover, certain military factors to be considered. The first was the situation on the western front, a situation upon which hung the reputation of von Hindenburg. His celebrated line was under attack, and a weakening of any portion just at that time might cause a breach and send the German Army scurrying back to the frontier. There was Italy, who had begun an offensive on a large scale on the Carso, the initial success of which promised badly for the Central Powers unless it could be checked. Austrian reinforcements had to be sent to Italy and to France. The available supply of human materials was small unless the needed men could be detached from the eastern theatre. Germany, therefore, abandoned the Russian front—particularly the northern portion—to the diplomats, and betook a not inconsiderable part of the army for service in the west and south.

But Russia has always been the great surprise of this war. At the end of 1915 he seemed completely out of it, as a result of her disastrous defeat along the Dunajec line, only to return to the fighting six months later more powerful than ever. And now Russia is again afield, possessing the power of at least a tremendous initial drive, whether or not it can be sustained for any considerable period. Germany played her cards and lost.

Delay Means German Defeat

The situation in which the Central Empires are placed is, therefore, that they must win the war in 1917, force the Allies to admit a draw during that year, or go down to inevitable defeat. In 1918 a new Russia will be in the field, a Russia of whose strength the present is but an indication. In that year the United States, fast mobilizing its resources for war purposes, will have material strength in Europe, and will be growing stronger as each day passes. It will not be a question, as was once contemplated, of America taking the place of Russia on the battlefields; America will be supplementing the resources of the new republic with her own.

There remains, as far as is apparent, the submarine campaign, which has fallen far short of the requirements admitted by Germany as necessary last February. The effect of this will have to be greatly increased if it is to accomplish its purpose. And, if we admit as true the statements of the German Chancellor, it is Germany's only and last hope.

The British at Lens

The most important series of actions on the western front during the month

was that of the British along that dirty little stream which flows about Lens—the Souchez River. Ever since taking Vimy Ridge the British have been pecking at the Lens position. Their aim is to surround it from the south and so force its occupants out by the squeezing process. The steps taken this month were begun by the Canadians seizing the high ground west of the suburb of Coulotte. From here, with the trenches close together, they advanced step by step, occupied Coulotte, and established a line squarely across the Lens-Arras road, a scant mile from the village.

The same slow but unhalting process resulted somewhat later in the occupation of Avion, and Lens was placed in a deep

SCENE OF BRITISH ADVANCES NEAR LENS

pocket, the mouth of which was being constantly narrowed. There seems to be no reason to doubt that the British could take Lens whenever it is desired to do so; but the Germans have so conducted matters that it would be a very expensive operation. In order to give a clear field of fire to the artillery, the houses of the town have been practically leveled. The whole town was then turned into one gigantic nest of machine guns, the cellar of every house being a machine-gun emplacement.

The process now going on is slow, but interesting. British raiding parties, made up almost entirely of Canadians, are entering the town with very small loss, and are destroying these positions one after the other by means of bombs. Sometimes a machine gun or two are taken, sometimes they are simply destroyed. But the raids are being carried on without cessation.

It is distinctly noticeable that several weeks have elapsed since the British have attempted any major attack. There is no way of gauging the situation as there was in the battle of the Somme. The operations of the year have consisted in a series of more or less detached attacks, each an independent battle. It is an entirely new development on this front, and has one distinguishing feature. Every attack has had for its object some one position of great local value—usually from the standpoint of observation. In almost every case, moreover, this object has been attained. What the next phase will bring forth it is impossible to forecast.

The Chemin des Dames

Except for one minor attack in the Champagne country east of Rheims, which produced only negative results, France has been on the defensive for the entire month. The Germans have attacked at a number of points between Soissons and Verdun, many of their attacks having reached the intensity and magnitude of a major effort. This is particularly true of the many attacks made along the Chemin des Dames. There is no line between Verdun and the North Sea that is more valuable than this Road of the Ladies. As long as it is in French hands it remains a constant threat against the German position at Laon, which is the very pillar of the whole line to the north.

This celebrated road runs along a tree-fringed ridge and brings under observation many miles of country northward. At the foot of the northern slopes runs the Aillette River, and from its valley rises the high ground on which Laon is situated. It is amost literally true that the German attacks against the French positions here have been unceasing. In-

deed, such has been their persistency that one is reminded of the attacks at Verdun. It might well be that what the Germans failed to do at Verdun—bleed the French to death—they are now trying to do on the Chemin des Dames. Whether this be the object or not, it is certainly true that the British are being left alone, and all strength concentrated against the French.

All the attacks, however, have been utterly fruitless. The French have broken them one after the other without having their lines even dented. Because of the great advantage of the French position the probabilities are that the German losses have far exceeded those of the French.

German Attack on the Yser

On the extreme left of the allied line, far to the north amid the sand dunes of Belgium, the Germans made the first offensive effort against the British that they have undertaken on their own initiative within a year. They had been whipped and spurred into many heavy and vicious counterattacks, but not for a long time had they undertaken an offensive effort voluntarily.

The northern extremity of the British line in Belgium is in a sense inclosed by a triangle formed by a bend in the Yser River. Going up the river from its mouth, we travel generally southward for a distance of about two miles, and then turn abruptly eastward. The British line, as it was established after the German attempt to drive to Calais, ran about 600 yards to the east of the southward stretch of the Yser, circled about the town of Nieuport, and, crossing the Yser Canal, continued south past Ypres to Armentières. It was against that stretch of line between the coast and the canal that the German attack fell.

Inasmuch as the establishment of the British lines in this sector was the result of a defensive engagement, it is a matter of surprise that a position on the far side of the river was selected. To make a stand before an aggressive enemy with a river only 600 yards in one's rear is a rather hazardous undertaking. A quick, hard blow which shatters the crossings in rear while the infantry presses forward in front is apt to pin the defenders in between the advancing infantry and the river in such a way that escape becomes impossible. The only reason that suggests itself as to the retention by the British of such a dangerous position is that the posibilities of an offensive from this quarter was contemplated, and in view of this it was considered better to have the river behind rather than a barrier before them. In other words, it was a gamble as to who would start the first offensive. If Germany acted first, the British were in

SCENE OF BRITISH REVERSE ON THE YSER RIVER

serious trouble. If the British began operations they stood a good chance of improving their situation and eliminating the danger of having the river in their rear.

The ground over which the German attack was made is perfectly flat, except for the dunes, the intrenchments being built up of sandbags instead of being dug. Apparently there has been but little airplane activity on this front, so that when the Germans were ready for the attack they had the great advantage of superiority in the air, which means the advantage of observation.

Attack Was a Surprise

The attack came as a distinct surprise. Unnoticed by the British air scouts, the Germans effected a heavy concentration

of guns on this small front and suddenly opened a hurricane of artillery fire on the sandbag defenses. At the same time the bridges over the river as well as over the canal were bombarded and destroyed. Reinforcements were thus held back of the river where they could not reach the front British trenches. After a brief but intense artillery preparation the German infantry was sent forward and caught the British against the river with no line of retreat.

The battle was of very brief duration and was a decided success. The British force north of the canal—not more than a few battalions—was completely destroyed either through capture or casualties. The prisoners taken were about 1,200, with probably very small loss to the Germans. It was a brilliant movement, but one of minor importance. Its result on the general situation is that it improves the defensive strength of the German line in this section by forcing the British into a position where they have to fight their way across a river under fire should they ever intend to take the offensive against the Belgian coast. The Germans at no point were able to cross the river themselves, and having destroyed the bridges with their own artillery they will have considerable difficulty following the affair any further should they be so disposed.

Failure in Western Asia

Russia's very effective and truly remarkable work on the European front has to some extent been offset by her complete failure in Western Asia, as evidenced by the Turkish reoccupation of the town of Khanikin. This small village has a peculiarly important strategic value in any campaign whose object is the occupation of the Mesopotamian plains. The mountains of Western Persia limit, as with a heavy wall, the eastern boundary of this plain. This wall is broken in but one place, and that by the excellent road from Kermanshah to Bagdad. This passage is covered by Khanikin. It was here that the Russian offensive broke down a year ago, and during the past months we have seen a similar retreat.

This means that contact with the British, upon which the success of the entire Asiatic campaign is based, has again been broken, leaving the British right flank completely in the air. On account of the excessive heat in this theatre, this matter is not as important or as serious as it would have been had the incident occurred earlier in the year. As a matter of fact, there has yet to be any activity in Mesopotamia during the Summer months, and this may explain the Russian action.

In all other theatres there has been marked quiet, as if all the powers were pausing for breath before undertaking new engagements.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From June 19 Up to and Including July 18, 1917

UNITED STATES

A Russian Commission headed by Ambassador Boris A. Bakhmeteff and a Rumanian Commission headed by Dr. Basile Lucaciu conferred with American officials in Washington on the conduct of the war.

On June 19 Vice Admiral Sims was appointed to take general charge of the allied naval forces in Irish waters.

All contingents of the American expeditionary forces arrived safely in France and were sent to training camps. The transports were attacked twice by German submarines, but the U-boats were driven off by American naval gunners, and at least one of them was sunk.

American airplane experts reached England to study modern aircraft designing and manufacturing.

On June 22 President Wilson signed an order authorizing the creation of an Exports Council, and on July 8 he issued a proclamation providing for Government control of exports.

An appeal to business men calling for fair war prices was issued by the President July 11.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

The American steamships Orleans, Kansan, Massapequa, and Grace, the schooner Mary W. Bowen, and the barkentine Hildegaard were sunk by submarines.

According to British official statements, England's losses for the week ended June 16 included twenty-seven vessels of over 1,600 tons; for the week ended June 23, twenty-one vessels; for the week ended June 30, fifteen; for the week ended July 7, fourteen, and for the week ended July 14, fourteen. These included the Leyland liner Cestrian and the transport Armadale. A torpedo boat destroyer was sunk in the North Sea.

Announcement was made on June 23 that twelve Greek vessels, with tonnage of 31,542, had been sunk since April 1.

France reported two steamships of more than 1,600 tons lost in the week ended June 24 and four in the week ended July 1.

Germany ceded to Holland a number of German ships interned in the Dutch East Indies as payment for vessels destroyed by U-boats.

Argentina demanded an indemnity for the torpedoing of the vessels Oriana and Toro.

Spain barred submarines from her territorial waters.

Brazil revoked her decree of neutrality in the war between the Entente Allies and Germany, and her navy joined the United States fleet in patrolling the South Atlantic on watch for German sea raiders or submarines.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

June 26—Russians repulse strong attacks in Galicia in the direction of Zlochoff.

July 1-2—Russians, led by Kerensky in person, resume their drive toward Lemberg and advance on an eighteen-mile front; they raid Teuton positions in Volhynia, toward Kovel.

July 3—Austro-Germans are evacuating Brzezany; Russians take Presovce, Zborow, and Korshiduv, and drive the enemy across the Stripa River.

July 6—Teutons repulse Russian massed attacks between Zborow and Koniuchy.

July 7—Fighting begins near Pinsk; city of Pinsk reported in flames; Russians occupy German trenches in the Zlochoff region and near Koniuchy.

July 8-9—Russian offensive spreads north and south of Halicz; Russians cross the Bystritza River on both sides of the railroad line running west from Stanislau to Kalusz and Dolina, and capture several villages and the town of Jezupol.

July 10—Russians take Halicz; Austro-German forces driven across the Lomnica and Luvka Rivers.

July 11—Russians advance on 100-mile front, pursuing the Teutons across the upper Lomnica River.

July 12—Russians capture Kalusz and push on toward Dolina.

July 13—Russians press on in Galicia on a front of nearly fifty miles from Halicz to the foot of the Carpathians, capturing several important heights north of the Dniester and driving the Teutons back to northeast of Ehilus and capturing Perchinsko, west of Kalusz.

July 14—Russians beat off two attacks on Kalusz and capture Novicka.

July 15—Russians repulse attacks in the Lodziany region and take many Austrian prisoners.

July 16—Russians take eastern end of Lodziany.

July 17—Russians driven out of Kalusz by German reinforcements and lose Novicka, but retake it.

July 18—Teutons open heavy fire along the front from south of Brzezany and in the region of Halicz.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

June 19—French repulse German attempts to regain positions in the Champagne district between Mont Carnillet and Mont Blond.

June 20—British retake lost positions east of Monchy-le-Preux; Canadians repulse attacks on new positions near Lens; Germans on the Aisne capture part of French first-line trench east of Vauxaillon.

June 21—French retake part of lost ground at Vauxaillon and push their lines ahead near Mont Carnillet on a 600-yard front.

June 22—Germans pierce French salient on a front of one and a quarter miles along the Chemin des Dames from west of La Royère Farm to the Epine de Chevregny.

June 24—French recapture greater part of salient east of Vauxaillon.

June 25—British advance on a front of one and a half miles southwest of Lens.

June 26—Canadians capture La Coulotte and push beyond it toward Lens; French on the Aisne capture positions northwest of Hurtebise Farm.

June 27—French drive Germans from the Dragon's Cave near Hurtebise.

June 28—Canadians, in drive on Lens, push on half way through Avion.

June 29—British carry German line between Oppy and Gavrelle on a front of 2,000 yards; Germans at Verdun capture French positions on both sides of the Malancourt-Esnes road and storm Avocourt Wood.

June 30—British advance a mile toward Lens over a front of four miles; Germans make small gains at Dead Man Hill.

July 1—Heavy fighting around Avocourt Wood, Hill 304, and Dead Man Hill; British draw close to Lens.

July 2—French drive Germans out of positions west of Cerny village; British forced to retire west of Lens.

July 3—French repulse German attacks on

the Aisne on both sides of the Ailles-Paissy road; big artillery battle in the Ypres salient.

July 4—Germans launch powerful offensive north of the Aisne on a front of nearly eleven miles, from north of Joney to the Californie Plateau, but are repulsed with heavy losses; Germans attack French positions on the left bank of the Meuse with liquid fire, but are driven back.

July 5—British advance their line south of Ypres on a 600-yard front near Hollebeke.

July 7—British advance east of Wytschaete in Belgium.

July 8—German attack in four sectors on the Chemin des Dames repulsed; French seize three strongly organized salients on the west bank of the Meuse.

July 9—French drive Germans from positions on the Aisne front near Bovettes and Chevregny Ridge.

July 11—Germans launch a strong attack against the British north of Nieuport and drive them back on the Yser River.

July 12—Germans storm British trenches near Monchy and take many prisoners.

July 15—Germans penetrate French salient west of Cerny, but lose part of ground seized; French in Champagne capture German trenches north of Mont Haut and northwest of Teton height.

July 17—French capture German first and second lines on a wide front northwest of Verdun.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

June 20—Italians resume the offensive in the Trentino and capture Austrian positions on Monte Ortigara.

June 21—Italians explode a mine in the Val Casteana-Ampezzo sector under the spur of the Lagazroi Piccolo and destroy the Austrian garrison.

June 26—Austrians suffer heavy losses in attempt to retake positions in the Ortigara sector.

July 11—Italians advance on the Carso and occupy Dalino.

July 12—Austrians driven back in counter-attack after reaching advanced Italian position on Col Bricon.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

June 29—Turks drive Russians across the River Abis Hirman on the Persian frontier.

July 6—Russians attack Turks in the region of Sakkiz.

July 9—Turks reoccupy Panjwin, Khanikin, and Kasr-i-Shirin on the Persian border.

July 12—Announcement made in British House of Commons of capture by the Arabs of Turkish posts between the Tafila-Main district and Akaba.

July 15—Russians drive back Turkish advance guards on the left bank of the River Arish-Darasi.

AERIAL RECORD

British aviators bombarded Ghistelles, Nieumunster, Ostend, and other towns in Belgium and brought down seven German machines at Dunkirk. On July 6 eighty-four French machines raided Germany, dropping bombs on Treves, Coblenz, Essen, and other towns of military importance, and causing heavy damage at the Krupp Works. In the biggest air battle of the war, July 12, the British brought down fourteen German airplanes on the French front and drove sixteen out of control. Nine British machines were lost.

Two great raids were made on England. On July 4 German airplanes dropped bombs on Harwich, killing eleven people and injuring thirty-six. Two German machines were lost. On July 11 London was raided and thirty-seven persons killed and 141 injured. Three of the twenty German machines that took part in the raid were brought down.

British naval aviators attacked the Turkish fleet off Constantinople and dropped bombs on the cruiser Sultan Selin, formerly the German cruiser Goeben. The War Office at Constantinople was also hit.

NAVAL RECORD

The American sailing ship Galena was sunk by a bomb off the French coast.

Great Britain, in a decree that became effective July 4, extended the danger zones in the North Sea northward and westward.

Ponta Delgada, in the Azores, was bombarded by a German submarine. An American transport joined in the firing at the U-boat.

The Peninsular and Oriental liner Mongolia was sunk by a mine off Bombay.

The French armored cruiser Kleber was sunk by a mine off Point St. Mathieu on June 27. Thirty-eight men were lost.

A British torpedo boat destroyer and a German torpedo boat were sunk by mines in the North Sea. British destroyers sank four German merchant ships, captured four, and routed others off the coast of Holland.

An armed American schooner returning to an Atlantic port reported that she had sunk an attacking U-boat.

A Russian torpedo boat was blown up by a mine in the Black Sea on June 30.

RUSSIA

The Pan-Russian Congress of Councils of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates adopted a minority resolution approving the creation of a Coalition Government, voted to dissolve the Duma and the Council of the Empire, and rejected the proposal for a separate peace with Germany.

Rear Admiral Glennon of the American diplomatic mission, by an address to the soldiers of the Black Sea fleet at Sebas-

topol, ended the mutiny there and secured the restoration of the officers.

Elihu Root and other members of the American Commission addressed the people of Petrograd and other large cities, pleading for the establishment of a secure Government and continued co-operation with the Allies.

The Social Democratic Congress of Finland adopted resolutions demanding the separation of Finland from Russia and the formation of an independent republic. The Finnish Diet passed the second reading of a bill establishing virtual independence, and refused to grant a full 350,000,000 mark loan to Russia.

Five Ministers resigned from the Cabinet because of their unwillingness to decree the autonomy of Ukraine in the absence of the Constituent Assembly.

Petrograd was placed under martial control on July 18, following outbreaks by the Maximalists.

GREECE

The Zaimis Cabinet resigned and a new Ministry was formed by Venizelos. On June 29 the Government severed diplomatic relations with the Teutonic Allies. Turkey announced that she would consider this act equivalent to a declaration of war and would deport the Greeks and confiscate their property. On July 16 the United States received official information that Greece considered herself a belligerent.

MISCELLANEOUS

German authorities seized twenty prominent Belgians and deported them to Germany in reprisal for what Germany alleged was inhuman treatment of German civilian prisoners taken by the Belgians at Tabora, in German East Africa.

The German Emperor divided Belgium into two districts and named one German administrator for the Flemish district and another for the Walloon section.

Germany imposed a fine of 250,000,000 francs on the occupied territory in Rumania.

An investigation into German plots for sinking Norwegian ships by concealing explosives in artificial lumps of coal in the coal bunkers resulted in the arrest of several Germans in Norway and a formal protest to the German Government.

A secret German wireless station was found on an island outside of Arendal.

The Austrian Ministry, headed by Count Clam-Martinic, resigned following the refusal of the Polish Party in Parliament to vote for the war budget. A temporary Ministry was formed by Dr. von Seydler.

The extent of Bohemian disaffection was revealed in a statement by F. von Georgi, retiring Minister of Defense, that three Czech regiments had deserted to the Russians and that Czech prisoners of war had volunteered for service against Austria.

Spain suspended constitutional guarantees on June 26. Catalonia and the Basque provinces demanded autonomy.

The young Manchu emperor, Hsuan Tung, was restored to the throne in China on July 1 by General Chang Hsun, who ordered President Li Yuan-hung to retire. He was forced to abdicate on July 7 when the Republican forces under Tuan Chi-jui routed the Monarchists near Lang Fang. The Republicans later captured Peking. President Li Yuan-hung decided not to resume office and Tuan Chi-jui assumed the Premiership and took over the war portfolio.

Germany was convulsed by a political crisis. Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg, in a speech before the Reichstag on July 9, rejected the Socialist-Centrist program of peace without annexation and declared for continued fighting for conquest. The Emperor promised electoral reforms in Prussia. Dr. A. F. M. Zimmermann resigned as Secretary of Foreign Affairs and was succeeded by Count Brockdorff-Rantzau. Count von Roedern, the Finance Minister, replaced Dr. Karl Helfferich as Minister of the Interior. Bethmann Hollweg resigned on July 14 after a conference between the Kaiser and the Crown Prince and other military leaders. He was succeeded by Dr. Georg Michaelis.

Vice Admiral Delbono succeeded Vice Admiral Arturo as Italian Minister of Marine.

Albanian leaders asked the Italian Government to represent them and their interests at the coming allied conference in Paris, and to demand for them Epirus and parts of Serbia.

Anti-conscription agitation on the part of the French Canadians resulted in riots in Montreal and Quebec.

As a result of a report on the mismanagement of the British campaign in Mesopotamia, J. Austen Chamberlain resigned as Secretary of State for India. He was succeeded by Edwin Samuel Montagu. Lord Hardinge also presented his resignation as Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but it was not accepted. Bonar Law announced in Commons that a judicial inquiry would be made to place the blame for the fiasco. Several other changes were made in the British Ministry. Sir Edward Carson resigned as First Lord of the Admiralty and joined the War Cabinet without portfolio. He was succeeded by Sir Eric Campbell Geddes. Winston Churchill succeeded Dr. Christopher Addison as Minister of Munitions, Dr. Addison becoming Minister without portfolio in charge of reconstruction.

BRIGADIER GENERAL GEORGE O. SQUIER

Chief Signal Officer of the Army, Whose Department Is Responsible for Aviation.

(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

The Standard Bearers of a United States Army Medical Unit at Blackpool, England.

(Photo Central News)

GENERAL JOFFRE BREAKING GROUND FOR THE LAFAYETTE MONUMENT AT BALTIMORE. BEHIND HIM IS M. VIVIANI, AND ON THE LEFT, WITH HAND EXTENDED, IS MAYOR JAMES H. PRESTON

Joffre's Tribute to Lafayette at Baltimore

By J. H. Barget

AFTER the lapse of 136 years the close ties of friendship uniting French and American hearts were renewed in a dramatic episode in which the recent French Mission took part at Baltimore, Md. It was one of those moments in which history repeats itself. On Nov. 5, 1781, when this nation was just emerging from its struggle for independence, the citizens of Baltimore addressed these words to the Marquis de Lafayette as he passed through that place on his way from the South: "Your good offices could not but increase a cordiality which must render our union with France a permanent one." The presence of our troops today on the battle front in France is a fulfillment of that pledge. General Lafayette said in reply:

"In the affections of the citizens of a "free town I find a reward for the "services of a whole life. The honor of "being among America's first soldiers "is for me a source of great happiness. "The time when I had command of an "army in Virginia, which you are pleased "so politely to mention, has only shown "that the courage and fortitude of "American troops are superior to every "kind of difficulty."

Like an echo from the tomb of that beloved Frenchman came the expressions of gratitude uttered by Marshal Joffre on May 14, 1917, when the hero of the Marne, with Vice Premier Viviani and other French dignitaries, stood upon the site in Mount Vernon Square, Baltimore, where a monument is shortly to rise in memory of Lafayette. And two months later, on July 14, Frenchmen at home celebrated their own national fête, recall

ing still more vividly the meaning of the great epoch of human liberty which, dawning in America in 1776, reached a new fullness in France in 1789, and is about to culminate in the destruction of the last Bastile of absolutism.

In Baltimore during the Revolution men and women provided General Lafayette's troops with flour and clothing on his march to the South; and today, through popular subscription, they are raising funds to erect a monument to the illustrious Frenchman. Nothing more was needed to stir the blood and sentiment of Americans than the presence of the Marquis de Chambrun, a member of the French War Commission. When he followed General Joffre in breaking the ground on which the monument to his great-grandfather will rise in Baltimore the cheering of the masses rose in volumes for the hero of their ancestors, and the echo passed the gigantic monument of his friend, General George Washington, whose shadow falls on the Lafayette site.

Many of those present at the dedication of the Lafayette site were ancestors of the association of youths known as the De Kalb Cadets, which took part in the great ovation given Lafayette when he visited Baltimore on Oct. 24, 1824, as the guest of the city, through a resolution passed by the City Council. General Lafayette arrived on the steamboat United States, which conveyed him from Frenchtown. After being shown about the city and entertained at the City Hall, General Lafayette was taken to an elevated pavilion at Baltimore and Light Streets. At this point the De Kalb Cadets passed in review and a scene took place which has been repeated in thousands of homes to show how the great soldier of freedom loved the people of Baltimore.

Each Marshal of the De Kalb Association carried a scroll in his hand bound with blue ribbon, upon which was inscribed the word "Gratitude." Each Marshal deposited the scroll at the feet of the General. He repeatedly opened and closed his arms as if in the act of pressing them to his heart; and, when the procession had passed, Lafayette suddenly turned away and burst into tears.

The breaking of the ground for the Lafayette Monument recalled this scene as the earth was turned over by the French Commission. The thousands of school children seemed thrilled and fairly throbbed the sentiments of the noble Lafayette. They each recalled the story of the banner of crimson silk with which Lafayette was saluted on his visit to the city in 1824—the banner whose memory lives in Longfellow's poem, "Hymn of the Moravian Nuns at the Consecration of Pulaski's Banner." The banner was presented to Count Pulaski by the nuns of Bethlehem. At the time he was raising a corps of cavalry in Baltimore, having been made a Brigadier in the Continental Army, and had called on Lafayette, who was wounded.

The visit to our shores of General Joffre, former Premier Viviani, and the French War Commission, coupled with the celebration in Paris this year, brings back vividly the days of the Revolution. It appears singular that after all these years we find ourselves in a rôle similar to that played by Lafayette and his fellow-countrymen in our hour of peril.

Thomas Hastings, who designed the Lafayette Monument in Paris, is now working on the plans for its completion. It is proposed to have the monument erected in Baltimore before the next national holiday of France, July 14, 1918.

War's Inferno on the Aisne Ridge

By Wythe Williams

(*Cabled to The New York Times, July* 12, 1917)

YESTERDAY at dawn I stood on the Chemin des Dames. For the first time in almost three years some one other than the struggling soldiery has been able to reach that bloody ridge. It is called the Road of the Ladies, because it was built by Louis XV. for his daughters. Although grim irony now, the name must remain famous forever as the scene of the mighty conflict still raging for its final possession.

Only a few yards from me was the spot where once stood the monument of Hurtebise, commemorating the battles of Napoleon. Nothing remains of it. It is just a spot pointed out by my officer in that waste of tortured earth. The whole road is the same. It is only a place no different from all that surrounds, and which my officer told me was the Chemin des Dames.

I crawled forward and down deep into the earth through a great granite cavern known as the Den of the Dragons. I passed out beyond the Chemin des Dames and crept slowly and cautiously into the first line of shellholes of the French Army—not trenches, but shellholes vaguely connected by gullies of mud and water. The first line of German shellholes was directly down the ridge beneath me.

The last of the stars were burning out and the light of a new day was just beginning to make things clear. There had been four alarms sounded on that particular section of the line in the twenty-four hours previous, and during the evening a strong but futile German attack. But now it was intensely quiet. Soldiers lay all about me—rifles and hand grenades always ready—but no sound broke the silence. The artillery was taking an early morning sleep, which fact alone was responsible for the permission granted to me to get so close to the very hand grapple of war.

What Our Troops Will See

Many miles behind lay an American army. With its early coffee it might dimly hear the artillery awake from slumber—the awakening wafted to it on the breezes of a July morning. I thought of the American Army as I sat in the mud beside a French poilu carefully sighting his rifle on a ridge of wet earth before us. I thought of the day, so soon to come, when that army must march forward to relieve some similar portion of this line that is hell's very own. I thought of the great armies now being organized back home—armies containing my friends and relatives, my own people—which must come soon to take their places in order that the world's civilization may be saved.

Last November I tried to describe the blasted slopes of Douaumont and the battle front of Verdun. That battlefield remains and always will remain the very last word in modern war. Nothing surpasses its appearance. Nothing can ever surpass it. But now the whole battle line is getting just like that. Some of it gradually, some quickly, like the Chemin des Dames, which is almost as awful a sight as Verdun after nearly a year of constant grueling artillery fire.

Along the Chemin des Dames I counted four charred and splintered stumps at great intervals. That was all that remained to mark a roadway, once macadamized and lined with great trees and hedge rows. In a day or even an hour they are likely to vanish, too, so that nothing will remain but a long expanse of tortured, shell-pocked, upturned, and battered earth. It is like a wild sea suddenly made to be still a moment, drawing under the caps of its waves thousands of pieces from the wreckage of sunken ships—the débris of battle and the remnants of men. No other comparison than a sea fits the battlefield,

both in its appearance and its desolation.

Importance of the Highroad

The Chemin des Dames runs for miles along the very top of the crest captured by the French at the time of the last great offensive. It is something probably the most coveted by the Germans on the whole battle line. Its possession gives the French all the observatories overlooking the valley of the Aillette. Its continued possession by the French makes the Germans tremble for their future. So the battle is always going on. Every day, almost every hour, at some point or other along the Chemin des Dames, the enemy strives desperately to regain some portion of the old line he held so long.

On this particular evening I was billeted at an Army Headquarters far in the rear, but was awakened by the sound of the guns. There was a continuous, unending roar that sounded plainly through the night. I feared that the trip would be called off, but on the stroke of 2 o'clock—the hour set for the start—an orderly came to my cot with a pot of hot coffee and told me an auto was waiting. Getting into my boots, I noticed the bombardment had died down, and went outside into a heavy drizzle which made me quite happy. Not that I particularly welcomed walking some hours in the rain and mud, but because the air was so heavy I felt positively there would be no German gas attack just while making the last stages of the journey. The thought of a gas attack at dawn on the unsheltered slopes of the Chemin des Dames was anything but cheerful.

We went some miles in the car with lights bright, then at a certain point everything was made dark. We plowed away over tiny twisting new roads leading in the general direction of the front. We went very slowly. I could see through the dark long lines of troops plodding along the roadside going in the same direction. They were fresh troops, as we learned later, going to relieve the men in the front line who had borne the brunt of the attack that night.

At 4 o'clock—it was still dark on account of the heavy weather—we left the car in the rear at a post called the Moulin Rouge. I could faintly see a cluster of wooden shacks through the trees. I was met by a French Major. It was the gay welcome habitual to French officers, no matter what their business in hand. * * *

Sharpshooters at Work

We reached the listening post and slumped down into the mud. The soldier there was standing erect. We were all exactly the same color as the mud about, and the soldier told us it was quite safe to stand up and take a look over the barrier at the valley below. He explained casually, but in whispers, that the Germans were straight down the slope at our feet, so if they looked up to see what he was doing they would be sure to be killed by any one of scores of riflemen in similar positions to our own all along the line.

He was leaning over the parapet, aiming his rifle as he spoke. He was so unconcerned, so ordinary, so matter of fact, that I jumped back, startled and amazed, as the sound of the rifle fired suddenly broke the thread of conversation.

"Got an officer that time," he said, after a moment, and kept holding the same apparently casual but very careful aim over the edge.

I stepped forward and looked about. The entire valley of the Aillette stretched away to distant hills. On the left I could see moving Germans through a grove of trees through glasses. They seemed no further distant than across an ordinary street. The artillery was still sleeping, and they continued to move unchecked. Over the tiny stream I could see several white flags on what seemed to be bridges. The officer explained that they were fake Red Cross flags hung there by the Germans in a vain hope to avert fire.

I looked once more across the waste of mud. Only a few yards out lay a headless body. It was recognizable as a body then, but in a little while when the artillery duel would again be under way it would quickly be torn and retorn, buried and reburied under the storm until nothing remained.

As I stepped into the shelter a cannon roared. It was broad daylight on the Road of the Ladies.

Weary Troops From the Front

In a few minutes we began passing lines of poilus headed for the rear. We could not see clearly, but we understood they were troops just out of the front line. They paid no attention to us, and we noticed a sense of weariness in their walk as they plodded silently along.

We continued on our path beyond the village, where we met another party marching to the rear. At their heads was a small detachment of stretcher bearers. But the stretchers were rolled. There were no wounded. The sight of those rolled stretchers gave us a thrill as great as if that detachment had been a band playing martial music. The Germans had indeed failed if these Red Cross men were going back with their stretchers empty. Several of them smiled a greeting as we passed. But the men coming behind were like those we had seen among the stones of the village. They did not smile. Stumbling along in the dim light they looked as forlorn as scarecrows and just as bedraggled and unkempt. The glory of fighting and winning had all gone. They were just a gang of dog-tired men and they did not care a hang who we were or what. They did not even see us; they stared straight ahead with eyes so fixed, yet so lifeless, that it almost seemed as if they were blind.

They had come from that hell on the Chemin des Dames. They had been there for a prescribed number of days. They had not slept; they had only fought and fought and fought. Now they were going back for several days' rest, the same prescribed number. Then they would return to the Chemin des Dames or elsewhere, where they would go through the same performance over and over again, some of them. And they would do it willingly and bravely to the end. They were soldiers of France fighting for more than men ever fought for before.

We got our slow barrage as we came out from the trees into the open desolation that now exists everywhere in the immediate neighborhood of the line of fire. We hugged the lower stretches of the ridge which is the Chemin des Dames. The Germans were sending over shrapnel, but it fell into the valley at our left, and only occasionally were we forced to wait when black clouds of smoke hung in the sky directly before our path.

In the Dragons' Den

We gradually crept up the sides of the slope until about a third of the way from the top. We welcomed with a sigh of relief a yawning hole that is the entrance of the Dragons' Den. This vast winding cavern, one of scores along the Chemin des Dames front, is chiefly remarkable in that it extends clear across the ridge under the roadway and gives a view from the opposite side across the valley of the Aillette. It was held by the Germans long after the surrounding positions were captured, the French having only the end where we entered and a few yards of the tunnel. It is part quarry, part natural grotto, and big enough to conceal whole regiments. It resisted until a couple of weeks ago. When the French entered they merely had to count and bury the dead where they had fallen, and count the unresisting prisoners. We wandered through it lighted by candles. It still held a faint, sickly odor of gas. It is now used as a shelter for troops holding the front lines.

There are several holes where one can crawl directly to the summit of the ridge, others on the far side leading just above the present lines. It was by scrambling up through one of these holes on the Chemin des Dames and through a second one that we crawled to a listening post only fifteen yards from the Germans. The second exit was very difficult, and it made me wonder how it had been possible for all the German soldiers to pass through it whenever an alarm sounded calling them to their places in the shellholes.

A British Reverse on the Yser

By Philip Gibbs

[Cabled to The New York Times]

The Germans struck a heavy, unexpected blow on July 10, 1917, against the British lines north of Nieuport, on the Belgian Coast. After twenty-four hours of terrible artillery fire they broke through on a front of nearly a mile, driving the defenders back upon the Yser River (or Canal) and capturing a strip of sand dunes to a depth of 600 yards. The defenders, the King's Royal Rifles and Northamptons, were cut off from relief by the shell fire, which smashed all defenses and destroyed the bridges, so that only a few wounded men escaped by swimming. The Germans took 1,250 prisoners; the rest of the force died fighting.

[See Map on Page 232]

IT began early on the morning of July 10, when the enemy concentrated a great power of artillery on the British trenches and breastworks in the sands of the east side of the Yser Canal, north of Nieuport, with their left on the seashore. The enemy's position was in a network of trenches, tunnels, concrete emplacements, and breastworks of thick sandbag walls, built down from the coast to south of Lombaertzyde. Facing him were other trenches and breastworks which the British had recently taken over from the French. Behind them was the Yser Canal, with pontoon bridges crossing to Nieuport and Nieuport-les-Bains. Without these bridges there was no way back or around for the men holding the lines in the dunes.

The enemy began early in the morning by putting a barrage down on the British front-line system of defenses from a large number of batteries of heavy howitzers. His shells swept up and down the British front, smashing breastworks and emplacements and flinging up a storm of sand. After that hour the enemy altered his line of fire. There was five minutes pause, five minutes of breathing space for the men still left alive among the many dead, and then the wall of shells crossed the canal and stayed there for another hour, churning up the sand with a tornado of steel.

The guns then drifted to the front line again, and for another hour continued their work of destruction, pausing for one of those short silences which had given the men hope that the bombardment had ceased. It had not ceased. It traveled again to the support line and stayed, smashing there for sixty minutes, then across the canal. There was one interval of a whole quarter of an hour, and officers had time to tell their men it must be a fight to the death, because the position must be held until death. At best when the shelling began it was thought by some of the officers it was retaliation for a raid on Lombaertzyde the night before, and would not be followed by an attack from the German marines, who were known to be holding the enemy's line.

But the commanding officer of the Sixtieth became convinced by 3 o'clock in the afternoon that all this destructive fire was preparatory to a big attack. He saw his bridges had gone behind him, so there was no way of escape, and he saw that the enemy was trying to cut off all means of relief and communication. He tried to get massages through, but without success.

Two shells came into his battalion headquarters, killing and wounding some of the officers and men crowded in the sandbag shelter and dugout in the dune. He took the survivors into a tunnel bored by miners along the seashore, and here for a time they were able to carry on. But it was almost impossible to get out to reconnoitre the situation or to give some word of comfort or courage to the men standing to arms among the wreckage. Flights of hostile airplanes were overhead, and they flew low and poured machine-gun fire at any living man who showed. Away behind they were searching for British batteries.

At 6:15 all the German batteries broke into a drum fire and poured shells all over the British position for three-quarters of an hour without pause. After all these previous barrages it reached greater heights of hellishness, destroying what

already had not been destroyed, sweeping all this wide tract of sand dunes right away from coast to south of Lombaertzyde with flame and smoke and steel and reaping another harvest of death.

There are many details of this action which may never be known. No man saw it from other ground, and those who were across that bank of the Yser could see very little beyond their own neighborhood of bursting shell. But a Sergeant of the Northamptons, who had an astounding escape, saw the first three waves of German marines advance with bombing parties. That was shortly after 7 o'clock in the evening. They were in heavy numbers against the few scattered groups of English soldiers still left alive after a day of agony and blood. They came forward bombing in a crescent formation, one horn of the crescent trying to work around behind the flank of rifles on the seashore as the other tried to outflank the Northamptons on the right.

A party of machine gunners crept along the edge of the sands, taking advantage of the low tide, and enfiladed the support line, now a mere mass of sand in which some wounded and unwounded men held out, and swept them with bullets. Another party of marines made straight for the tunnel, which now was the battalion headquarters of the Sixtieth, and poured liquid fire down it. Then they passed on, but, as if uncertain of having completed their work, came back after a time and bombed it. Even then there was at least one man not killed in that tunnel. He stayed there among the dead till night, then crept out and swam across the canal.

Two platoons of riflemen fought to the last man, refusing to surrender. One little group of five lay behind a band of sand and fired with rifles and bombs until they were destroyed. Meanwhile the Northamptons on the right were fighting desperately against the German marines, trying to get behind them on the right flank. Seeing that they had not the strength to resist this, they got a message through to some troops further down in front of Lombaertzyde to form a barrier, so that the enemy could not come through, and these fought their way grimly up, thrusting back the enemy's storm troops, and then made a defensive block through which the marines could not force.

The German marines brought up a machine gun and fixed it behind the place where the Northampton officers had established their headquarters and fired upon it. The British machine guns were out of action, filled with sand or buried in the sand. One gunner managed to get his weapon into position, but it jammed at once, and with a curse on it he flung it into the waters of the Yser, and then jumped in and swam back. Another gunner lay by the side of his machine gun, hit twice by shells, so that he could not work it. One of his comrades wanted to drag him off to the canal bank, in the hope of swimming back with him. To linger there a minute meant certain death.

"Don't mind about me," said the machine gunner of the Northamptons. "Smash my gun and get back."

There was no time for both, so the gun was smashed and the wounded man stayed on the wrong side of the bank.

The fighting lasted an hour and a half after the beginning of the infantry attack. It was over at 8:30 P. M. A wounded Sergeant of the Northamptons who swam back saw the last of the struggle. He saw a little group of his own officers, not more than six of them, surrounded by marine bombers, fighting to the end with their revolvers. The picture of these six boys out there in the sand with their dead lying around them, refusing to yield and fighting on to certain death, is one of the memories of this war that should not be allowed to die.

Over the Yser Canal men were trying to swim, men dripping with blood and too weak to swim, and men who could not swim. Some gallant fellow on the Nieuport side swam across with a rope under a heavy fire, and fixed it so that the men could drag themselves across.

So a few survivors came over, and so we know, at least in its broad outline, how all this happened. It is a tragic tale, and there will be tears when it is read, but above the tragedy there is the splendor of these poor boys, young soldiers all, who fought with a courage as great as any in history.

Report on the British Disaster at Kut-el-Amara

THE report of the British commission which investigated the first Mesopotamia expedition was submitted to Parliament June 26, 1917, and created a profound sensation. The report finds that the expedition was a justifiable military enterprise, but was undertaken "with insufficient forces and inadequate preparation," and that its initial failure, with the loss of Kut, was due to lack of foresight, mistakes, and miscalculations. The report frankly declares that the shortcomings revealed reflect discredit upon the organizing aptitude of all concerned.

The report finds that the main responsibility for recommending an advance in 1915 with insufficient transport and equipment rests with General Sir John Eccles Nixon, the former commander of the British forces in Mesopotamia, while the others sharing responsibility are placed in the following sequence: In India, Baron Hardinge, the former Viceroy, and General Sir Beauchamp Duff, the former Commander in Chief of the British forces in India; and in England, Major Gen. Sir Edmund Barrow, the Military Secretary of the India Office; J. Austen Chamberlain, Secretary for India, and the War Committee of the Cabinet. The report shows the mistakes and miscalculations incident to the attempt to advance on Bagdad, which involved the surrender of more than a division of the finest fighting troops, while the casualties incurred in the ineffectual attempt to relieve Kut amounted to about 23,000 men.

The report says that the general armament and equipment were not up to the standard of modern European warfare and were quite insufficient for the purpose. Up to the end of 1915 the efforts made to rectify the deficiency in river transport were wholly inadequate. The report concludes:

> Looking at the facts, the want of foresight and provision for the most fundamental needs of the expedition reflects discredit upon the organizing aptitude of all the authorities concerned. To Lord Hardinge, as Viceroy, belongs the general responsibility attaching to his position as head of the Indian Government. More severe censure must be passed upon the Commander in Chief, for not only did he fail closely to superintend the adequacy of the medical provision, but he declined for a considerable time, until ultimately forced by the superior authority of the Viceroy, to give credence to rumors which proved to be true, and failed to take measures which subsequent experience shows would have saved the wounded from avoidable suffering.

The report largely attributes the shortcomings to the policy of indiscriminate retrenchment pursued for some years before the war by the India Government under instructions from the home Government. Transport and medical services are indicated as the weakest spots in the expedition, the lack of transport preventing reinforcements from reaching Kut in time. For "the lamentable breakdown" of the technical services the responsibility is attributed to Surgeon General H. G. Hathaway, who "showed singular unfitness for the high administrative office he held."

The signatories to the report are Lord George Hamilton, Earl Donoughmore, Lord Hugh Cecil, Sir Archibald Williamson, Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, General Sir Neville Lyttelton, and John Hodge, Minister of Labor.

In consequence of this report J. Austen Chamberlain resigned as Secretary for India. It is understood that judicial proceedings are contemplated against the responsible military officers.

Arthur Balfour, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in the House of Commons July 18 supported Lord Hardinge, formerly Viceroy of India and now Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Mr. Balfour declared criticism of Baron Hardinge to be grossly unjust, and said that, while he held his present office, he would not permit such a gross act of injustice to any of his subordinates. The House of Commons then supported Mr. Balfour's refusal to accept Baron Hardinge's resignation as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs by a vote of 176 to 81.

The Submarine Situation

By Thomas G. Frothingham

The material in this article was supplied to the writer by an American scientist, one of the leading practical experts on the submarine.

IT is evident that in times of war there are many things that cannot be discussed, but it is allowable to give a better idea of the situation, and especially to correct widely accepted errors concerning the U-boat, the most persistently misunderstood factor in the present war.

If one realizes that the proposition is being soberly considered, from a purely commercial point of view, of shortening the voyage from Northern Europe to the Pacific some 10,000 miles by sending goods in submarines under the arctic ice, it brings home the possibilities of what were considered a few years ago unreliable mechanical toys.

Even after the results accomplished by the U-boats in this war there is a general easy-going tendency in the public mind to regard the submarine as an outside factor that somehow or other will be done away with. This is all wrong, and it should be recognized that the U-boat is today the most active force in the war, the most dangerous weapon of the Teutonic allies. Submarines are steadily doing more damage than any other military arm of the enemy. To curb the U-boat is the greatest problem of the war. This does not mean that Americans should fall into pessimism and believe that the U-boats are now accomplishing military results that are decisive of the war. For this is not true. But Americans should not allow themselves to remain blind to the fact that our greatest danger is this American invention, and every resource of American ingenuity must be called upon to overcome it.

The truth should be baldly stated, that the submarine evil is at its worst. It would be a good thing for our people to understand this, for an intelligent public demand is an incentive to military activity. The lack of such a spur in Great Britain has been harmful. It is only recently that the British public has begun to realize the submarine situation. At first there was no conception that the U-boats were a menace, then came overconfidence from a few successes against them in the early stages—and then the censored concealment of the damage they were doing.

Growth of the U-Boat Peril

The above is largely the reason for the unrestricted growth of the evil. After the first shock of the blow at British control of the seas, if the British Navy, stimulated by an aroused public, had devoted its best energies to devising means to suppress the U-boat there might have been a different story today. Instead of this the first lull in U-boat activity was regarded as a complete victory. There had been some successes, using nets, chasers, ramming, &c., and these means were assumed to be sufficient. It is known that many devices lay for months without being looked at. The "authorized" tales of Kipling, Noyes, &c., lulled the public into security, and the British Navy thought the problem was solved.

Then the U-boats outgrew the methods that had been relied upon. The engine noises that helped the chasers have been muffled. The nets are not effective in broad areas of ocean. The U-boat, which at first required three to five minutes to submerge, now rises, observes, and submerges in fifteen seconds. What chance is there of ramming one now, except by the most unheard-of luck?

The U-boats spread their activities over wide areas on the seas, and there were no new schemes of defense ready to cope with the new conditions. As the sinkings increased, the losses were concealed or minimized by the British censors, and the British public did not realize the extent of the damage until it was so self-evident that the censorship could not conceal it.

Full Truth Not Told

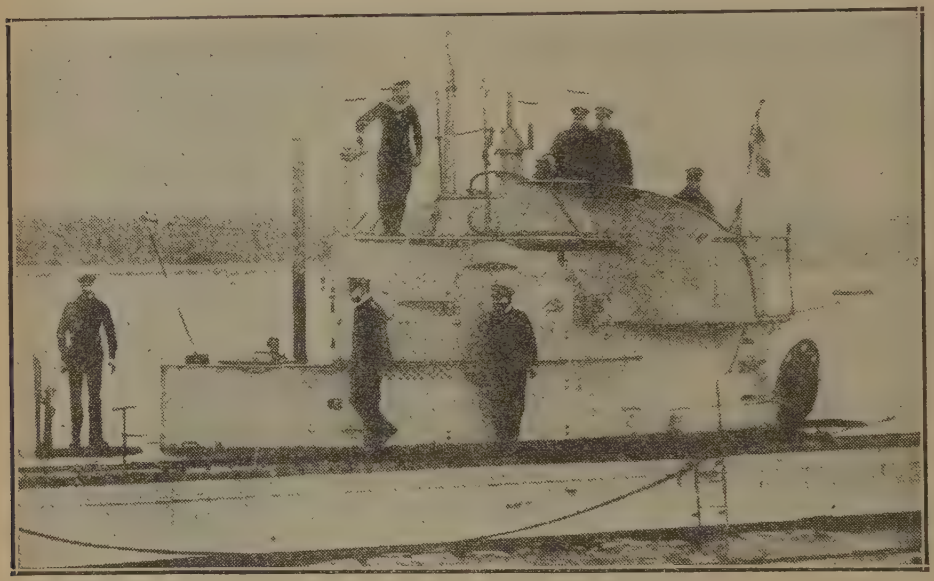
Even today there is no frankness in telling the story. The carefully pre-

pared weekly tables are most misleading. The five thousand and odd sailings and arrivals include all the local craft that make short trips in and out of British ports. Upon these numbers the small percentages are computed. The actual losses are a large percentage of the cargo-carrying tonnage, and far exceed any replacements that are in sight.

We must not allow ourselves to be misled, or to think that the submarine danger is abating. On the contrary, its perils are as great as ever, and sinkings can be prevented only by ceaseless vigilance and the use of every possible means of defense.

On the best authority it can be stated that the Teutonic allies have some 800 U-boats engaged in the present campaign. These may be roughly described as divided into three "watches," one-third coming from the base, one-third on active service, and one-third on its way back to the base. The average time of this turn of service, from the base and return, is about three weeks. It is known that there is a certain amount of supplying at sea, but it may be safely assumed that the great majority of the U-boats return to their bases to refit. As is natural in such an arrangement, there are at times lulls, and at other times greater numbers in active service.

Of course it is now evident that the tales of great captures of U-boats, kept secret to impress the enemy with the horror of "disappearance," are wholly imaginary. Throughout all the warfare against the submarines the actual captures have been very few. There is good authority to say that the number of U-boats taken has not yet come anywhere near to two figures.



THE NEW TYPE OF GERMAN U-BOAT, WITH 3-INCH ARMORED CONNING TOWER
(© *American Press Association*)

Some submarines have been destroyed, but it is believed that a larger proportion of the losses have been from accidents at sea, probably in most cases from the diving mechanism getting out of order and letting the submarine sink to a great depth. This is the main danger to the U-boats, and this will happen at times even in the most effectively operating types of submarines. We have been saved from frequent accidents of this nature in the United States Navy by trying out and developing our U-boats in shallow waters. We have great stretches of comparatively shallow water off our coast, and most of the operating of the submarines has been so safeguarded. The tragic accident at Honolulu in a great depth of water will be remembered as an example of this kind of accident.

Enemy Submarines Increasing

In the period of warfare against the U-boats the German losses of these craft from all causes are believed by the best experts to have averaged from three to five per month. It is known that the Germans are able to turn out U-boats rapidly, and that they have much more than replaced these losses. This is very far from the popular idea, but it is better to try to get at the truth.

One great mistake is to exaggerate the weaknesses of the submarine, yet this is the usual habit. It is an untrue picture to paint the U-boat as a fugitive cheerily chased by a swarm of mosquito boats, each armed with a feeble sting, and each certain that the submarine must soon rise to the surface to meet destruction from the one-pounder's shot in the periscope—to disappear in a spot of oil.

In the first place, the idea that the U-boat must come to the surface at frequent intervals, though still exploited, is no longer true. The present types of submarines can remain two days submerged with perfect comfort, and can easily travel 250 miles while thus submerged. The smitten periscope and the swirl of oil, announcing the doom of a U-boat, are also too frequently in print. All the submarines now carry two periscopes, some also have emergency periscopes, and most of them several spares. So evidently the wound in the periscope alone does not put out the submarine. It must also be remembered that the essential hull of the submarine is inside the oil tanks, and a liberal pouring of oil on the waters may only mean a punctured oil tank. The real hull must be injured to destroy the U-boat.

Gun Power of U-Boats

While the fleet of small patrol boats is of real use in scouting, and most valuable in developing and educating an intelligent personnel that will be a valuable auxiliary to the navy, it should be realized that these patrol boats alone cannot hope to engage submarines. If they are to attempt more than keeping a lookout, they must work in company with craft that are heavily enough armed to dominate the gunfire of the U-boats. Otherwise, all a submarine would have to do, when attacked by these lightly gunned patrol boats, would be to thrust its protected superstructure above the surface and then destroy the patrols at its leisure by gunfire. The present submarines carry very able guns, 4-inch, 5-inch, and in some cases 6-inch. These are short-calibre guns, as they must be designed to be housed down into the hull, and consequently they are not equal to the naval guns of corresponding calibre, but they are very effective at the ranges of the U-boat's operations.

Although in the war game the life of the U-boat is given as one hit, it must be a real hit with a real gun. Besides this, any craft that is to engage a U-boat must have more than one gun, to be sure of destroying its enemy, as the U-boat has the advantage of offering a smaller target—and the U-boat itself has more than one gun.

The usual two naval guns in the bow and stern of the armed merchantman have not proved an insurance against the U-boat, as there already have been cases of ships so armed being worsted by the gunnery of the U-boats. It is now evident that arming merchantmen, while it is a help, is not a panacea against the submarine peril, as was hoped at first.

Value of Destroyers

It should be kept in mind that the destroyer is the lowest denominator in warships that can be considered strong enough really to dominate a U-boat with gunfire. That is, a flotilla of destroyers consists of units each one of which is able to destroy a U-boat in action.

The destroyer type, which was less esteemed before the present war, has won for itself recognition because its value has been proved in war conditions. At Jutland the destroyer showed its worth as an auxiliary of the battleship. In the warfare against the submarine the destroyer has proved the most effective warship.

The destroyers of the United States Navy which were sent abroad made an impression at once in Great Britain. Our destroyers are far superior to those of the British Navy. From our idea of a wider use of these craft as scouts we

have evolved a type that is a better sea boat, and consequently they can buck the weather and stay at sea much longer without being docked. There were not very many of our destroyers sent abroad, but their presence in British waters at once set a new standard, and this has been a great stimulus to the British Navy. Without undue self-praise we may believe that there is now much more alertness and vigilance in the operations against the U-boats.

Sending Admiral Sims, in command of our naval contingent, to co-operate with the British Navy meant even more than giving the assistance of one of our ablest officers. Admiral Sims had been for some months the President of the Naval War College, and he carried with him the results of the study of the submarine problem in the United States Navy.

Early in the game the United States Navy had recognized the submarine as the greatest danger on the sea, and much work has been done in seeking means to neutralize this menace. Admiral Sims and his officers have had all the benefit of this. There are many promising devices that may be worked out, but it is not wise to hope for sensational developments at once. It is more sensible to believe that evasion of the U-boats and protection of their intended victims will prove the present task of the united navies.

Undoubtedly an increasing amount of zealous skill is being devoted to the use of all means of defense available, and vigilance is taking the place of self-confidence. It is probable that the whole game is being plotted out as never before, and to this should be attributed any check on the sinkings, not to radical inventions.

The reports of sinkings have recently been more favorable, and this gives ground for hope that the more systematic use of every safeguard, and the new spirit in the campaign against the U-boats, may be already showing good results. In any case, there must be no delusions as to lessened danger from the U-boats, and no return of self-confidence, either in the navies or on the merchantmen.

Best Methods for Safety

As has been said, arming the merchantman has not insured safety against the U-boat. In many cases it has saved the ship—but it is to be feared that in others it has done harm in making the merchant Captains overconfident. From the first this quality has caused a great many sinkings. There have been too many Captains cocksure that, though the enemy craft might get other boats, they would never "get him"—and at all times too many ships have been coming and going in their same old lanes. The tragedy of the Lusitania was an instance of this.

Unexpected courses, the use of speed at the right time, concealment, and protection are all necessary means of evading the U-boats, and it is probable that the use of these precautions is now being imposed upon the merchant Captains.

Convoying has from the first been recognized as a great protection. But it is evident that the convoying destroyer or other armed ship, if simply moving along abreast of its charge, shares the same danger from waiting submarines. What is called "stationary convoying" is now considered much more effective. This implies large areas policed by patrols, into and through which the ship moves on her voyage. The increase in safety is obvious, and it is probable that this means of defense will be increasingly used. In these days of steam navigation a voyage can be plotted out with definite rendezvous at all stages, and it is possible to arrange a schedule so as to insure a comparatively protected voyage.

Use of Smoke Screens

The smoke screen, which was developed by the United States Navy, has probably been found the best protection for a ship in actual danger of attack by a U-boat. Concealment is given quickly and effectively. In most cases this screen is thrown out by convoying craft, but our navy has devised a practical and economical way of equipping merchantmen with this protection.

The United States Navy is known to have developed an improved high explosive bomb for use against the U-boat. In warfare against submarines the British

Navy had used bombs, especially when the presence of the U-boat was shown by the " Pram " nets, which were buoyed out on the surface of the water. But these bombs did no damage unless they were practically in contact with the U-boat. Cases are known of escapes when the bomb exploded within four feet of the craft attacked. In the improved American bombs the delayed explosion below the surface is so powerful that it will seriously injure the hull of a U-boat twenty-five or thirty feet away.

It is too generally believed that an airplane can detect a submerged U-boat. With the present tendency to overestimate the tactical value of aircraft, this is one of the functions glibly assigned to these machines. The truth is that the airplane can detect a submarine only in a perfect calm. Even the slightest ripple reduces greatly the depths at which it can be seen. In any sea at all the submerged U-boat cannot be detected by an airplane flying over it.

In May of this year there were two weeks of abnormally calm weather in the North Sea, and some U-boats were observed by airplanes, especially in shallow water, assisted by the shadow of the U-boat. Curiously enough, the submerged U-boats so seen are said to appear like whitish objects, no matter what color they are painted. This exceptional weather condition is so rare that it proves the rule cannot be counted upon —and there is not a great future for the airplane in detecting U-boats under the surface.

Hydroplanes Effective

A more practical utility for aircraft against submarines is to use hydroplanes to observe large areas of water, to watch out for U-boats rising to the surface, and to signal their presence to ships. With their wide range of vision hydroplanes can cover long distances on the seas. Perhaps at present, with the difficulties of navigating planes at sea, dirigibles of a reliable type might do this work better, but probably these difficulties of navigating the hydroplanes will be overcome in the future.

Any system of safeguarding against the submarine must reckon on the possibility of attack without the U-boat showing a periscope at all. It is known that some of the submarines are equipped with apparatus that will locate the position of an enemy ship in an astonishingly accurate way. A ship 400 feet long at 8,000 feet range might become a target for a U-boat thus equipped, so that the U-boat, without observing through its periscope, would be able to discharge its torpedo at the target without a large angle of error. This last, however, increases the chances of a miss sufficiently to make the U-boat prefer the periscope, as the submarine's torpedoes are expensive and few in number; but such ability on the part of the U-boat must always be considered in the problem.

This is only one more reason to emphasize the need of some means of detecting the position of the U-boat when submerged. The importance of finding a practical detector will be self-evident to the reader. There are great hopes of such an invention in the near future—but of course there can be no discussion of this at present. Neither can there be any mention of other means that are being worked out; but the above is a fair statement of " the case so far."

To sum up the elements of defense, we should have:

Stationary convoying, with policed areas.

Destroyers to dominate the U-boats.

Smoke screens as the best concealment.

Aircraft to observe U-boats coming to the surface.

Some means of detecting submarines.

The utmost zeal and vigilance in the navies and on the merchantmen.

U-Boat Destruction of Shipping

Record From June 13 to July 15, 1917

THE destruction of merchant ships belonging to the Allies and neutrals has reached a stage where the outlook is regarded in some quarters as serious. A startling dispatch from a press correspondent in London on July 18 asserted that "the loss of ships by submarines totals 1,600,000 tons a month, or from two to three times the total of new construction." The available figures by no means support this estimate; they are, however, incomplete. The figures issued by the British Admiralty, while referring only to British ships, and concealing the tonnage totals, do not suggest that more than about 500,000 tons of British shipping are being destroyed monthly. The available figures of all other losses of Allies' and neutrals' ships by no means bridge the indicated difference.

The British merchant ships destroyed by submarines and mines since the last figures published in this magazine are, according to the Admiralty reports:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended June 17	27	5	0
Week ended June 24	21	7	0
Week ended July 1	15	5	11
Week ended July 8	14	3	7
Week ended July 15	14	4	8
Total for five weeks.	91	24	26

The totals for the last three months (thirteen weeks) are:

Over 1,600 tons	284
Under 1,600 tons	102
Fishing vessels	78

It is stated that the average tonnage of vessels of over 1,600 tons is 4,500. On that basis 1,278,000 tons of British shipping has been destroyed in three months, or an average of 426,000 tons per month. Add the ships under 1,600 tons and the fishing vessels, and it is certain the average tonnage lost is considerably under 500,000—probably about 470,000—tons a month.

French official figures show the following losses:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended June 17	0	5	0
Week ended June 24	2	3	0
Total for two weeks.	2	8	0

Complete figures for June showed the loss of fourteen ships. Later dispatches from Paris report two steamers of the Messageries Maritimes sunk, the Himalaya, 5,620 tons, on July 1, and the Caledonien, 4,140 tons, on July 10.

Italian ships lost included two steamers and five sailing ships during the week ended June 17, one steamer, eight small sailing vessels, and four fishing barks during the week ended July 1, and one steamer and four small sailing vessels during the week ended July 15.

Norwegian ships reported lost included three steamers of 2,829 tons, 2,798 tons, and 1,458 tons, respectively. The Argentine steamer Toro, 1,141 tons, was torpedoed and sunk off Gibraltar.

Greek shipping has suffered heavily, according to a report received by the State Department at Washington and published on June 23. Twelve Greek ships, with a total tonnage of 31,542, valued at $4,592,000, had been sunk by German and Austrian submarines since April 1.

To the foregoing should be added American losses. No complete official figures have yet been published, but news dispatches and reports received by marine insurance companies mention the sinking of eight vessels with a total tonnage of 38,345, between June 12 and July 16. The eight vessels were the Kansan, Haverford, Bay State, Moreni, Petrolite, Massapequa, Orleans, and Grace. Some smaller vessels were also destroyed during the period mentioned.

The conflict of opinion is evidenced by a statement on July 13 by Admiral La-

caze, the French Minister of Marine. He said in part:

> It is true we are suffering considerable losses, but every month increases our certainty of being able to repair them. Furthermore, we are in a position to stand these losses, as a large part in new construction will be taken by the United States. The shipbuilding already under way, the effect of which will naturally only be felt after a certain time, is great enough to replace the highest average of destruction the submarines are likely to reach.
>
> Never in peace times have the entries into French ports been so numerous as now. The German authorities exaggerate the results of the submarine activity by from 30 to 50 per cent., while the French statistics are absolutely correct. The curve representing the tonnage sunk does not mount steadily, but rises and falls. We know, too, that the Germans find great difficulty in obtaining trained crews for submarines.

On the other hand, Senator Marconi, the inventor and a member of the Italian War Mission, stated in an interview while in New York City that the submarine situation was becoming increasingly serious. Speaking of the Mediterranean he described how the larger U-boats go through the Strait of Gibraltar and how the smaller ones are constructed in Germany and sent by rail to Pola, the Austrian naval base on the Adriatic, where they are put together and sent to sea. The Italian Navy had between 300 and 400 patrol boats on duty trying to cope with the submarine menace.

A German Admiralty statement published on June 30 asserted that the total tonnage available for Great Britain's supply of food, munitions, and materials, based upon two independent sets of figures, was 10,000,000, including new construction, confiscated German ships, and purchases from neutrals. More than 5,500,000 tons of this total had been destroyed up to June 1, leaving 4,500,000, or, at the utmost, 5,000,000 tons then available. With a further loss of 800,000 to 1,000,000 tons a month, the German Admiralty believed that it could be confidently expected that Great Britain would be brought to a point where she would be willing to make peace.

Great Britain's Royal Family Now the House of Windsor

KING GEORGE of Great Britain, at a meeting of the Privy Council held in St. James's Palace July 17, 1917, announced that the name of his royal house and family had been changed from Saxe-Coburg and Gotha to "the House of Windsor."

Those present on this historic occasion included Premier Lloyd George, Foreign Secretary Balfour, and other members of the Cabinet; the Archbishop of Canterbury, ex-Premier Asquith, and all members of the Colonial Government who were then in London. The Privy Council unanimously indorsed King George's announcement, and the proclamation putting it into effect was published that afternoon. It says:

> We out of our royal will and authority do hereby declare and announce that as from the date of our royal proclamation our house and family shall be styled and known as the House and Family of Windsor, and that all descendants in the male line of our grandmother, Queen Victoria, who are subjects of these realms, other than the female descendants who may marry or may have married, shall bear the said name of Windsor.
>
> And we do hereby declare and announce that we for ourselves, and for and on behalf of our descendants and all other descendants of our grandmother, Queen Victoria, who are subjects of these realms, relinquish and enjoin the discontinuance of the use of degrees, styles, dignities, titles, and honors of the Dukes and Duchesses of Saxony and the Princes and Princesses of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, and all other German degrees, styles, dignities, titles, and honors, and the appellation to us or to them heretofore belonging or appertaining.

What the American Navy Has Done

Summary by Secretary Daniels

Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, made the following statement to a representative of THE NEW YORK TIMES, *summarizing the naval progress of the United States in war measures up to June* 24, 1917:

THE policy of the United States Navy is simply to do at at any given moment the thing most effective to win the war for our allies and ourselves. As to the specific things we have done so far and are still doing in accordance with that policy, I can mention four. We have armed and manned with navy gun crews about 200 merchant ships, and are increasing the number daily. We have sent our destroyers to the other side to help the British fleet in the war on the submarines, and will send more. We are taking over the cruiser patrol of the Atlantic Coast on this side of the ocean from Brazil to Newfoundland. We have trained our naval gunners in the most difficult marksmanship in the world, until they have become as efficient in training a small gun on a distant, hardly visible, and constantly moving periscope as they are in shooting the big turret guns at a target as big as a battleship. And a big work for the navy that is in the future will be the convoying of our troops.

The arming of the merchantmen came before this country had entered the war, and was ordered by the President. This was a new problem for the navy, something which never had been contemplated before by the United States Government, and it was not the easiest thing in the world to find all the guns that were needed. Some of them we had to take from ships of the navy. Then the owners of the merchant vessels called upon us to furnish the gun crews. From the mere technical navy viewpoint that was not the thing to do. We needed the men on our naval vessels, but it proved to be the next thing that had to be done; so we manned every armed merchant ship with efficient gunners. I gave orders that none but the best marksmen in the navy should be sent into this new service because of the extreme difficulties of the shooting they were to be called upon to do. So it meant a temporary drain on the battleship crews.

To some of the larger merchant vessels I sent as many as sixteen men each. But this has turned out to be one of the best things the navy has ever done because of the training it has afforded in the new kind of shooting that has become necessary in this war. Every battleship has become a school for marksmanship with a periscope as the target, and with remarkable results. Previously all the emphasis had been placed on the necessity of accuracy in working the big guns in the turrets, with the result that the American Navy had the best records of the world at big-gun practice. Needless to say, we are not neglecting that turret work or acquiring our skill in shooting submarines at the expense of our preparation for fighting bigger ships if the opportunity comes. Up to the present time the dreadnoughts have no work in this war except to wait in complete readiness for the big thing that they may be called upon to do. In that respect our fleet would be a fair match for the Germans, even assuming the apparently impossible situation in which we, alone, would be called upon to engage in a great sea fight off our own coast.

Another big educational work now in progress on the battleships is the training of the engine and fire room crews so that they will be ready for efficient service aboard the big merchant ships that will be used later on for the transportation of our troops. America, as a nation, has become so lacking in what you may call a seagoing personnel that we have to look to the navy as the source of supply in any big emergency.

The next service undertaken by the navy was the sending of our destroyers over to the other side for actual participation in the hostilities at sea. This was

done in spite of the theory that the place of the destroyers was with the battleship, that every dreadnought should have at least four destroyers to act as her eyes and scouts, and screen her with their smoke. But a great many former theories have had to be revised in this war; so we sent the type of craft that, under normal conditions, would have been the last to go, and our allies were greatly elated by our decision.

Both the English and French Commissions told us that the smaller vessels of our navy would be the most useful to them, and they expressed the hope that we might be able to send destroyers, although they did not expect it. But after consultation with Admiral Benson, Chief of Naval Operations, and later with Admiral Mayo, Commander in Chief of the Atlantic Fleet, I ordered the destroyers to go, even though it seemed a somewhat risky thing to do.

In addition to the destroyers, we have sent over enough fuel and supply ships to serve our own naval vessels without calling on the Allies, and we also have placed several of our small craft at the disposal of France. These latter ships are already there, and the number will be increased. We have two bases established on the French coast. Still more, we have sent over 100 navy aviators to France, and are now preparing to establish two hospital units in England and one in France.

Of course, I cannot say how many destroyers were sent, but there were enough to be effective, and more will go later. Sixty new destroyers for the American Navy are now under construction. The time allowed for their completion has been cut from the customary eighteen months to one year. We hope to have them on time within the shorter period.

But I can say of our ships now on the other side that they are all manned by picked officers and men. Nobody was allowed to go on this expedition who had not had experience on destroyers, which is in these days the hardest and most exacting service in the navy. But it develops a wonderful breed of men. They are young, alert, ambitious. The Captain of a destroyer is generally a Lieutenant Commander, and it is a great thing for a youngster of that rank to be in command of his own ship. The best of them strive for it, and the other officers of the destroyer are of the same stamp, and the personnel of the crew is a good match for them. It was because of the quality of these officers and men and because of the splendid construction and equipment of the ships themselves that they were able to surprise the English with the statement that they were ready to go to work immediately upon their arrival on the other side. The spirit of the men in this part of the navy had been greatly improved by the organizing of the destroyers into a flotilla of their own, and they had had the great inspiration of serving under Admiral Sims when he was in command of that flotilla, and later under Admiral Gleaves.

It was Sims who declared at a dinner in London about fifteen years ago that blood was thicker than water and that if war ever came England could count upon America as an ally. Germany resented that officially through diplomatic channels, and Sims was reprimanded. Of course, he should have been reprimanded. I told him so myself not so very long ago, and then selected him to go to England and France before America entered the war. Even then I thought I could see the clouds and felt the need of getting in touch with the British and French Admiralties. Sims was the youngest Rear Admiral in the service. It was for that reason a violation of another tradition to select him, but he has been the right man in the right place, both from our point of view and that of our allies, which, after all, is the same point of view in everything we undertake.

As to the fourth thing I mentioned, the coast patrol, that is as thorough as we can make it and is under the command of one of our ablest officers, Captain Henry B. Wilson, who is soon to be made an Admiral. In addition to the big naval vessels assigned to this patrol, there are small craft on guard, which will be steadily increased in number. These, together with the Coast Guard and Lighthouse Services, the Navy Department has taken over for the purpose of more

efficient coast protection. There is not a harbor, not even a cove, between Brazil and Newfoundland that we do not know about. We have investigated many reports and rumors that the Germans had submarine bases on this coast, but none has been discovered.

To do all this work has put a tremendous pressure on the officers and men of the navy. We need more of both, in spite of the recent big increases. By graduating two classes at Annapolis far ahead of their time we have gained 380 new officers, and the enlisted strength of the navy has increased from 53,000 to 120,928 since the beginning of the year. By the end of the year we must have 150,000 men, the limit fixed by the law as it stands today. I have no doubt about getting these men, thanks to the new plan of dividing the country into fourteen naval districts and the perfecting of the recruiting organization in each of those districts. One big factor in our favor is the greatly improved chance which the enlisted man now has to become an officer. I am now authorized by law to appoint 100 enlisted men to Annapolis every year, so the chance of the man who enters the navy as a sailor to become an Admiral is now much more than a pleasant fiction. Last year an appointee from the ranks was the President of his class at the Academy.

Embargo on Exports of Food and Other Commodities

ACTING under the authority conferred on him by the Espionage act, President Wilson has adopted drastic and far-reaching war measures for the control of exports from the United States. By an executive order, dated June 22, 1917, he established an Exports Council "to formulate policies for the consideration and approval of the President, and make the recommendations necessary to carry out the purposes" of the Espionage act. The members appointed to form the Exports Council were:

Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State.
Mr. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce.
Mr. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture.
Mr. Hoover, Food Administrator.

The administrative end of the work was assigned to Secretary Redfield and the Commerce Department.

In a statement issued on June 25, President Wilson made it quite clear that the work of the Exports Council would be merely advisory, and that there would be no prohibition of exports. The statement continued:

> The whole object will be to direct exports in such a way that they will go first and by preference where they are most needed and most immediately needed, and temporarily to withhold them, if necessary, where they can best be spared.
>
> Our primary duty in the matter of foodstuffs and like necessaries is to see to it that the peoples associated with us in the war get as generous a proportion as possible of our surplus, but it will also be our wish and purpose to supply the neutral nations whose peoples depend upon us for such supplies as nearly in proportion to their need as the amount to be divided permits.
>
> There will thus be little check put upon the volume of exports, and the prices obtained for them will not be affected by this regulation.
>
> This policy will be carried out, not by prohibitive regulations, therefore, but by a system of licensing exports.
>
> The Government is taking, or has taken, steps to ascertain, for example, just what the available present supply of wheat and corn is remaining from the crops of last year; to learn from each of the countries exporting these foodstuffs from the United States what their purchases in this country now are and where they are stored, and what their needs are, in order that we may adjust things, so far as possible, to our own needs and free stocks; and this information is in course of being rapidly supplied.

The step by which the President assumed absolute control of exports of essential wartime commodities was taken in a proclamation dated July 9 and brought into operation on July 15. It provided that none of the commodities named might be exported except under license. Fifty-six nations and their possessions, including allied, neutral, and

enemy countries, were specified as those to which the licensing system applied. The commodities named were coal, coke, fuel oils, kerosene, and gasoline, including bunkers, food grains, flour and meal, fodder and feeds, meats and fats, pig iron, steel billets, ship plates and structural shapes, scrap iron and scrap steel, ferro-manganese, fertilizers, arms, ammunition and explosives.

Immediately after issuing the proclamation the President made a statement in the course of which he said:

> In controlling by license the export of certain indispensable commodities from the United States, the Government has first and chiefly in view the amelioration of the food conditions which have arisen or are likely to arise in our own country before new crops are harvested. Not only is the conservation of our prime food and fodder supplies a matter which vitally concerns our own people, but the retention of an adequate supply of raw materials is essential to our program of military and naval construction and the continuance of our necessary domestic activities. We shall therefore similarly safeguard all our fundamental supplies.

The statement added that the Government did not want to hamper neutral nations, but rather to co-operate with them so long as supplies from the United States would not become available, either directly or indirectly, to feed the enemy.

A Bureau of Export Licenses, as part of the Department of Commerce, was immediately created, and its organization completed by creating a division of war trade intelligence with Paul Fuller, Jr., of New York as its head. Mr. Fuller is widely known as an international lawyer, and has served as a special agent abroad for President Wilson. As a member of the Haitian Commission he helped reorganize Haiti's fiscal system. The Intelligence Division is charged with keeping the Government informed of the movement of American exports after they reach foreign shores.

The action of the United States Government was warmly approved by the Allies. Lord Rhondda, the British Food Controller, said that the President's action was typical of the way in which the United States had thrown itself into the war. Public opinion in England generally welcomed the embargo as a means of tightening the blockade of Germany. The neutral nations of Europe, particularly Holland and the Scandinavian countries, however, viewed these measures with feelings of something more than misgiving, believing that the effect would be to reduce their necessary supplies of food and raw materials. Attempts were made to refute the accusation that the neutral countries were helping Germany with their own supplies and also importing commodities for re-export to Germany. The whole of this controversy, which has been in progress since the early months of the war, was revived in an acute form.

A request was made to the United States by the British Government on June 28, 1917, for the adoption of measures to prevent neutral countries contiguous to the Central Powers from importing anything beyond their needs, so that little or nothing could be sent into the enemy countries. Viscount Milner, member of the British War Cabinet, said in the House of Lords on July 4 that there was undoubtedly still a considerable amount of exporting from the neutral countries into Germany, but it was entirely the neutrals' own home products.

The news of the impending embargo on exports from the United States caused considerable alarm in Sweden. E. B. Trolle, former Foreign Minister and now President of the Swedish Government War Trade Commission, made a statement on July 6 in reply to the assertions that Sweden's imports were not intended solely for Swedish consumption. He said in part:

> Official statistics of Sweden's importations for 1916, which are now nearly complete, demonstrate conclusively the absolute erroneousness of assertions that we have been bringing in American products for the purpose of passing them on to the Central Powers. In several instances our total importations from America show a decided decrease compared with 1913, the last normal year, and in many instances in which our imports from the United States have increased, this increase has fallen considerably short of making good the deficit caused by the decrease or total discontinuance of our pre-war importations from belligerent countries.

A Paris paper recently said that exports

to Scandinavia and Switzerland rose from $40,000,000 in 1913 to $183,000,000 in 1916. Leading American papers have published similar statistics and have maintained that the increase was largely due to the fact that Sweden had been re-exporting to Germany. This assertion will not stand the test of examination.

I may remind you that a considerable part of the merchandise mentioned in the American export statistics never reached us, having been detained by the British, and hence this cannot be considered.

Let us consider first the group showing the greatest increase. This embraces agricultural products, and, in particular, cereals. It is a fact that our importations of cereals from the United States in 1916 showed an increase of 72,846,000 crowns over 1913, but it must not be forgotten that in 1913 we imported 55,000,000 crowns' worth of cereals from Germany, whereas we did not bring in a crown's worth last year. Nor must it be forgotten that an increase in the value of products imported by no means indicates an increase in the quantity, in view of the tremendous rise in prices. As a matter of fact, our total imports of cereals in 1916 amounted to only 355,000 tons, against 515,000 in 1913.

I could continue similar citations, but these show the hollowness of assertions regarding our imports from the United States.

As against these explanations an official report made to the United States Government and published on July 8 showed the extent to which Sweden was furnishing supplies to Germany. Large quantities of materials used in the manufacture of war supplies figured prominently in the report. Iron ore shipments from Sweden to Germany have reached a total of 9,000,000 tons, all of the high grade required in the production of fine steel, and representing an amount equal to Sweden's entire pre-war export. In addition to this, the report stated that Sweden had shipped to Germany 15,000 tons of ferro-silicon and ferro-manganese for hardening shells, together with large quantities of copper, zinc, manganese, sulphur, and other ores. Germany had also imported from Sweden in two years fully 200,000 tons of wood pulp for use as a basis for cellulose, used instead of cotton for the manufacture of high explosives, and large quantities of ball-bearings for use in the manufacture of war vehicles and submarines.

Another charge against Sweden made in the report was that she had discriminated against the Allies in the use of her railroads. Agricultural machinery destined for Russia had been held up for months, Sweden exacting from Russia extraordinary bargains before delivery was permitted.

A similar report was made in regard to large quantities of American cotton, said to have been passed on by neutrals to Germany for use in making high explosives. Neutrals are believed to have taken 90,000,000 pounds of cotton over and above their own requirements since the war began. The United States Government therefore is considering the laying of an export ban on that commodity.

On July 13 the State Department requested the neutrals contiguous to Germany to furnish this Government with complete information concerning their production and supplies of foodstuffs, the amount exported, to what countries exported, and their estimates as to their minimum import requirements. This information, supplemented by statistics already in the possession of the Exports Council, will determine the amount of exports to go from the United States to those countries.

Text of President Wilson's Appeal Against Profiteering

PRESIDENT WILSON has insisted from the beginning that the large business interests of the country should be content with normal profits, instead of excessive wartime profits, upon all supplies and materials entering into the Government's prosecution of the war. The recommendation of the Federal Trade Commission (June 20) that the railroads, coal mines, and coke-producing companies be operated by the Government was one of the more radical

steps by which the authorities have sought to bring about a definite understanding on the whole range of wartime prices. On July 11, 1917, the President issued the following extraordinary appeal to the business interests of the country:

MY FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

The Government is about to attempt to determine the prices at which it will ask you henceforth to furnish various supplies which are necessary for the prosecution of the war and various materials which will be needed in the industries by which the war must be sustained. We shall, of course, try to determine them justly and to the best advantage of the nation as a whole, but justice is easier to speak of than to arrive at, and there are some considerations which I hope we shall keep steadily in mind while this particular problem of justice is being worked out. I, therefore, take the liberty of stating very candidly my own view of the situation and of the principles which should guide both the Government and the mine owners and manufacturers of the country in this difficult matter.

A just price must, of course, be paid for everything the Government buys. By a just price I mean a price which will sustain the industries concerned in a high state of efficiency, provide a living for those who conduct them, enable them to pay good wages, and make possible the expansions of their enterprises which will from time to time become necessary as the stupendous undertakings of this great war develop. We could not wisely or reasonably do less than pay such prices. They are necessary for the maintenance and development of industry, and the maintenance and development of industry are necessary for the great task we have in hand.

But I trust that we shall not surround the matter with a mist of sentiment. Facts are our masters now. We ought not to put the acceptance of such prices on the ground of patriotism. Patriotism has nothing to do with profits in a case like this. Patriotism and profits ought never in the present circumstances be mentioned together. It is perfectly proper to discuss profits as a matter of business, with a view to maintaining the integrity of capital and the efficiency of labor in these tragical months when the liberty of free men everywhere and of industry itself trembles in the balance, but it would be absurd to discuss them as a motive for helping to serve and save our country.

Patriotism leaves profits out of the question. In these days of our supreme trial, when we are sending hundreds of thousands of our young men across the seas to serve a great cause, no true man who stays behind to work for them and sustain them by his labor will ask himself what he is personally going to make out of that labor. No true patriot will permit himself to take toll of their heroism in money or seek to grow rich by the shedding of their blood. He will give as freely and with as unstinted self-sacrifice as they. When they are giving their lives will he not at least give his money?

I hear it insisted that more than a just price, more than a price that will sustain our industries, must be paid; that it is necessary to pay very liberal and unusual profits in order to "stimulate production"; that nothing but pecuniary rewards will do—rewards paid in money, not in the mere liberation of the world.

I take it for granted that those who argue thus do not stop to think what that means. Do they mean that you must be paid, must be bribed, to make your contribution, a contribution that costs you neither a drop of blood nor a tear, when the whole world is in travail and men everywhere depend upon and call to you to bring them out of bondage and make the world a fit place to live in again amidst peace and justice? Do they mean that you will exact a price, drive a bargain with the men who are enduring the agony of this war on the battlefield, in the trenches, amidst the lurking dangers of the sea, or with the bereaved women and pitiful children, before you will come forward to do your duty and give some part of your life, in easy peaceful fashion, for the things we are fighting for, the things we have pledged our fortunes, our lives, our sacred honor, to vindicate and defend—liberty and justice and fair dealing and the peace of nations?

Of course you will not. It is inconceivable. Your patriotism is of the same self-denying stuff as the patriotism of the men dead or maimed on the fields of France, or else it is no patriotism at all. Let us never speak, then, of profits and of patriotism in the same sentence, but face facts and meet them. Let us do sound business, but not in the midst of a mist. Many a grievous burden of taxation will be laid on this nation, in this generation and in the next, to pay for this war. Let us see to it that for every dollar that is taken from the people's pockets it shall be possible to obtain a dollar's worth of the sound stuffs they need.

Let me turn for a moment to the ship owners of the United States and the other ocean carriers whose example they have followed and ask them if they realize what obstacles, what almost insuperable obstacles, they have been putting in the way of the successful prosecution of this war by the ocean freight rates they have been exacting. They are doing everything that high freight charges can do to make the war a failure, to make it impossible. I do not say that they realize

this or intend it. The thing has happened naturally enough, because the commercial processes which we are content to see operate in ordinary times have, without sufficient thought, been continued into a period where they have no proper place. I am not questioning motives. I am merely stating a fact, and stating it in order that attention may be fixed upon it.

The fact is that those who have fixed war freight rates have taken the most effective means in their power to defeat the armies engaged against Germany. When they realize this, we may—I take it for granted—count upon them to reconsider the whole matter. It is high time. Their extra hazards are covered by war risk insurance.

I know, and you know, what response to this great challange of duty and of opportunity the nation will expect of you; and I know what response you will make. Those who do not respond, who do not respond in the spirit of those who have gone to give their lives for us on bloody fields far away, may safely be left to be dealt with by opinion and the law—for the law must, of course, command these things. I am dealing with the matter thus publicly and frankly, not because I have any doubt or fear as to the result, but only in order that in all our thinking and in all our dealings with one another we may move in a perfectly clear air of mutual understanding.

And there is something more that we must add to our thinking. The public is now as much part of the Government as are the army and navy themselves; the whole people in all their activities are now mobilized and in service for the accomplishment of the nation's task in this war; it is in such circumstances impossible justly to distinguish between industrial purchases made by the Government and industrial purchases made by the managers of individual industries; and it is just as much our duty to sustain the industries of the country, all the industries that contribute to its life, as to sustain our forces in the field and on the sea. We must make the prices to the public the same as the prices to the Government.

Prices mean the same thing everywhere now. They mean the efficiency or the inefficiency of the nation, whether it is the Government that pays them or not. They mean victory or defeat. They mean that America will win her place once for all among the foremost free nations of the world, or that she will sink to defeat and become a second-rate power alike in thought and in action. This is a day of her reckoning and every man amongst us must personally face that reckoning along with her.

The case needs no arguing. I assume that I am only expressing your own thoughts—what must be in the mind of every true man when he faces the tragedy and the solemn glory of the present war for the emancipation of mankind. I summon you to a great duty, a great privilege, a shining dignity and distinction. I shall expect every man who is not a slacker to be at my side throughout this great enterprise. In it no man can win honor who thinks of himself.

One Source of Germany's Poison Gases

A pamphlet on the field work conducted by and for the Smithsonian Institution states that while carrying on botanical explorations in Venezuela in the Fall of 1916 Dr. J. N. Rose, Associate Curator of Plants in the National Museum, secured some interesting specimens of sabadilla, a Venezuelan plant of the lily family, from the seeds of which are produced some of the asphyxiating and tear-producing gases used by the Germans in the present war.

The specimens were secured by Dr. Rose through the co-operation of Consul Homer Brett, La Guaira, Venezuela, who stated in a report of the Department of Commerce that this plant is known locally as cevadilla, a diminutive of the Spanish word cebada, meaning barley, and occurs in Venezuela and Mexico. Its highly poisonous seeds have long been used in medicine. The substances produced from sabadilla seed are cavadine, or crystallized veratric, an alkaloid; veratric acid, and sabadalline, a heart stimulant.

The dust from the seed in the field irritated the eyes, throat, and especially the nose, so much that the native laborers were obliged to wear masks. It has been reported that the Germans had bought all the available supply of these seeds before the declaration of war. Both the sabadilla seeds and all preparations compounded from them are now, however, declared contraband by England.

China Foils a Royalist Coup

Attempt to Restore the Manchu Emperor

THE first chapter of the rebellion in China closed on June 24, 1917, when a compromise was arranged between the rebels and the Constitutionalist leaders, which appeared to have bridged over the principal difficulties without recourse to bloodshed. President Li Yuan-hung's dissolution of Parliament on June 14, although against the counsel of Dr. George Morrison, his British constitutional adviser, and deeply resented throughout South China, was on that day accepted by the southern leaders on the understanding that a new election of both houses of Parliament would be held soon without military interference.

Li Ching-hsi, the President's original appointee to the Premiership in place of Tuan Chi-jui, was accepted by the rebels as Premier, and the beginnings toward a reorganized Cabinet were made with General Wang Shih-cheng, former Chief of Staff, as Minister of War, and Admiral Sah Chen-ping, China's well-known naval leader—who once served on a British battleship—as Minister of the Navy. Negotiations then opened for the rest of the Cabinet posts, and messages from the legations in Peking generally agreed that the civil war between the militarists and the southerners had for the time being been avoided by reassuring and patriotic concessions on both sides.

The world was suddenly amazed to hear on July 1, however, that Hsuan Tung, the little Manchu Emperor, had been put back on the Imperial Throne by the notorious Tartar General, Chang Hsun. On July 2, the young Emperor took possession of the palace occupied by President Li Yuan-hung, and Chang, as his protector, issued an edict explaining that Li Yuan-hung "bemoans his defects and asks us to punish him. We recognize his mistakes and also his merits," the edict continued; "we hereby appoint him Duke of the first class."

Chang Hsun accomplished his coup by concentrating strong divisions of troops in Peking of what was practically his personal army, and he carried out the final arrangements, including the conveying of the little Emperor to the Forbidden City, at 3 o'clock on Sunday morning, July 1. Though the rest of the country, even the hitherto reactionary rebel Generals, began at once to stir to the defense of the republic, Chang Hsun continued to issue edicts from Peking, promising, among other things, an administration according to the constitutional laws promulgated by the Manchus, the forbidding

GENERAL CHANG HSUN
Chinese Dictator

of all blood Princes to interfere in politics, enforcement of all foreign treaties and contracts, abolition of distinction and permission of marriage between Manchus and Chinese, the pardoning of all political offenders, and the optional wearing of the queue. The expenses of the Imperial household were to remain the same as under the republic, (which has treated the Manchu family with the status of "visiting royalty.") Chang Hsun was appointed Viceroy of Chihli, the position held by Li Hung-chang un-

der the Dowager Empress when Chang Hsun was a Tartar General in her service. The nominee to the office of Foreign Affairs was Liang Tun-yen, Minister to America in 1911, a famous emissary on foreign diplomacy under the Manchus, and Yuan Shih-kai's late Minister of Communications.

So rapid was the concentration of the republican armies on Peking, however, that by July 5 this romantic Manchu restoration was already on the verge of collapse. No important leader in China came to Chang Hsun's relief; and no armies from either North or South China repaired to his imperial standard. His 30,000 troops were faced on the 5th of July by more than 50,000, with many thousands of others hurrying up from the south and west. By the 8th, exactly a week after his sensational re-entry into the public life of the world, the Manchu Emperor accepted Chang Hsun's resignation and abdicated from his throne. The armies continued to close in, however, and on July 9 Chang Hsun handed over the administration of the City of Peking to General Wang Shih-cheng, the Minister of War, fighting having meanwhile taken place at the village of Lang Fang, south of the city.

The republican troops entered the city in force on the 11th, and hemmed in Chang Hsun and his fast dwindling troops in the imperial city. Large numbers of these were captured, and the final flight of Chang Hsun from the capital was reported on the 14th, at which time the city had again been taken over by the police gendarmerie, who had successfully prevented looting.

Meanwhile, Vice President Feng Kuo-chang had succeeded temporaily to the Presidency on July 7, and had administered the republican Government since that time from Nanking. The failure of Chang Hsun's imperial coup caused the situation to revert to the compromise of June 24, on the basis of which it is expected, now that republicanism is assured, the reorganization of the Government may continue in China.

"We Grazed the Very Edge of Cowardice"

Senator John Sharp Williams of Mississippi, retorting on July 14 to Senator Stone's assertion that "we are in the war unwisely," delivered a speech in the Senate in which he said:

> The President and the Administration did do everything that human intellect could conceive for the purpose, if possible, of bringing an end to the war. We did everything we had a right to do. The President came to this Chamber and made that speech which was criticised, not only abroad but here in this Chamber, as being a "peace-at-any-price" speech—the celebrated speech in which he said we must have peace without victory.
>
> The President traveled the whole gamut, up and down. He allowed this nation to suffer humiliation after humiliation, shame piled upon shame—grazed the very edge of cowardice because his heart beat in unison with the cause of a just and lasting peace.
>
> Now we are in it, we have got to see it through—not only to a successful issue of this war, but, while we are about it, to a just and permanent treaty which shall as far as possible make war cease to be a game of national athletes.
>
> We have got to see it through to a point where the world can hope that there will be peace for some generations—at any rate to a point where the civilized world shall say to any nation which goes to war without having previously submitted the cause in controversy, or proposed to submit it, to fair and impartial arbitration: "You are an outlaw nation. You are no longer within the pale of international law. You are everybody's enemy, and we shall treat you as such until you come back to your senses."
>
> We do not propose in time of peace to prepare for war, always. We propose now in time of war to prepare for peace, and for a just and lasting peace, and we are going through with it with men and money and ships, on land and on sea, and in the air, and above the land and sea and under the sea, until we have seen it through not only to peace, but to a just and lasting peace, a righteous peace.

War Aims and Peace Terms Restated

Official Utterances of Premier Lloyd George, Baron Sonnino, and Other Ministers

David Lloyd George, British Prime Minister, made a noteworthy speech before the Burgesses in St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow, on June 29, 1917. The most significant passages were aimed at the German Social Democratic peace program as stated at Stockholm, and were as follows:

NEVER have good men stood more in need of sympathy, support, and co-operation than the men who are guiding the fate of the nation in this hour in all lands. They were called to the helm in a raging tornado, the most destructive that ever swept over the world on land or sea. Great Britain so far has weathered the storm. She has successfully ridden the waves, but the hurricane is not yet over and it will need all the efforts, all the skill, all the patience and all the courage and endurance of all on board to steer the country through without foundering in the angry deep.

But with the co-operation of everybody we should get through once again. It is a satisfaction that Great Britain had no share in the responsibility for these grim events. Our part was as honorable and as chivalrous a part as was ever taken by any country in any war. The people must be sustained by the unswerving conviction that no part of the guilt for this terrible bloodshed rests on the conscience of their native land.

The story of the early days of the war is not that of the wolf and the lamb, for Germany, expecting to find a lamb, found a lion. * * *

In my judgment the war will come to an end when the allied armies have reached the aims which they set out to attain when they accepted the challenge thrown down by Germany. As soon as these objectives have been reached and guaranteed, this war will come to an end, but if the war comes to an end a single minute before, it will be the greatest disaster that has ever befallen mankind.

No doubt we can have peace now at a price. Germany wants peace—even Prussia ardently desires it. They said give us some indemnity for the wrongs we have done, just a little territory here and a little there and just a few privileges in other directions, and we will clear out. We are told that if we are prepared to make peace now Germany will restore the independence of Belgium. But who has said so?

No German statesman has ever said he would restore the independence of Belgium. The German Chancellor came very near to it, but all the Junkers fell on him and he received a sound box on the ears from the mailed fist.

The only terms on which Germany has suggested restoring Belgium are not those of independence, but of vassalage. Then came the doctrine of the status quo and no annexation and no indemnities. No German statesman has accepted even that.

But what did indemnity mean? Indemnity is an essential part of the mechanism of civilization in every land and clime. Otherwise what guarantee have we against a repetition? Then it is said, "That is not what you are after. You are after our colonies, and probably Palestine and Mesopotamia." If we had entered into this war purely for the German colonies we would not have raised an army of 3,000,000 or 4,000,000. We could have got them without adding a single battalion to the army.

Our greatest army is in France. We are there to recover for the people who have been driven out of their patrimony the land which belonged to them.

As to Mesopotamia, it is not and never has been Turkish. You have only

to read the terrible reports to see what a wilderness the Turks have made of the Garden of Eden. What is to happen to Mesopotamia must be left to the peace conference, and there is one thing that will never happen to it. It will never be restored to the blasting tyranny of the Turks. The same observation applies to Armenia.

As to the German colonies, that again is a matter which must be settled by the great international peace conference. When we come to settle who must be the future trustees of those uncivilized lands we must take into account the sentiments of the peoples themselves and whether they are anxious to secure the return of their former masters or whether they would rather trust their destinies to other and juster and gentler hands. The wishes, desires, and interests of the peoples themselves of those countries must be the dominant factors in settling their future government.

Peace must be framed on so equitable a basis that the nations would not wish to disturb it. It must be guaranteed by destruction of Prussian military power, so that the confidence of the German people shall be put in the equity of their cause and not in the might of their armies. A better guarantee than either would be democratization of the German Government.

No one wishes to dictate to the German people the form of government under which they should choose to live. But it is right that we should say that we will enter into negotiations with a free Government of Germany with a different attitude of mind and a different temper and different spirit and with less suspicion and more confidence than we should with a Government whom we feel today to be dominated by the aggressive and arrogant spirit of Prussian militarism.

All the allied Governments will, in my judgment, be acting wisely if they draw that distinction in their general attitude toward the discussion of peace terms.

As to the military situation, there is no doubt that the startling developments in Russia have modified the military situation this year temporarily to our disadvantage, but permanently for the better. What happened on the western front showed what could have been accomplished this year if all the allied forces had been ready to bring all-round pressure to bear.

In training, equipment, and experience our army is infinitely better than it ever has been. The finest collection of trench-pounding machines which any army has ever seen is now in the possession of the British forces.

The Russian revolution, beneficent as it undoubtedly is, great as will be its results both this year and even more hereafter, undoubtedly has had the effect of postponing complete victory. But Russia will regain her strength with a bound, and become mightier and more formidable than ever. * * *

The strength of Great Britain, once more flung into the breach, has once more saved Europe and human liberty. But now Russia is gaining strength every day. It has a capable Government. It never had a better one, and her power in the future will be inspired by freedom.

America, always the mainstay of freedom, is beginning to send her valiant sons to the battlefields of Europe to rally around the standard of liberty. That is why victory now is more assured and more complete than we could have hoped for.

Victory is assured under two conditions. The first is that the German submarine attacks must be defeated or kept within reasonable bounds.

The losses are heavy. They may, and probably will, drive us to further restrictions in some trades and perhaps to hardships. That all depends on the nation, for, after carefully reckoning the chances and the possibilities, the Government has come to the conclusion, based on best advice, that submarines can neither starve us at home nor drive our armies out of the field abroad. Our losses during May and June were heavy, but they were hundreds of thousands of tons beneath the Admiralty forecast.

We are beginning to get them. Arrangements also have been made for

frustrating them and for destroying them. I have no hesitation in saying that if we all do our part the German submarine will be almost as great a failure as the German Zeppelin.

If we do not waste we shall not starve. We have succeeded in increasing the food supply, and we are engaged in a great shipbuilding program for fighting and for carrying purposes. If every employer and every workman would pull together, between them they would pull us through. * * *

Europe is again drenched with the blood of its bravest and its best, but do not forget the great succession of hallowed causes. They are the stations of the cross on the road to the emancipation of mankind. I again appeal to the people of this country and beyond that they should continue to fight for the great goal of international rights and international justice, so that never again shall brute force sit on the throne of justice nor barbaric strength wield the sceptre over liberty.

Sonnino On Italy's War Aims

Baron Sonnino, the Italian Minister of War, addressing the Chamber of Deputies at Rome on June 21, 1917, declared that Italy did not aspire to frontiers constituting a menace to any neighboring State, but was seeking a bulwark adequate to protect the independence of a pacific country. He said, in part:

The hour is solemn for our country. We cannot deny that. By the prolongation of the war general conditions have become worse day by day, and they have become even more disagreeable for the nations aspiring now, or who may be expected to aspire, to an equitable and durable peace. It must be equitable to prove durable—a peace which will mark an advance in the march of civilization. It is to obtain such a peace that we appeal to the entire nation without distinction of rank, sex or age, asking that each continue his efforts in the sacred name of all our brothers who have given their health or life for the common cause.

Every momentary weakness, every hesitation, might render useless the steps which have been taken up to the present amid so many arduous difficulties and innumerable sacrifices, and might even imperil the victorious outcome.

Italy counts today absolutely upon the devotion of her sons, upon their actions, their words, and their sublime spirit of self-abnegation.

Baron Sonnino pointed out that it was impossible for the country of Mazzini and Garibaldi to accept a peace which should leave a country under foreign oppression, which should exclude all reparation for all the iniquities and violent cruelties endured by Belgium, which, by implication, should tolerate the organized extermination of the Armenians by the Turks, and stand in the way of a unified and independent Poland. Baron Sonnino continued:

Would that ever be a peace such as has been proposed by President Wilson, which his memorable message guaranteed for the future and for which the United States has chivalrously drawn the sword? It would be an insult to suppose so. The objective for which all our politics are striving and by which all our warfare is being guided is peace, not conquests or imperialism—a desire to assure the country of the future of durable peace and free competition in the development of civilization and material resources. And for a durable peace it is necessary for Italy to have assurance of frontiers according to nationality, a condition which is indispensable to its effective independence.

Far from us is the thought not only of the oppression but also of the debasement of any race or State, far or near, big or little. We seek, on the contrary, to co-operate in the constitution of an equilibrium of power which is a condition and guarantee of reciprocal respect and mutual concessions—essential elements in the liberty and equality of the communal and social life of individuals as of peoples.

French Note to Russia Defining War Aims

Great Britain and France both replied on June 11, 1917, to the Russian proclamation of April 9, restating their war aims in the light of the Russian dictum concerning "no annexations and no indemnities." The British reply was printed in the preceding issue of this magazine. The text of the French note is as follows:

It is with entire satisfaction that the Gov-

ernment of the French Republic has taken cognizance of the proclamation of the Russian Provisional Government of April 9, (March 27, Old Style,) which the Russian Ambassador was instructed to communicate to it. The Government of the republic shares the full confidence which the Provisional Government entertains in the restoration of the political, economical, and military forces of the country.

It does not doubt that the measures announced for the improvement of the conditions in which the people mean to carry through to victory the war against an adversary who threatens their national patrimony more than ever, will permit them to drive him from their soil, definitely establish their reconquered liberty, and thus effectively take their part in the common struggle of the Allies. In this way the efforts, which our enemies do not cease to renew, to sow misunderstanding among the Allies, and to obtain credit for the most lying reports regarding their reciprocal decisions, will be rendered vain.

The Government of the French Republic, always confident in the sentiment of its old and faithful ally, is glad to feel itself in full community of ideas with the Russian Government and people regarding the principles by which its policy has not ceased to be inspired during the present conflict. France thinks of oppressing no people and no nationality, not even those of her enemies of today, but she intends that the oppression which has so long weighed upon the world shall be finally destroyed and that the authors of the crimes which will remain for our enemies the shame of this war shall be chastised.

Leaving to her enemies the spirit of conquest and greed by which they are inspired in peace as in war, France will never aspire to snatch any territory from its legitimate owners. Rebuffed in all the efforts which she made to maintain peace, forced to reply by arms to the most unjust of aggressions, she entered the war only to defend her liberty and her national patrimony, and to assure henceforward in the world a respect for the independence of peoples. Just as Russia proclaimed the restoration of Poland to her former independence, so France hails with joy the effort which is being carried on in different parts of the world by peoples still tied by the bonds of a dependence which has been condemned by history.

ALSACE-LORRAINE

Be it to conquer or recover their national independence, to assert their rights to the respect of an ancient civilization, or to shake this Germanic tyranny ready to weigh so heavily on peoples less advanced on the path of progress, the only end of the war which France looks to is the triumph of right and justice. For herself she intends that her faithful and loyal provinces of Alsace and Lorraine which were snatched from her in the past by violence shall be liberated and shall return to her.

With her allies France will fight until victory in order that they may be assured the complete restoration of their territorial rights and their political and economic independence, as well as reparatory indemnities for the long toll of inhuman and unjustified acts of devastation and the indispensable guarantees against a recurrence of the evils caused by the incessant acts of provocation of our enemies.

The Government of the republic remains, like the Russian people, convinced that it is by drawing inspiration from these principles that the foreign policy of Russia will attain the aims of a people enamored of justice and liberty, and that after a victorious struggle the Allies will be able to create a solid and lasting peace founded on right. The Russian Government may be assured that the French Government is desirous of coming to an understanding with it not only regarding the means for continuing the struggle, but also regarding those for ending it, by examining and settling a common agreement as to the conditions in which they may hope to reach a final settlement in accordance with the ideas by which their conduct in this war is directed.

To this reply was attached the text of the Order of the Day voted on June 5 by the French Chamber of Deputies.

Alsace-Lorraine: The Declaration of Bordeaux

The Order of the Day adopted on June 5, 1917, by the French Chamber of Deputies, at the close of the debate on the Stockholm peace movement, contained this passage:

"Unanimously indorsing the protest made before the National Assembly in 1871 by the representatives of Alsace-Lorraine against the wresting of that territory from France, the Chamber declares that it awaits from the present war, which has been imposed upon Europe by the aggression of imperialist Germany, along with the liberation of the invaded provinces, the return of Alsace-Lorraine to the mother country, and the just reparation of damages."

The Declaration of Bordeaux referred to in this Order of the Day was printed in full in the Bulletin des Armées a few days later, and is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

DECLARATION OF BORDEAUX

National Assembly, Session of 1871. Annex to the Official Report of Feb. 16, 1871.

Proposition relative to the declaration of the Deputies of the Departments of the Upper Rhine, Lower Rhine, Moselle, Meurthe, and of the Vosges, in regard to Alsace and Lorraine.

Presented by Messrs Leon Gambetta, Grosjean, Humbert, Kuss, Saglio, H. Varroy, Titot, André, Kablé, Tachard, Rehm, Edouard, Teutsch, Dornès, Hartmann, Ostermann, La Flize, Deschange, Billy, Bardon, Viox, Albrecht, Alfred Koechlin, Charles Boersch, Grandpierre, Chauffour, Rencker, Melsheim, Keller, Brice, Berlet, Schneegans, Ed. Bamberger, Noblott A. Boell, Scheurer-Kestner, Ancevon.

We, the undersigned, French citizens chosen and deputed by the Departments of the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, Moselle, Meurthe, and the Vosges, to bring to the National Assembly of France the expression of the unanimous will of the populations of Alsace and Lorraine, after having met and deliberated, have resolved to proclaim in a solemn declaration their sacred and unalterable rights, in order that the National Assembly, France, and Europe, having under their eyes the prayers and the resolutions of our constituents, can neither commit nor allow to be committed any act that shall attaint the rights whose guardianship and defense have been intrusted to us by formal mandate.

DECLARATION

I.—Alsace and Lorraine do not wish to be alienated.

Associated for more than two centuries with France in both good and ill fortune, these two provinces, ceaselessly exposed to the blows of the enemy, have constantly sacrificed themselves for the national welfare; they have sealed with their blood the indissoluble pact that binds them to a united France. Made the subject of dispute today by the pretensions of a foreign aggressor, they affirm in the face of all obstacles and all dangers, under the very yoke of the invader, their unshakable fidelity.

In full unanimity the citizens who remained in their homes, like the soldiers who rallied to the flag, the former by voting, the latter by fighting, have made known to Germany and to the world the immovable will of Alsace and Lorraine to remain French territory.

II.—France can neither consent to nor sign the cession of Alsace and Lorraine.

She cannot, without imperiling her national existence, deal a mortal blow at her own unity by abandoning those who have acquired by two hundred years of patriotic devotion the right to be defended by the whole country against the aggressions of victorious force.

An assembly, even though a product of universal suffrage, could not invoke its sovereignty to cover or ratify exactions destructive of the national integrity: it would be arrogating to itself a right which does not belong even to a people united in its legislative functions. Such an excess of power, whose effect would be to mutilate the mother community, would expose those guilty of it to the just denunciations of history. France can endure the blows of brute force; she cannot sanction its decrees.

III.—Europe can neither permit nor ratify the abandonment of Alsace and Lorraine.

Guardians of the rules of justice and international law, the civilized nations could not long remain insensible to the fate of their neighbor, under pain of being, in their turn, victims of the aggression which they had tolerated. Modern Europe cannot allow a people to be seized like a wretched herd; it cannot remain deaf to the repeated protests of the threatened communities: it owes it to its own safety to forbid such abuses of force. It knows, besides, that the unity of France is today, as in the past, a guaranty of the general order of the world, a barrier against the spirit of conquest and invasion. Peace made at the price of a cession of territory would only be a ruinous truce and not a definitive peace. It would be for all a cause of internal agitation, of legitimate and permanent provocation throughout the earth.

In brief, Alsace and Lorraine protest highly against all cession; France cannot consent to it, Europe cannot sanction it.

In support of this we call upon our fellow-citizens of France, and upon the Governments and nations of the whole world, to witness that in advance we hold null and void all acts and treaties, votes or plébiscites, which shall consent to abandoning to the stranger all or part of our provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

We proclaim by these presents forever inviolable the right of citizens of Alsace and Lorraine to remain members of the French Nation, and we swear, both for ourselves and for those we represent, likewise for our children and their descendants, to claim it eternally by all ways and means and against all usurpers.

The undersigned members of the National Assembly place on file the following proposition with the Chamber of Deputies: "The National Assembly has taken under consideration the unanimous declaration of the Deputies of the Lower Rhine, Upper Rhine, Moselle, Meurthe, and Vosges." [Followed by the signatures.]

Russian Mission to United States

Ambassador Bakhmeteff, in a Series of Addresses, Tells of Free Russia's Purposes

THE Russian Mission to the United States, which was appointed before the reconstruction of the Provisional Government, arrived at Seattle on June 13, 1917. The mission was headed by Special Ambassador Boris A. Bakhmeteff, and included about forty officials and experts, representing nearly every department of the Russian Government. The following constituted the special embassy, in order of their rank:

Ambassador Boris A. Bakhmeteff, (and wife.)

Lieut. Gen. Roop, representative of the Russian Army.

Professor Lomonosoff, member of the Council of Engineers and representative of the Ministry.

Professor Borodine, representative of the Ministry of Agriculture.

M. Novitzky, representative of the Ministry of Finance.

Attachés—M. Soukine, First Secretary of Legation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Captain Dubassoff of the Guard, aide de camp, (and wife,) and Captain Chutt.

Reaching Washington on June 19, the visitors were greeted by Secretary of State Lansing, and received an enthusiastic welcome as they passed through the streets from the station. Next day Ambassador Bakhmeteff was formally presented to President Wilson, while General Roop paid his respects to Secretary Baker.

Program of New Russia

Outlining the political and military program of "New Russia" to the newspaper correspondents at Washington, M. Bakhmeteff said:

In behalf of the Russian Provisional Government and in behalf of all the people of new Russia, I have been first of all sent here to express their gratitude to the Government of the United States for the prompt recognition of the new political order in Russia. This noble action of the world's greatest democracy has afforded us strong moral support and has created among our people a general feeling of profound appreciation. Close and active relationship between the two nations based upon complete and sincere understanding encountered inevitable obstacles during the old régime because of its very nature. The situation is now radically changed with free Russia starting a new era in her national life.

The Provisional Government is actively mobilizing all its resources and is making great efforts to organize the country and the army for the purpose of conducting the war. We hope to establish a very close and active co-operation with the United States, in order to secure the most successful and intensive accomplishment of all work necessary for our common end. For the purpose of discussing all matters relating to military affairs, munitions and supplies, railways and transportation, finance, and agriculture, our mission includes eminent and distinguished specialists.

On the other hand, I hope that the result of our stay and work in America will bring about a clear understanding on the part of your public of what has happened in Russia and also of the present situation and the end for which our people are most earnestly striving. The achievements of the revolution are to be formally set forth in fundamental laws enacted by a Constitutional Assembly, which is to be convoked as soon as possible. In the meanwhile the Provisional Government is confronted with the task of bringing into life the democratic principles which were promulgated during the revolution.

New Russia received from the old Government a burdensome heritage of economic and technical disorganization which affected all branches of the life of the State, a disorganization which weighs yet heavily on the whole country. The Provisional Government is doing everything in its power to relieve the difficult situation. It has adopted many measures for supplying plants with raw material and fuel, for regulating the transportation of the food supply for the army and for the country, and for relieving the financial difficulties.

The participation in the new Government by new members who are active and prominent leaders in the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates has secured full support from the democratic masses. The esteem in which such leaders as M. Kerensky and M. Tseretelli and others are held among the working classes and soldiers is contributing to the strength and stability of the new Government. The Constitutional-Democratic Party, the Labor Party, the Socialist-Populists, and, excepting a small group of extremists, the Social Democrats—all these parties, embracing the vast majority of the peo-

ple, are represented by strong leaders in the new Government, thereby securing for it authority.

Plans of the Government

Firmly convinced that unity of power is essential, and casting aside class and special interests, all social and political elements have joined in the national program which the new Government proclaimed and which it is striving to fulfill. This program reads:

"The Provisional Government, rejecting, "in accord with the whole people of Russia, "all thought of separate peace, puts it "openly as its deliberate purpose the "promptest achievement of universal peace; "such peace to presume no dominion over "other nations, no seizure of their national "property nor any forced usurpation of for- "eign territory; peace with no annexations "or contributions, based upon the free de- "termination by each nation of its des- "tinies.

"Being fully convinced that the establish- "ment of democratic principles in its in- "ternal and external policy has created a new "factor in the striving of allied democracies "for durable peace and fraternity of all na- "tions, the Provisional Government will take "preparatory steps for an agreement with "the Allies founded on its declaration of "March 27. The Provisional Government is "conscious that the defeat of Russia and her "allies would be the source of the greatest "misery, and would not only postpone but "even make impossible the establishment of "universal peace on a firm basis.

"The Provisional Government is convinced "that the revolutionary army of Russia will "not allow the German troops to destroy "our allies on the western front and then "fall upon us with the whole might of their "weapons. The chief aim of the Provisional "Government will be to fortify the demo- "cratic foundations of the army and organ- "ize and consolidate the army's fighting "power for its defensive as well as offensive "purpose."

The last decision of the Russian Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, the decision of the All-Russian Peasant Congress, the decision of the Duma, the voice of the country as expressed from day to day by almost the entire Russian press, in resolutions adopted at different conferences and congresses—all these confirm their full support to this national program and leave not the slightest doubt that Russia is decided as to the necessity to fight the German autocracy until the conditions for a general and stable peace in Europe are established. Such decision is becoming more and more evident each day by practical work and results and shows itself in the pressing and rapid reorganization of the army which is now being fulfilled under the firm and efficient measures adopted by Minister Kerensky.

New Russia, in full accord with the motives which impelled the United States to enter the war, is striving to destroy tyranny, to establish peace on a secure and permanent foundation and to make the world safe for democracy.

Address Before the House

Stirring scenes were witnessed when the House of Representatives gave a formal reception to the mission on June 23. Speaker Champ Clark caused the first outburst of enthusiasm when he reminded the House that Russia was the twenty-seventh republic and "that there was one other republic on earth (Switzerland) when our fathers proclaimed our independence in 1776." M. Bakhmeteff, speaking in excellent English and with much fervor, was frequently interrupted by bursts of applause. He said, in part:

Does not one feel occasionally that the very greatness and significance of events are not fully appreciated, due to the facility and spontaneity with which the change has been completed? Does one realize what it really means to humanity that a nation of 180,000,000, a country boundless in expanse, has been suddenly set free from the worst of oppressions, has been given the joy of a free, self-conscious existence?

Instead of the old forms there are now being firmly established and deeply imbedded in the minds of the nation principles that power is reposed and springs from and only from the people. To effectuate these principles and to enact appropriate fundamental laws is going to be the main function of the Constitutional Assembly which is to be convoked as promptly as possible.

Guided by democratic precepts, the Provisional Government is meanwhile reorganizing the country on the basis of freedom, equality, and self-government, rebuilding its economic and financial structure.

The people are realizing more and more that for the very sake of further freedom law must be maintained and manifestation of anarchy suppressed. In this respect local life has exemplified a wonderful exertion of spontaneous public spirit. On many occasions, following the removal of the old authorities, a new elected administration has naturally arisen, conscious of national interest and often developing in its spontaneity amazing examples of practical statesmanship.

The latest resolutions, framed by the Council of Workingmen, the Congress of Peasants, and other democratic organizations, render the best proof of the general understanding of the necessity of creating strong power. The coalitionary character of the new Cabinet, which includes eminent Socialist leaders, and represents all the vital elements of the nation, therefore enjoying its full support, is most effectively securing the unity and power of the Central Government,

the lack of which was so keenly felt during the first two months after the revolution.

Realizing the grandeur and complexity of present events and conscious of the danger which is threatening the very achievement of the revolution, the Russian people are gathering around the new Government, united on a "national program." It is this program of "national salvation" which has united the middle classes, as well as the Populists, the labor elements, and Socialists. Deep political wisdom has been exhibited by subordinating class interests and differences to national welfare. In this way this Government is supported by an immense majority of the nation, and outside of reactionaries only is being opposed by comparatively small groups of Extremists and Internationalists.

As to foreign policy, Russia's national program has been clearly set forth in the statement of the Provisional Government of March 27, and more explicitly in the declaration of the new Government of May 18. With all emphasis may I state that Russia rejects any idea of separate peace. I am aware that rumors were circulated in this country that a separate peace seemed probable. I am happy to affirm that such rumors are wholly without foundation in fact.

Gentlemen of the House, I will close my address by saying—Russia will not fail to be a worthy partner in the "league of honor."

After this address members of the mission stood in a receiving line while members of the House passed by. Every one warmly congratulated Ambassador Bakhmeteff on his address.

At Washington's Tomb

The Russian Mission joined with the Belgian Mission on June 24 to pay homage at the tomb of George Washington at Mount Vernon. M. Bakhmeteff concluded his address with these words:

With a feeling of solemn veneration and overwhelming emotion I bestow on this immortal tomb this wreath as a tribute to the hero, to the knight of liberty and democracy, from the messengers of Russia's freedom.

Professor Lomonosoff, in a statement on June 25 regarding the condition of the Russian railroads, said that locomotives were the fundamental need of Russia today. "Quite frankly I can say to you, our American friends," he said, "give us locomotives, and we shall give you military success." Russia needs at once 1,000 ten-wheel American locomotives to put her idle cars in operation; another 1,000, with appropriate number of cars, to free the congested freight terminals, and another 850 annually to meet the discrepancy between Russia's manufacture and her needs for renewal and new construction. "I must frankly tell you," Professor Lomonosoff added, "that the Russian railways are now in a most critical state. Heroism can do nothing when there is a lack of munitions and food." The Siberian railroad was in splendid condition for the immense task put upon it. Coal was available and adequate sidings had been completed.

Speech in the Senate

The Senate reception to M. Bakhmeteff and his colleagues on June 26 was in every way as enthusiastic as that given previously by the House. The Ambassador's address followed the same lines as that delivered before the House. In part he said:

Two considerations make me feel that Russia has passed the stage of the world when the future appeared vague and uncertain. In the first place is the firm conviction of the necessity of legality, which is widely developing and firmly establishing itself throughout the country. My latest advices give joyful confirmation of the establishment of a firm power, strong in its democratic precepts and activity, strong in the trust reposed in it by the people in its ability to enforce law and order.

In the second place, and no less important, is the growing conviction that the issues of the revolution and the future of Russia's freedom are closely connected with the fighting might of the country. It is such power, it is the force of arms, which alone can defend and make certain the achievements of the revolution against autocratic aggression. Like the nation, the army, an offspring of the people, had to be built on democratic lines. Such work takes time, and friction and partial disorganization must be overcome.

Conscious of the enormous task, the Provisional Government is taking measures to restore promptly throughout the country conditions of life so deeply disorganized by the inefficiency of the previous rulers and to provide for whatever is necessary for military success.

In this respect exceptional and grave conditions provide for exceptional means. In close touch with the Pan Peasant Congress, the Government has taken control of stores of food supplies and is providing for effective transportation and just distribution. Following examples of other countries at war, the Government has undertaken the regulation of the production of main products vital for the country and the army. The Government at the same time is making all endeavor to settle labor difficulties, taking measures for the welfare of workmen consistent with the

The Russian Mission—Boris Bakhmeteff, the New Ambassador, in Civilian Clothes, in the Front Row, with General Roop on His Left and Professor Lomonossof on His Right.

(Photo © Harris & Ewing.)

The Belgian Mission—Baron Moncheur, Head of the Mission, Is Seated to the Right of General Leclerq, Who Is at the Extreme Left of the Row.

(Photo © Harris & Ewing.)

THE ITALIAN MISSION TO THE UNITED STATES

Scene in the City College Stadium, New York City, During the Pageant Given by the Italian Societies of New York in Honor of the Prince of Udine and the Italian War Mission.

(Photo Times Photo Service)

active production necessitated by national welfare.

Senators shook hands with all members of the commission, and later, by unanimous consent, adopted a resolution by Senator Gore of Oklahoma expressing "profound satisfaction over the assurances of the determination of the Russian people in their new-found liberty and republican institutions to defend and maintain them."

New York's reception to the Russian Mission on July 6 was a fitting expression of the enthusiasm which "the most democratic city in the world," as Ambassador Bakhmeteff described it, felt at the presence of the representatives of the new democracy. The procession through the streets was greeted by large and enthusiastic crowds; and everywhere the red flag of the revolution was in evidence. Replying to Mayor Mitchel's greetings, the Ambassador, speaking in English, said that the enthusiasm that had been manifested represented "the joy of America that a new democracy had been born. So momentous is the present hour," he continued, "that solemn gravity and earnest sincerity are in our greeting, and our two nations have extended to each other their brotherly hands. Liberty and democracy, such are the aims of the Russian revolution. Democracy and liberty, such are the aims which this great Republic is seeking to obtain for all nations. Is there not a deep historic meaning in the fact that while the first American troops stepped upon the soil of Europe as true champions of mankind, Russia, inspired by the vision of freedom and democracy, has thrust her warriors with unyielding impulse upon the yet unbroken ranks of the foe of liberty?"

On July 7 a crowd of 20,000 people gathered at a concert on the Mall of Central Park. In his speech Ambassador Bakhmeteff said:

> I have come to this country in behalf of the new Russia, a Russia freed from the shackles of hundreds of years of oppression and hatreds. With a deadly blow has the Russian people shattered the chains of serfdom.
>
> Russia is free! One hundred and eighty millions of men, women, and children now have the blessings of self-government and self-rule. And with us others are free. The Pole is free. The Jew enjoys full equality. The Jew is a full fellow-citizen of free Russia.
>
> This war in which we are comrades is not a common war between nations seeking personal ends. It is a war for a principle. On the issues of this war will depend the future of the world, whether the world will be "safe for democracy" or whether it will be fettered with autocracy.
>
> Liberty and democracy! That was what the great hero Kerensky pleaded for when he led the soldier-citizen to fight. Let us be united. Let us all be one. Let us fight for liberty and democracy—that is the message to you, the oldest democracy of the New World, from the newest democracy of the Old World.

One episode marred the otherwise unbroken flow of harmony which characterized the visit of the mission to New York. At the great meeting in Madison Square Garden on the evening of July 7 a crowd of 12,000 persons was thrown into disorder by a hostile demonstration against a declaration that the Russians must fight until the Kaiser was removed from power. The speaker interrupted was a representative of Russian workers in the United States. The disturbance was stopped, and a little later Ambassador Bakhmeteff made an address. Without challenging the pacifist sentiment in the audience by making any direct reference to the determination on the part of the new Russia to continue the war until victory is secure, the Ambassador paid glowing compliments to the revolutionary army. He spoke in Russian, and was interrupted frequently by tumultuous cheers. He described the critical moments of the revolution, the economic, political, and social disorganization which necessarily followed the overturn of the old régime. For a time, he said, it seemed as though the revolution might prove a failure, that the obstacles were too great. "But the moment of salvation came," he added, "when Tseretelli, Skobeleff, and Tchernoff united and formed the coalition which strengthened the Provisional Government and put the young nation on a firm and reliable foundation."

The mission on July 5 resolved itself into the permanent Russian Embassy in

the United States. Special Ambassador Boris A. Bakhmeteff presented to President Wilson his credentials as permanent Ambassador, but continued to exercise extraordinary powers of negotiation. The former Russian Embassy at Washington has been transformed into a network of offices. From there Ambassador Bakhmeteff now directs all the special, technical, and purchasing missions. The other members of the special mission are working under his direction, some of them for the length of the war and others for at least four or five months.

The text of the new Ambassador's formal address to the President, delivered when he presented his credentials, will be found on a preceding page, in connection with articles on the Russian situation.

Tour of the Italian Mission

THE story of the arrival of the Italian Mission in the United States was given in the preceding issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, with the first public utterances of Prince Udine and his distinguished associates. To continue the narrative: In the course of a tour of the Middle West the commission visited Chicago on June 18, 1917. At a formal dinner in the evening the principal speaker was Guglielmo Marconi, who told of Italy's difficult position in the war, saying in part:

Among all the nations at war Italy is silently taking the greatest strain and the greatest privation. Only when the kind of war Italy is fighting becomes fully known will the world realize what sacrifices the army and the people of Italy have accomplished. For more than two years Italy has had an army of more than 3,000,000 men. It is now approaching 4,000,000. You must bear in mind that her population is a little over 37,000,000—about one-third that of the United States. If America were to make an equal sacrifice she would have to maintain under arms for more than two years about 12,000,000 men, and even then her effort would not be equal to ours, for the wealth of the United States is incomparably greater than that of Italy. To feel an equal strain America would have to fling at least $30,000,000,000 into the furnace of war.

The Italian Mission arrived in New York on June 21, and received a hearty welcome. The crowds that gathered about the Battery, where Prince Udine and his colleagues came ashore from a ferryboat, the crowds in City Hall Park, in Washington Square, and along the rest of the way to Sixty-first Street were almost as large as those which had greeted the French Commission a few weeks previously. The city's Italian population turned out in great numbers. An interesting episode was the stoppage of the procession at the Garibaldi Statue, on the pedestal of which Prince Udine, the head of the mission, laid a wreath of evergreens. Then he saluted, and stood a moment contemplating the figure of the man who had helped to create modern Italy.

At the luncheon given on June 22 by the Merchants' Association, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, reminded the audience that Italy had almost invented banking and that Genoa and Venice were the founders of the great overseas commerce of modern times. Charles Evans Hughes, Republican candidate for President in 1916, said that to state the indebtedness of America to Italy was to recite the history of navigation and discovery, of arts and letters, of commerce and invention—a long line of obligations, extending from Columbus to Marconi. "We also record the fact," Mr. Hughes added, "that Italian skill and industry are part of the very substance of American prosperity."

Marconi, in his speech, came down to the practical and critical question of Italy's shortage of coal, the importation of which had fallen to half the normal quantity. He proceeded:

We want coal, we must have coal, to keep our munition factories going, to run our railroads carrying ammunition to the front and food to all the scattered populations of the country, and to run our factories, the stoppage of which would mean the throwing of a million men out of work to starve and increase our difficulties. And if we do not get this coal, and get it quick, our ammunition factories will have to work half time or

stop, our trains will cease to run, diminishing the efficiency of the army, and even perhaps bringing about local famines. Above all, we must hasten the construction of ships, hundreds of ships, thousands of ships, ships of wood and ships of steel, so long as they will float and carry coal, iron, and wheat to Europe.

We expect the United States to put forth a great effort; given the spirit of organization and the industrial power of this great country, it should not be impossible to build one and a half million tons of shipping by the end of this year, and at least double that amount in 1918.

In addition to all these difficulties we must realize that the production of war material diminishes agricultural production, whereas the latter should be increased at all costs. Here again the United States can hedp us better than any one else if they will realize fully that the essential conditions of victory are an increase in agricultural production and the construction of many ships.

Enrico Arlotta, Minister of Transportation, pointed out the initial service to the Allies constituted by Italy's declaration of neutrality. He declared that, despite the increase of her budget from 2,500,000,000f. a year to eighteen billions, Italy had so well organized her finances that every new loan was met with new income adequate to cover the interest. He duplicated Marconi's plea for war materials and ships:

The commodities needed are wheat and other cereals, steel for the munitions, and, above all, coal; but these three things have now one name only, and this name is "ships, ships, and more ships." Italy used to take before the war about twenty millions of tons of goods, out of which one million was represented by coal imported from England and the United States. Now this figure is almost cut down to half, and this diminution represents the greatest sacrifice we could impose on our population.

Gentlemen, I said I would speak to you as a merchant does with a merchant. We have all signed a bill of exchange, and this bill of exchange is indorsed by England, by France, by Italy, by Russia, and so on. Now the United States has put its signature on this bill of exchange, and as nations live on credit, just as merchants do, when the bill of exchange is due we must pay it by winning the war. Otherwise we shall all be bankrupt.

Prince Udine on the afternoon of June 22 journeyed to Staten Island to pay a tribute to the memory of Garibaldi, who had lived for a while in a little frame house on the crest of a hill at Rosebank. It was estimated that at least 100,000 Italians took part in the demonstration, one of the most picturesque ever seen in New York. Members of Italian communities as far away as a hundred miles were represented in the crowd. The little house in which Garibaldi lived is now an Italian shrine, and is inclosed in another building, above it the words in gold, "The Garibaldi Memorial." In this old house Garibaldi supported himself by making candles, and in the rooms is still some of the humble furniture which the Italian patriot used. The Prince remained at the memorial about twenty minutes and the cheering never ceased for an instant while he was there. A committee representing the Order of the Sons of Italy greeted the Prince and handed him a check for $10,000, to be applied to the relief of war sufferers in Italy. Prince Udine accepted the check, and expressed his deep gratitude for the gift. He said:

Before this memorial to Italy's great hero and in the country which Garibaldi loved so dearly, and at this historic moment when Italy is fighting for the principles which Garibaldi held most sacred, it is indeed a source of great gratification to me to greet so many Italian and so many American citizens at such a place as is this.

The Prince referred to the present war as one for the complete realization of the dreams of Garibaldi, and he believed that the ideals of liberty and justice championed by the Italian patriot would triumph. He closed with a tribute to George Washington, whose ideals, he added, were the ideals of Garibaldi.

The official entertainment of the Italian Mission ended on June 23 with a celebration at the City College stadium. In the afternoon a visit was paid to Colonel Roosevelt at his Long Island home, and in the evening Prince Udine and his colleagues left for Boston.

Italy's Part in the Marne Victory

Senator Guglielmo Marconi of wireless fame, speaking as a member of the Italian Diplomatic Mission at the dinner given to the visitors by Mayor Mitchel of New York, June 22, 1917, revealed for the first time the circumstances in which

Italy announced to France her decision to remain neutral at the outset of the war, thereby releasing a million French soldiers on the Italian frontier and enabling France to win the battle of the Marne. This portion of Mr. Marconi's speech was as follows:

And now, gentlemen, I come to what is perhaps one of the least well-known matters in connection with this war, the absolutely decisive influence of Italy's conduct at the very outbreak of hostilities in 1914. Let me tell you a few facts concerning the inner political history of those fateful few days of July, 1914, when the fate of Europe was trembling in the balance.

Germany did not expect us to join her in her savage attack on the liberties of Europe; she did not even care much whether we eventually agreed to remain neutral. Her game was a much deeper and more treacherous one. She wanted us to leave France, our great Latin sister, in doubt as to our intentions.

On the morning of July 30, 1914, that is to say, one day before Germany declared war on Russia, and two days before she declared war on France, the Marquis de San Giuliano, who was then our Foreign Minister, unofficially informed the French Ambassador in Rome that Italy would never side with the Central Powers in a war of aggression. This information was immediately wired to Paris, but it was not sufficient to make France feel absolutely certain that Italy's attitude was favorable to her, because there was as yet no official declaration of neutrality on our part.

On the 2d of August, 1914, three days before England declared war against Germany, at a Council of Ministers held in Rome, Italy decided formally to declare her neutrality. The news was immediately communicated to our Chargé d'Affaires in Paris, the Ambassador being absent. For some reason the telegram did not reach him until 1 o'clock in the morning. Without a moment's hesitation he went to see M. Viviani, the French Prime Minister, in the middle of the night.

When he was introduced into M. Viviani's presence the latter turned pale and drew back, for he was almost convinced that nothing but Italy's decision to join Germany would have brought the Italian Chargé d'Affaires there at that hour. The revulsion of feeling when M. Viviani read the telegram was such that he could not hide his emotion. Within half an hour orders had gone forth for the mobilization for service in the north of nearly 1,000,000 men which France would have had to keep on her southern and eastern frontier to guard against a possible attack from Italy.

That million men helped to stem the advancing tide of Germans, to win the battle of the Marne, and to save France from being crushed by the heel of German militarism. Had there been the slightest wavering, the smallest hesitation on the part of Italy, had any Italian politician been found to do one-tenth the part of what Bismarck did when he altered the wording of the famous Ems telegram, and thus brought about the Franco-Prussian war, France would not have dared to withdraw a single man from the Italian frontier, and the history of the world might have been written differently.

Gentlemen, is there any man who can think, in view of what I have just told you, that Italy's conduct was not a decisive factor in the war?

The Belgian Mission in America

ALMOST sympathetic reception was accorded to the Belgian Commission, which arrived in the United States on June 16, 1917. Its personnel included:

Baron Ludovic Moncheur, Chief of the Political Bureau of the Belgian Foreign Office at Havre and former Belgian Minister to the United States, President of the commission.

General Leclercq, a cavalry commander.

Hector Carlier, member of a Belgian banking family, counselor of the commission.

Major Osterrieth, long attached to the Belgian Legation in Petrograd.

Count Louis d'Ursel, former Secretary of the Belgian Legation in Teheran, Persia.

The members of the mission were formally received on June 18 by President Wilson, to whom Baron Moncheur presented the following letter from the King of the Belgians:

HIS EXCELLENCY, WOODROW WILSON,
President of the United States of America.

Great and good friend: I commend to your Excellency's kindly reception the mission which bears this letter. This mission will express to the President the feelings of understanding and enthusiastic admiration with which my Government and people have received the decision reached by him in his wisdom. The mission will also tell you how greatly the important and glorious rôle enacted by the United States has confirmed the confidence which the Belgian Nation has always had in free America's spirit of justice.

The great American Nation was particularly moved by the unwarranted and violent attacks made upon Belgium. It

has sorrowed over the distress of my subjects subjected to the yoke of the enemy. It has succored them with incomparable generosity. I am happy to have an opportunity again to express to your Excellency the gratitude which my country owes you and the firm hope entertained by Belgium that on the day of reparation toward which America will contribute so bountifully, full and entire justice will be rendered to my country.

My Government has chosen to express its sentiments to your Excellency through two distinguished men whose services will command credence for what they have to say, Baron Moncheur, who for eight years was my representative at Washington, and Lieut. Gen. Leclercq, who has earned high appreciation during a long military career.

I venture to hope, Mr. President, that you will accord full faith and credence to everything that they say, especially when they assure you of the hopes I entertain for the happiness and prosperity of the United States of America and of my faithful and very sincere friendship.

ALBERT.

In the course of a statement to the newspaper correspondents at Washington on June 20 Baron Moncheur said:

Your entry into the war not only brings to us the satisfaction of finding in an old friend a new ally, but fires us with complete confidence in an early and victorious issue of the great struggle which has brought to my country so much of misery and suffering.

Our admiration for your decision in entering the war is all the greater because we know that you did so in full knowledge of all its horrors, and realized fully the sacrifices you will be called upon to make, the tears that will flow, the inevitable heartache and sorrow that will darken your homes.

In voicing my country's gratitude I am happy to be able to pay a tribute of admiration and affection to Mr. Hoover, under whose able and untiring direction the great work of feeding Belgium was carried on. We rejoice for you that a man so eminently fitted by ability and experience should be at your service in handling the great food problems that confront you.

From being one of the foremost industrial nations of the world, ranking fourth among exporting countries, Belgium for the time being has been ruthlessly wiped out. Her factories are closed. With cold calculation for the ruin of the country, the invader has even removed the machinery from our factories and shipped it to Germany as part of a far-sighted and cynical program of economic annihilation. And, worst of all, a part of Belgium's unoffending laboring class has been torn from their families and sent to toil in Germany under a system that would have offended the moral sense of the Middle Ages.

The Senate received the mission on June 22 with every mark of appreciation and sympathy. Baron Moncheur's address expressing Belgium's gratitude for America's aid was punctuated with frequent applause. "The sympathy of America," he declared, "gives us new courage."

Baron Moncheur's Eloquence

Baron Moncheur was one of the speakers at the impressive ceremony on June 24, when the Belgian and Russian Missions visited Washington's tomb at Mount Vernon. Speaking very earnestly and slowly, he said:

In this solemn hour when freedom is locked in a death struggle with the powers of darkness we come to pay homage to the great founder of American liberty. Although his body lies here, his work survives and his spirit still lives in the American people. I know of nothing which typifies that spirit better than the words of Washington when, in bequeathing his sword to his nephew, he added the injunction that it should never be drawn except in defense of liberty and justice, and that when once drawn it should never be sheathed before the complete victory of right over wrong.

It is that spirit which animates your nation in the present as in the past. You looked across the sea and saw liberty struggling in the grasp of autocracy, that hideous monster, the enemy of mankind. You came to her aid, and by throwing your mighty sword into the scales you have insured that right will prevail and that the world will be made safe for all honest nations—the small as well as the great.

You have done what Washington would have done. And, therefore, in paying homage to the father of your country I offer a tribute of devotion and gratitude to the whole American people.

Another notable address by Baron Moncheur was that delivered to the House of Representatives on June 27. He said, in part:

As in the Middle Ages the knights were accustomed to hold a vigil, watching their armor in the chapel, so you today are making the same holy and prayerful preparation for the battle to come. Everywhere you are carrying on work which day by day brings nearer the moment of supreme victory. While the flower of American youth is preparing itself in your splendid training camps, your shipyards, your factories, and munition plants resound with the hum of feverish work providing your soldiers with the implements of war.

American aviation, that marvelous product of the New World, is making ready to lend

its powerful aid, also, to support our armies. Is it not natural, indeed, that the American eagle from the skies should strike the deathblow to the enemy?

After your great stroke for liberty in 1776 you formed a society, which you called the Order of the Cincinnati, to indicate that when war was finished you knew how to beat your swords into plowshares; and now, when war has been forced upon you, you have given proof that you know equally well how to turn your plowshares into swords.

Some twenty years ago Prince Albert of Belgium, heir to a throne which seemed to be safely sheltered from the blast of war, came to America, where he studied with the deepest interest your marvelous country and the wonderful works of industry and commerce which you had developed in the quietude of peace. And now, how can I express the sentiments which fill his heroic soul when, fighting at the head of his troops in the last trench on Belgian soil, he sees the sons of that same industrious America land upon the coast of Europe, brave champions of the most noble principles and ready to lay down their lives in defense of right and justice?

On a certain occasion a mighty sovereign declared, "The Pyrenees exist no more," and today we can say with even more truth, "There is no longer any ocean," for endless friendship, cemented by gratitude and joint effort and suffering in the cause of justice and liberty, will forever obliterate the barrier of the seas and unite the children of old Belgium to the sons of the young and powerful Republic of the New World.

Lord Northcliffe and Other Envoys

LORD NORTHCLIFFE, after his arrival in the United States as special representative of the British Government, delivered his first speech at a luncheon in New York City on June 28. He said, in part:

It is only by an absolute mobilization of man power and machine power that this war can be won. Industries that at this moment seem remote from mobilization for the war will sooner or later be called upon to do their part. In Europe, for example, one of the largest corset factories is now turning out very delicate pieces of machinery needed in the construction of airplanes. The war, which has proved the efficacy of motor transport to an almost incredible degree, will make a tremendous drain upon the automobile industry of your country. For one thing, the great bulk of automobile output will have to be concentrated on trucks. In the second place, the automobile factories will inevitably be commandeered for the manufacture of airplane parts and airplane construction generally.

In the airplane lies one great hope of allied victory. The war has taught that the airplane engine of Spring may be almost useless for actual fighting by the next Autumn, so rapid are the developments produced by the fierce competition of war.

When America has got her full stride in the war, as surely she will get it, it will be found that there will be a tremendous demand for chauffeurs. England today has nearly a hundred thousand motor trucks in France, and is constantly sending more. Every one of these trucks must be manned by a trained driver. If skilled chauffeurs can be sent to operate your trucks it will be possible to release an equal number of men for the fighting lines.

Lord Northcliffe prophesied a post-bellum federation of allied nations:

I have a strong conviction that with peace will come a close federation of the nations who are now fighting the great fight for freedom. You have only to look at the spectacle of what I might call the United Nations of Great Britain today to see the effect that the war has upon the co-ordination of peoples and nations of widely conflicting temperaments and national structures. You see democratic Australia, a near socialistic New Zealand, a vast country like India, with its feudal princes and other rulers, a free Canada, and what is nothing less than the Republic of South Africa, all pouring their blood and treasure out upon the battlefields of France, linked by a common feeling of empire and sustained by a common hope of liberation from the militarism that sought to dominate the world.

A close federation of the nations now fighting the good fight will be the only insurance against the autocracy that made this war possible and the horrors that the armies of the autocrat perpetrated on innocent noncombatants. The world must be made free for democracy.

Irish Nationalist Leaders

The Irish Nationalist Party in the House of Commons appointed T. P. O'Connor, M. P., and Richard Hazleton, M. P., and Secretary of the party, to visit the United States as its representatives. On their arrival in New York on June 24 Mr. O'Connor explained the purpose of his visit as follows:

I am here as the official representative, with my colleague, Mr. Hazleton, of the Irish Nationalist Parliamentary Party, to

lay before the men of my race and before the friends of Ireland of all races the realities and the issues, for the opinion of the Greater Ireland and of this democratic Republic beyond the seas remains the most potent factor in working out the liberation of Ireland and of all other nationalities in the world.

The situation in Ireland is still somewhat confused. A series of unfortunate mistakes and tragic events have produced resentment and thrown many of the younger men of the country off their balance for the moment. But this, in my opinion, represents a mood and not a settled preference for the hopeless program of armed insurrection over a constitutional movement.

As to the war, opinion in England grows more united and harder. I need say nothing more at the moment of America's welcome intervention except that Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg and President Wilson's address to Congress represent to me the clearest definitions of the issues and purposes for which all free men today are fighting.

The war has made a new world and has transformed the soul of Europe. No man's political, social, or mental standpoint has remained the same. The whole groundwork of society has adapted itself to a new state of things in which men fighting in the air and under the sea are recognized as prominent factors.

Men who have lost two or three sons in the war do not speak of their grief in going about their daily duties. It is only by the whitened hair and the drawn features that we can judge of what they are inwardly suffering.

The war and the demand for wheat, oats, and other grains have caused the British Government to till all available land, tending toward the solution in Ireland of the ranch problem. While the land under cultivation in England has increased 200,000 acres, in Ireland it has increased by 700,000 acres. Fully 10 per cent. of this Irish land, broken up for tillage, was drawn by the Government from grazing lands reserved for breeding sheep, horses, and cattle.

The series of conferences with prominent Irishmen, by which Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Hazleton hope to be able to carry back to the Irish convention the correct sentiment of America in regard to home rule, was started in New York City upon the arrival from Boston of T. B. Fitzgerald and Michael J. Jordan, respectively Treasurer and Secretary of the United Irish League of America. Mr. O'Connor divided the sentiment in Ireland into three classes: pro-Irish, pro-English, and the so-called pro-German, the last being, in his opinion, a sentiment formed not on love of Germany, but rather on an inveterate pacifism.

Andre Tardieu's Advice

André Tardieu, French High Commissioner to the United States, is laboring at Washington and elsewhere for the business efficiency of the Allies and the co-ordination of all their economic forces. He was the guest of honor in New York on July 11 at a luncheon of the Franco-American Society, which was attended

ANDRE TARDIEU
French High Commissioner

by many of the leading financiers of the United States and other notables and diplomats. After a brief beginning in English, M. Tardieu spoke in French, and the more important passages, duly translated, are these:

To set at nought the insolent hope of our enemies the United States must organize its own resources without ceasing to supply its allies. This problem is difficult, but it is not insoluble for a nation of decision and realization such as yours. That solution calls for the concentration of the whole of your financial, economic, and human resources in the hands of the Government.

The Congress has voted the conscription of men. It remains to organize the conscription of material means. To that end two conditions must be fulfilled—a thorough knowledge of those means and an equitable fixation of prices, insuring to the allied armies the same treatment in America as to the American Army itself, because we are now one common army fighting in a common cause.

The great duty of the United States at the present moment is to put on the same footing all those who are fighting for the same cause. Since you have been in this war you have been beset with isolated financial, industrial, and military requests by each of the powers of the Entente. You gave them a generous answer, but you are beginning to realize that if your assistance should be indefinitely solicited in the same manner your immense resources would not be sufficient to comply with requests when ill-regulated.

You are compelled to say yes to some, no to others. You must consider the order of urgency of the solicitations which reach you. We must put an end to confusion. We are entitled to ask you to discipline your means with a view to victory, but also, with a view to victory, you are entitled to ask us to discipline our needs.

For that purpose, there is clearly one method —that is to create in Europe as near the front as possible an inter-allied committee to centralize all the demands, study and control them, and to submit them to you on behalf of all the Allies, grouped according to their urgency in relation to military operations.

The one vital thing is to win the war. Discipline of the American resources upon the basis of the common interest, discipline of the European needs upon the basis of the same interest—such is the aim and such is the duty. The aim must be attained, the duty must be fulfilled.

Such is, freed from innumerable details, the task which I have undertaken—such is the task for which I shall need all your assistance.

Rumania's Patriotic Mission

The Rumanian Patriotic Mission arrived in America on June 22, 1917, and was received by the Secretary of State on July 2. The mission consists of the Rev. Basil Lucaciu, President of the Rumanian League, which was formed for the purpose of inducing Rumania to enter the war on the side of the Allies; Jean Mota, the Rumanian Speaker, and Lieutenant Vasili Stoica of the Rumanian Army. Father Lucaciu told the Secretary of State that the mission had come to the United States for the purpose of inducing Rumanians to enlist in the American Army and fight for the allied cause. The Secretary of State gave the visitors a cordial greeting and welcome, and said that the Government of the United States looked with sympathy upon the object of the mission. The members are now at work among their fellow-countrymen in the United States, urging them to enlist and fight for the Allies.

The Norwegian Government nominated a special commission of six members, with Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, formerly Norwegian Minister at London, as President, to visit the United States to organize and procure the importation of food supplies from that country.

Objects of the Japanese Mission

THE Department of State announced that the Japanese Government was sending a diplomatic mission to the United States, headed by Baron Kikujiro Ishii, to arrive in the latter part of July. Baron Ishii was formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was an attaché of the legation in France in 1891 and went through the siege of Peking during the Boxer trouble. In addition to Viscount Ishii, who is made an Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, the mission includes:

Isamu Takeshita, Vice Admiral, Imperial Japanese Navy, formerly Naval Attaché in Washington.

Hisaichi Sugano, Major General, Imperial Japanese Army.

Matsuzo Nagai, Secretary of the Foreign Office, formerly a Secretary of the Japanese Legation at Washington.

Masataka Ando, Lieutenant Commander, Imperial Japanese Navy.

Seiji Tanikawa, Major, Imperial Japanese Army.

Tadanao Imai, Vice Consul.

Viscount Kikujiro Ishii, head of the Japanese Mission to the United States, made the following address at a farewell dinner given to the mission at Tokio, July 4, 1917, regarding the objects in view:

> My mission, I consider, is a military one in one respect and one of peace in another—military as against the Central European system of militarism and domination, but one of peace to be consolidated and reaffirmed as between the Pacific powers—Japan and the United States.

He declared that the Japanese Nation unanimously and enthusiastically welcomed the decision to send a mission to America as wise, proper, and eminently useful. He was therefore proud that

part of his duty would be to convey to the 100,000,000 Americans the sympathy and good-will of the 70,000,000 Japanese. The intercourse between Japan and America had gradually come to assume a more popular character, which he considered a happy augury of the consolidation of a genuine friendship, since that friendship no longer hung perilously on the caprice of individual statesmen, but rested on the well-understood mutual interests and reciprocal respect of the two nations. Viscount Ishii concluded as follows:

> It is gratifying to think of one great benefit with which the war has already endowed Japan and the United States. I mean the disappearance of Germany in this quarter of the world. Now that Germany, the universal disturber of the peace, has been completely and once for all driven out of her Asiatic bases, there remains no longer any one who will venture to cherish the design of estranging Japan from America. Consequently, the Pacific henceforth will have the noble destiny to join the two great nations and never to separate them.

Viscount Kentaro Kaneko, member of the House of Peers and a Privy Councilar, who presided at the dinner, emphasized the nobility and uprightness of the attitude of America, which, he said, was fighting for the individual liberty, national freedom, peace, and civilization of mankind. The appearance of an American army at the front was certain to breathe new life into the gallantry and patriotism of the Allies. When Germany was crushed and the belligerents sat in a council of peace, he believed the voice of the United States would have great weight in determining the terms of peace, not for the belligerents only, but for the peace of the whole world.

"A clear and good understanding with the United States is most important for the present and the future," he added. "This may be the reason and aim of Viscount Ishii's mission."

Former Minister Hioki expressed the opinion that, in addition to the questions of the day, no question of any importance existing between the United States and Japan would escape either settlement or discussion while Viscount Ishii was in America. The mission was a difficult one because of the vastness of the field and the complexity of the problems to be handled, he said, but the two groups would not be throwing dust into each other's eyes. There would be plain dealing, just and fair, actuated by mutual respect and sympathy.

Viviani's Tribute to America

[Speech in the French Chamber, June 14, 1917.]

Three things united to make the session of the French Chamber of Deputies on June 14 a memorable occasion: General Pershing was present, Premier Ribot spoke on the reasons for dethroning King Constantine, and Réne Viviani, Keeper of the Seals, told the Chamber, in one of his most eloquent speeches, what he had seen and felt during his mission to the United States. The chief passages of M. Viviani's oration are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

After an introductory tribute to American hospitality and to the qualities of President Wilson, M. Viviani continued:

SOLELY because I represented the French Nation, gentlemen, and in contravention of century-old rules, I was admitted to the unforgettable honor of addressing the United States Congress; and I desire that at this hour you should send across space to the great American Republic the fraternal salute of the French Republic. [All the Deputies arose, amid applause.]

Gentlemen, how does the American soul group before its vision those vigorous principles and sentiments which have carried that country into the war? This is a complex and delicate question. Was it solely a matter of esteem for France, in remembrance of the glorious services of Lafayette and the French soldiers who took part in the winning of independence? No one here can realize the privileged place that France occupies in the vibrant heart of vast America. And the gratitude to Lafyette is infinite. * * *

[M. Viviani went on to say that this,

however, was not what had moved the American people; it was, rather, the silence, the dignity, the calm courage of France amid her present trials. He continued:]

To see a nation receiving fierce blows from an aggressor without crying out, and returning them without boasting; to see that nation united, the people of the factories and those of the trenches, the people of thought and the people of toil, to see these grouping themselves around their fighters; to see at the Marne the triumph of dash, at Verdun the triumph of patience; to see this palpitating capital, which German calumny had called the capital of pleasure and frivolity, so peaceful in tragic hours, so calm when glory later came to shine upon our banners, reserving its enthusiasm for the day when universal right, by force of our arms, shall be implanted throughout the whole world—that is the spectacle which, I assure you, stirred to its depths the American soul. * * *

It would have been easy for America, if she had desired to stand aloof, to think only of her individual grievances at the hands of imperial Germany. She might have said that she could not tolerate on her own soil the tortuous intrigues of a faithless Ambassador. She might have said that she would never subject the honor of the land of Washington to the arrogance of the Germanic boot; that she could not bear to hear the cries of those unfortunate victims who, in Summer evenings and Winter nights, were hurled without warning, by criminal hands, into the depths of the sea.

America did say these things, but she said more. Her merit, after stating her own grievances, the thing that will constitute her historic honor before the world, is that she heard the cry of all humanity, that she invoked human right, universal right!

Never have I felt that profound truth so deeply as in the great City of Chicago, the greatest German city after Berlin, where, pressed by 20,000 breasts, wearied by effort and emotion, I proclaimed in your name the whole truth about Alsace-Lorraine, repudiating the historic and juridical fraud that has proceeded out of a lying plébiscite. And I still hear the storm of applause that followed, and the words of the Governor elected by several millions of men: "To the last cent, to the last man, to the last heart-beat!"

America has entered the war with the belief that there can be no peace without victory, unless we are to be recreant in our duty to the tomb and to the cradle, and, by the barbarous rhythm that returns every thirty years, are to allow our sons to go upon the battlefield and stand where their fathers have fallen. She has entered knowing what she has to do: not only to continue what she did while still chained to neutrality—render us financial and economic service—but to go to the end with her full might, giving to the Allies immediate aid of every kind until victory is won by constant co-operation.

Ah, well! It is universal justice that has thus been proclaimed by America as she takes her place by the side of France and the Allies to champion it. But what! Is France going to permit a portion of her heritage to be snatched from her? Human rights, universal justice, the independence of nations—whence have these sprung? It was by the spirit of our philosophers that the fire of independence was lighted in the world; it was by our men of action in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the foundations of justice and liberty were laid. Ah, I know, I understand!

Yes, yes, three years of war, of economic and political difficulties, of griefs, of graves added to graves, of cradles over which mothers ask whether this is the punishment for life itself! All the sorrows, all the anguish, all the anxieties that tear our hearts; yes, all these—and after them?

[Here the whole Chamber, thrilled, rose as one man, carried away by the speaker's eloquence. M. Viviani spoke of the sacrifices that his people would still have to bear before victory could come, and concluded with this peroration:]

Such is the result that we must attain. For this, oh! life is hard, difficult, delicate! The mourning robes, the tears, the sufferings of the widows whom we meet at every step of the way, and who try to hide under their veils their saddening

grief, yet who demand expiation; all that we meet, all that we know, all that is written to us, all that we think, yes, all this creates around us an inextricable difficulty. But do not forget: you are not accountable to the France of today, you are accountable to the France of yesterday, you are accountable to the France of tomorrow.

To conquer and prevent the repetition of such crimes, after victory, when the American Army stands by our side; when immediate aid and constant co-operation are promised us, when we are certain not to be alone on the field of combat, when the same glory shall be harvested under different flags, when all the free peoples shall stand upon a land that trembles, while their own hearts tremble not; when before the world we shall have made an example of an autocracy which, if not beaten down, has received fearful blows and deserves to fall; when it is certain that there can be no more peace in the world for the sons of our sons so long as this bleeding autocracy survives, I ask myself, truly, when duty is at once so tragic and so simple, how can it be difficult to follow whither it leads?

But you will follow it. At present your duty is simple: first to be men, to look our destiny in the face, whatever it be; to tell us that there is no historic fatality that cannot be redressed by courage and will; then to go on thus all the way to victory. After that, let others, more happy, who shall not have known our griefs, survive! But we shall have bequeathed to humanity the most magnificent heritage for which it has ever hoped.

[At the close the assembly leaped to its feet, acclaiming the orator, then turned its applause upon General Pershing, who, standing in the diplomatic tribune, was waving his military cap. The crowd in the galleries joined in the thrilling demonstration, and the public posting of the speech was ordered by a unanimous vote.]

Brazil's Revocation of Neutrality

THE friendly act of Brazil in revoking its earlier attitude of neutrality and definitely taking sides with the United States as against Germany was formally communicated to the Washington Government on June 4, 1917, by the Brazilian Ambassador, Dr. Domicio da Gama, in the following note:

Mr. Secretary of State: The President of the republic has just instructed me to inform your Excellency's Government that he has approved the law which revokes Brazil's neutrality in the war between the United States of America and the German Empire. The republic thus recognized the fact that one of the belligerents is a constituent portion of the American Continent and that we are bound to that belligerent by traditional friendship and the same sentiment in the defense of the vital interests of America and the accepted principles of law.

Brazil ever was and is now free from warlike ambitions, and, while it always refrained from showing any partiality in the European conflict, it could no longer stand unconcerned when the struggle involved the United States, actuated by no interest whatever but solely for the sake of international judicial order, and when Germany included us and the other neutral powers in the most violent acts of war.

While the comparative lack of reciprocity on the part of the American republics divested until now the Monroe Doctrine of its true character, by permitting of an interpretation based on the prerogatives of their sovereignty, the present events which brought Brazil even now to the side of the United States at a critical moment in the history of the world are still imparting to our foreign policy a practical shape of continental solidarity, a policy, however, that was also that of the former régime whenever any of the other sister friendly nations of the American Continent was concerned. The republic strictly observed our political and diplomatic traditions and remained true to the liberal principles in which the nation was nurtured.

Thus understanding our duty and Brazil taking the position to which its antecedents and the conscience of a free people pointed, whatever fate the morrow may have in store for us, we shall conserve the Constitution which governs us and which has not yet been surpassed in the guarantees due to the rights, lives, and property of foreigners.

In bringing the above-stated resolution to your Excellency's knowledge, I beg you to be pleased to convey to your Government the

sentiments of unalterable friendship of the Brazilian people and Government.

I avail myself of the opportunity to reiterate to your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

DOMICIO DA GAMA.

The reply to Ambassador da Gama was sent by Frank L. Polk, Counselor of the State Department, as Acting Secretary of State. The text is as follows:

Excellency: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your note of June 4 by which, in pursuance of instructions from the President of Brazil, you inform me of the enactment of a law revoking Brazil's declaration of neutrality in the war between the United States and Germany and request me to convey to this Government the sentiments of unalterable friendship of the Brazilian people and Government.

I have received with profound gratification this notification of the friendly co-operation of Brazil in the efforts of the United States to assist in the perpetuation of the principles of free government and the preservation of the agencies for the amelioration of the sufferings and losses of war so slowly and toilfully built up during the emergencies of mankind from barbarism.

Your Government's invaluable contribution to the cause of American solidarity, now rendered more important than ever as a protection to civilization and a means of enforcing the laws of humanity, is highly appreciated by the United States.

I shall be glad if you will be good enough to convey to the President, the Government, and the people of Brazil the thanks of this Government and people for their course, so consistent with the antecedents of your great and free nation and so important in its bearing on issues which are vital to the welfare of all the American republics.

Requesting that you will also assure your Government and people of most cordial reciprocation by the Government and people of the United States of their assurances of friendship, always so greatly valued, and now happily rendered still warmer and closer by the action of Brazil, I avail myself of the occasion to renew to your Excellency the assurances of my highest consideration.

FRANK L. POLK,
Acting Secretary of State.

Brazil's seizure of the war-bound German ships added to her merchant marine more than 150,000 tons. On June 30 it was announced that Brazil's navy had begun co-operating with the American fleet in South American waters in hunting for German sea raiders and submarines.

Ruy Barbosa's Stirring Call to Brazil

When Brazil broke off diplomatic relations with Germany on April 11, 1917, Senhor Ruy Barbosa, the most popular statesman in that country, delivered a memorable speech at a meeting of 50,000 persons in Rio Janeiro, praising the United States for going to war, and urging Brazil to do likewise. These were his closing words:

> God did not kindle this conflagration to consume the human race, but to save it. From the great calamity will come a great renewal. On the curve of the blood-reddened horizon already glow the first dawnings of a better world. Down will go the arbitrary Governments, and up will rise the Governments of law. Yesterday, Russia; tomorrow, Germany—and then others!
>
> God grant that we, too, my fellow-citizens, may drink in this regenerating spirit, this spirit of genuine heroism, of human devoton, of liberal self-sacrifice, and that our nationality, our Constitution, our social life, revivified in these fountains, may mitigate the present and insure us better days in the future, so that our moral stature may grow, so that we may be worthy of our place upon the earth. Then I shall be able to see in my declining years the realization of the patriotic dream of my youth; a Brazil in whose every act our hearts shall be able to discern, as in Milton's vision, "a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks!"

Greece Joins the Allies

How Constantine Departed

SINCE the abdication of King Constantine in favor of his second son, Alexander, who is now King of the Hellenes, a complete change has come over the attitude of the Greek Government, and the division of the nation into two factions has been brought to an end. Further light has been thrown on the course of events (see CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, July, 1917, Pages 83-85) by documents which have now come to hand, as well as by later dispatches.

The full text of the ultimatum which High Commissioner Jonnart presented to Premier Zaimis in Athens on June 11 was made public by the Greek Legation at Washington. It read:

The protecting powers of Greece have decided to reconstitute the unity of the kingdom without impairing the monarchical constitutional institutions that they have guaranteed to Greece. His Majesty King Constantine, having manifestly on his own initiative violated the Constitution of which France, England, and Russia are the trustees, I have the honor to declare to your Excellency that his Majesty the King has lost the confidence of the protecting powers, and that the latter consider themselves free toward him from the obligations resulting from their right of protection.

I have in consequence the mission, with a view of re-establishing the real Constitution, to ask for the abdication of his Majesty King Constantine, who will himself designate, together with the protecting powers, a successor among his heirs. I am under the obligation to ask from you an answer within twenty-four hours.

Constantine, as already recorded, abdicated and left Athens for Switzerland, and with him were expelled several leading men among his supporters, including former Minister Gounaris, General Dousmanis, and Colonel Metaxas. The final scenes are described in dispatches from the Athens correspondent of The London Times.

On the morning of June 11, after Zaimis had seen Jonnart and learned that the Allies' decision that Constantine should abdicate was irrevocable, the Premier went straight back to the King's palace and told him of his fate. The narrative then proceeds:

The King listened with great calm, and said to M. Zaimis: "I desire the Crown Council to be summoned." M. Zaimis, much distressed, left the room, and the King retired to his study, where some minutes after one of his Aides de Camp found him deep in a chair, his head bent on his hand, and "very pensive."

At 11:30 o'clock the Crown Council began, there being present, besides M. Zaimis, M. Skouloudis, M. Lambros, M. Dimitrakopoulos, M. Gounaris, M. Stratos, M. Kalogheropoulos, M. Rallis, and M. Dragoumis—all ex-Prime Ministers.

When they were seated, the King read to them the demands of the Allies. It is difficult to be quite sure of what happened, but it seems certain that when the King pronounced the fateful words demanding his abdication he turned toward them as for their opinion, and M. Gounaris (the arch pro-German politician) half rose and said: "Impossible! It is impossible that—" when the King stopped him, raised his hand, and said: "I have decided to accept."

The Council lasted till 2:30 o'clock, the Ministers insisting on seeing if a way of satisfying the Allies' demands could not be found without the abdication of the King, but it all ended in their recognizing the hopelessness of the situation, and the Council was dismissed by the King.

The demeanor of the Ministers as they came out showed the throng of waiting journalists that they had heard grave news, but they would not speak. M. Gounaris seemed incapable of speaking. M. Skouloudis, under whose Premiership Fort Rupel was handed over to the Bulgarians and the disasters of today largely prepared, was pale and shaking, and had to be assisted into his motor car. When he reached home he remained prostrate for a considerable time.

The deposed monarch's departure from the shores of Greece is described by the Athens correspondent of The London Times, under date of June 14:

The departure of ex-King Constantine, with Queen Sophie, the Crown Prince, the Princesses, and Prince Paul, which I witnessed this morning at Oropos, a small port in the Gulf of Euboea, took place very quietly.

Oropos is a tiny fishing village with a small jetty. All the night and all the morning motor cars had been bringing the King's luggage. A number of the King's personal friends came to see him off. The late King

George's yacht Sphakteria was refitted rapidly to receive the royal family, and lay off Oropos this morning escorted by two French destroyers whose Tricolors flapped broadly against the Euboean hills.

The ex-King and Queen and the Crown Prince arrived in motor cars shortly after 11 o'clock. The King wore a General's uniform and got slowly out of the car, which drew up close to the jetty, where two French officers stood rigidly. A small group of country people and schoolgirls mingled with M. Zaimis, the Prime Minister, courtiers, and official personages.

The King was pale, but erect and composed. He took a bouquet of flowers which a small child on the top of a wall thrust out to him. People gave subdued cheers, and peasants on the jetty knelt as the King and Queen passed them. The King made way for the Queen, bidding the people let them pass. The royal family then quickly entered a waiting motor launch and were borne to their vessel.

The King was dignified and bowed and saluted, but he scarcely uttered a word from the moment of his arrival till the launch cast off. Several of his friends were weeping. One man threw himself in the water in an endeavor, apparently, to follow the royal boat, but he was rescued.

The new King, Alexander, on ascending the throne, issued a proclamation in the following terms:

At the moment when my venerated father, making to the Fatherland the supreme sacrifice, intrusts me with the heavy duties of the Hellenic throne, I pray that God, granting his wishes, may protect Greece and permit us to see it once more united and strong.

In the grief of being separated in such painful circumstances from my well-beloved father I have the single consolation of obeying his sacred command. With all my energy I shall try to carry it out by following along the lines which so magnificently marked his reign, with the help of the people on whose love the Greek dynasty rests.

I have the conviction that, in obeying the will of my father, the people by their submission will contribute to our being able together to draw our well-beloved country out of the situation in which it now is.

The publication of this proclamation came as a shock to Great Britain, France, and Italy. The question was raised whether the Allies had not been hoodwinked and if another German diplomatic trick had not succeeded in the Balkans. Everywhere the demand was made that the Allies take direct control of Greece, establish Venizelos in power, and keep him there by force if necessary.

Jonnart indirectly but very effectively replied to the young King's proclamation in the following manifesto addressed to the Greek people:

France, Great Britain, and Russia desire to see Greece independent, great, and prosperous, and they mean to defend the noble country, which they have liberated, against the united efforts of the Turks, Bulgarians, and Germans. They (the Entente Allies) are here to circumvent the manoeuvres of the kingdom's hereditary enemies; they want to end the repeated violations of the Constitution and of the treaties and the deplorable intrigues which have resulted in the massacre of soldiers of the united countries.

Berlin until now has commanded Athens and has been gradually bringing the people under the yoke of the Bulgarians and Germans. We have resolved to re-establish the constitutional rights and unity of Greece. The protecting powers have in consequence demanded the abdication of King Constantine. But they do not intend to touch the constitutional monarchy. They have no other ambitions than to assure the regular operation of the Constitution to which King George of glorious memory had always been scrupulously faithful and which King Constantine has ceased to respect.

Greeks! the hour of reconciliation has come. Your destinies are closely associated with those of the protecting powers. Your ideal is the same. Your hopes are the same. We appeal to your wisdom and patriotism. The blockade is now raised. Every reprisal against the Greeks, no matter by whom, will be pitilessly suppressed. No attempt against the public order will be tolerated. The property and liberty of all will be safeguarded. A new era of peace and work is opening before you.

Know that the protecting powers, respectful of the national sovereignty, have no intention of imposing upon the Greek people a general mobilization.

Long live Greece, united, great, and free!

On the invitation of M. Jonnart, Venizelos arrived at Piraeus on June 21. He received a great welcome from a crowd of several thousand persons and with Jonnart's approval entered into negotiations with Premier Zaimis for a fusion of the two parties. Meanwhile, King Alexander in a letter to Zaimis described himself as the faithful guardian of the Constitution, and thereby repaired the mistake he had made in his first proclamation. The new King made it clear that he was willing to comply with all the demands of the Entente Allies. But now it was Zaimis who refused to be their obedient servant. Jonnart demanded the convocation of the Parliament of

May 31, 1915, in which Venizelos had had a majority and which Constantine had dissolved. Zaimis, refusing to take responsibility for this step, resigned, and once more Venizelos returned to power. On June 27 the new Ministry, of which he became head, took the oath. Its personnel was as follows:

Premier and Minister of War—M. VENIZELOS.
Minister of the Interior—M. REPOULIES.
Minister of Justice—M. TSIRIMOKOS.
Minister of Foreign Affairs—M. POLITIS.
Minister of Marine—Admiral P. COUNDOURIOTIS.
Minister of Finance—M. MICHSALACOPOUDOS.
Minister of Agriculture—M. NEGROPONTES.
Minister of Communications—M. PAPANASTASION.
Minister of Education—M. DINGAS.
Minister of Food Supplies—M. EMBIRKOS.
Minister of Relief for Refugees—M. SIMOS.

Dispatches from Athens dated June 29 announced that the Greek Government had broken off diplomatic relations with Germany and her allies. The Greek Ministers at Berlin, Vienna, Sofia, and Constantinople were instructed to leave their posts and place their archives with the Netherlands Legations. This did not mean that Greece was going to war at once. Venizelos, when taking the oath of office, made the following statement:

We realize that unless we drive the Bulgarians from Eastern Macedonia that part of Greek territory will be always exposed to great danger. Before, however, thinking of mobilizing that part of Greece which has not shared in our movement, we must vitalize its military organization, which has fallen into such decay, and bring about a fusion of the two armies in brotherly co-operation. Therefore, we shall now call out the untrained classes of 1916 and 1917.

With the abdication of Constantine and with Venizelos once more guiding the destinies of Greece, administrative control of various Governmental services by the Entente Allies was gradually withdrawn, but it was decided that the telegraphs and the censorship should still be supervised by representatives of the Allies, in co-operation with the Greek Government. The raising of the blockade had already been announced on June 19.

An important result of the political change in Greece was seen in the report of General Sarrail, whose French troops were in occupation of Thessaly, that the movements of troops were being carried out without difficulty. All the communes in the region of Larissa and Volo spontaneously transferred their allegiance to the Venizelos Government and installed new civil authorities.

Constantine and his family arrived at Lugano, Switzerland, on June 20. Officers and delegates of the Swiss Government met him at the frontier and welcomed him in the name of Switzerland. A large number of German personages waited for the ex-King at the station, including Prince and Princess von Bülow and Dr. von Mühlberg, German Minister to the Vatican. The Greek Minister to Berne was also present. A number of German diplomats arrived at Lugano for the coming of the former King, who was delayed by the illness of his wife. A long telegram from the German Emperor was handed to Constantine as soon as he left the train. He was very coolly received by the crowds. After dinner he attended an open-air concert, where he was recognized and hissed by a group of strangers who were leaving. On entering the concert the former King was jostled, and he left later by a rear door to avoid the curious crowds.

Georgios Streit, former Adviser of the Greek Foreign Office, who is one of Constantine's entourage, announced on June 22 that in consequence of his wound the ex-King needed careful nursing and complete rest, and his physicians had advised him to proceed immediately to a sanatorium in the mountains, where he was to live merely for his health and family. The Queen, too, was not in good health after troubles and tribulations of the last year. According to other reports he and the ex-Queen were greatly shocked at their reception in Switzerland.

The Greek War Record

The leading episodes in King Constantine's policy from the time the question of Greek intervention in the war was first raised by the proposal that Greek troops should be sent to Gallipoli are set out in the following chronological table by The London Times:

March, 1915.—King Constantine refuses M. Venizelos's proposal for intervention in Gal-

lipoli; M. Venizelos resigns the Premiership.

May, 1915.—M. Gounaris, (Pro-German,) Prime Minister.

June, 1915.—General election in Greece results in a Venizelist majority.

August, 1915.—M. Venizelos again becomes Prime Minister.

Sept. 18, 1915.—King Constantine and M. Venizelos "in complete agreement" about Balkan policy.

Sept. 21, 1915.—M. Venizelos invites France and Great Britain to send troops to Saloniki to aid Serbia.

Sept. 23, 1915.—King Constantine signs decree mobilizing Greek Army; to support, as is supposed, Serbia against Central Powers and Bulgaria.

Oct. 3, 1915.—First Anglo-French troops reach Saloniki.

Oct. 4, 1915.—M. Venizelos announces that the Greek Government "will not oppose the Anglo-French armies hastening to the aid of the Serbians, the allies of Greece."

Oct. 5, 1915.—King Constantine dismisses M. Venizelos from office. Serbia's appeal to Greece to fulfill her treaty obligations and come to her aid when attacked refused. King Constantine alleges that the treaty refers only to an attack on Serbia by a Balkan foe, not to a war against Germany and Austria. "If Greece intervenes she will share the fate of Belgium."

November, 1915.—Protest by Allies against interference by Greece with the movement of Franco-British troops; partial blockade of Greece.

March, 1916.—Greek officers in Macedonia instructed not to oppose the Bulgarian advance into Greece.

May, 1916.—Greek Government refuses facilities for Serbian Army to cross Greece by rail.

May 26, 1916.—On orders approved by King Constantine, Greek commander surrenders Fort Rupel to Bulgarians; Entente Powers thereupon blockade Greek ports.

August, 1916.—Greek division in Eastern Macedonia "surrenders" to Bulgarians and is conveyed to Germany.

Aug. 27, 1916.—M. Venizelos appeals to King Constantine to "put himself at the head of the nation and defend Greece's honor and territory." King Constantine declines.

Sept. 25, 1916.—M. Venizelos breaks with King Constantine and proclaims a Provisional Government. Most of the islands and part of mainland of Greece adhere to M. Venizelos.

Nov. 24, 1916.—In consequence of anti-ally acts of King Constantine's Government, Entente Powers present ultimatum to Greece; Greece refuses to surrender certain guns.

Dec. 1, 1916.—Allied troops landed at Athens fired on by King Constantine's troops; several killed. Reign of terror at Athens. Venizelists tortured.

Dec. 14, 1916.—Another ultimatum to Greece. M. Venizelos charged with treason by King Constantine.

Jan. 8, 1917.—New note to Greece; evasive reply.

February-May, 1917.—Continuance of King Constantine's intrigues with Germany; peril to the rear of the allied army in Macedonia. Blockade of Greece continues.

June 7, 1917.—M. Jonnart arrives in Greece as High Commissioner of the Protecting Powers.

June 12, 1917.—King Constantine abdicates, and is succeeded by his son Alexander.

Re-establishing Albania

Rival Plans of Autonomy, and How They Conflict with Albania's Desire for Independence

This article, written by a native Albanian now in the United States, summarizes the latest attempts to solve the knotty problem of what shall be done with Albania. It supplements the brief sketches of "Albanian Autonomy" and "The New Republic of Koritza" which appeared in the July issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

WHILE the diplomatic pourparlers for the abdication of King Constantine and for the clearing up of the situation in Greece were going on, the Allies were taking the necessary steps toward the settlement of another important and vexatious question concerning the Balkans. On June 3, 1917, the Italian Government proclaimed the independence of Albania, in apparent accord with England and France, and placed the new State under Italian protection, marking a new turning point in the Balkan situation.

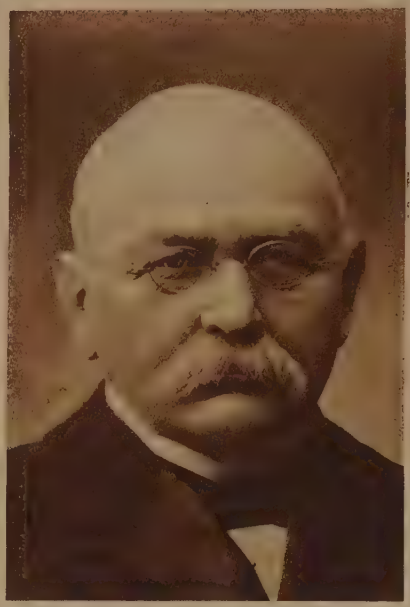
Albania had proclaimed her independence early in 1912, and the London conference of the same year recognized and guaranteed her autonomy by placing the new principality under the collective protection of the six great European powers who undertook to organize it. They placed on the throne of Albania Prince

PHILIPP SCHEIDEMANN

Leader of the Majority Socialist Group in the German Reichstag and a Prominent Figure in Recent Efforts to Bring About Peace.

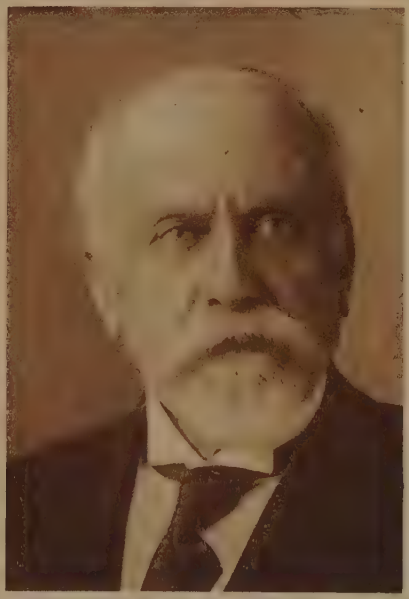
(Photo Paul Thompson)

STATESMEN OF NEUTRAL NATIONS



GUNNAR KNUDSEN,
Premier of Norway.
(Photo Bain News Service)

C. T. ZAHLE,
Premier of Denmark.
(Photo Bain News Service)



GUSTAVE ADOR
The New Foreign Minister of Switzerland.
(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

EDUARDO DATO
Premier of Spain.
(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

MAP SHOWING ALBANIA'S POSITION IN RELATION TO THE POWERS SEEKING TO CONTROL ITS DESTINY. AUSTRIA-HUNGARY HOLDS THE NORTHERN PORTION

William of Wied, a German Prince. With the outbreak of the European war, the Prince was forced to abandon his realm, after a troubled reign of about seven months, and Albania fell a prey of her neighbors, Serbians, Montenegrins, and Greeks. After several changes of occupants, her territory came into the possession of Austria and Italy, the former holding Northern and Central Albania, about two-thirds of the whole territory, and the latter the rest of it.

The Italian action in proclaiming the independence of Albania took place as a result of two tentative steps made separately by France and Austria.

In October, 1916, an Anglo-French detachment took possession of the City of Koritza and of the adjoining territory in Eastern Albania, by expelling therefrom the Greek royalist troops. On Dec. 10 the French commander, Colonel Descoins, proclaimed the autonomy of the region of Koritza, a district of about 100,000 inhabitants, under French protection. The French commander was forced by the Albanian militia of that region to issue a formal proclamation, and according to a duly signed protocol the tiny State was made a provisional republic.

Following the action of France, which had deeply impressed the Albanians living under Austrian occupation, the commander of the Austro-Hungarian troops in Albania issued on March 9, 1917, a ringing proclamation to the Albanians by which he guaranteed, in the name of his Government, the independence of the *whole* of Albania, under Austrian protection, and invited the Albanians to join the Austrian troops in the war against the allied forces in the Balkans.

Next it was Italy's turn. She had declared, on entering the war against the Central Powers, that one of her chief war aims was the re-establisment of the independence of Albania and the elimination of Austrian influence in that part of the Balkans. She had irritated Greece by wresting Southern Albania from her, and had crossed even the frontiers decided upon in the London Conference, by occupying a large part of what is called Albania Irredenta. On June 3 General Ferrero, commander of the Italian troops in Southern Albania, read a formal proclamation at Argyrocastro, before a crowded assembly of Albanian notables. The text is as follows:

To the whole people of Albania:

Today, June 3, 1917, the memorable anniversary of the establishment of Italian constitutional liberties, I, General Giacinto Ferrero, commander of the Italian expeditionary forces in Albania, do solemnly proclaim, in accordance with the orders of his Majesty, King Victor Emmanuel, *the unity and independence of the whole of Albania*, under the shield and protection of the Italian Kingdom.

By this proclamation you, Albanians, have a free Government, an army, tribunals, schools, all made up of Albanians, and are free to use as you wish your property and the fruits of your labor, for your own benefit and for the enrichment of your country.

Albanians!

Wherever you are, whether free in the land of your birth, an old and honorable race, or in exile in other countries and under foreign domination, we are bringing you back to the civilization of the Romans and of the Venetians.

You know the bonds that unite the Italian and Albanian interests. The sea divides them, and at the same time the sea binds them together. Let all good citizens, then, stand unitedly, having faith in the future of your beloved nation. Come, all of you, under the flags of Albania and Italy, and pledge yourselves to Albania, which is today proclaimed independent, in the name f the Italian Government and under its friendly protection.

This proclamation of the Italian Government was the subject of copious comments throughout the allied countries. For many days the Italian newspapers devoted columns and pages to the great importance of the proclamation, emphasizing the paramount necessity of such a measure to bar Austria from the Adriatic Sea. La Tribuna of Rome on June 5 stated that many misgivings in regard to the aims of Italy have been in the air, but that the proclamation of the independence of Albania was proof that Italy was acting in accordance with the principle of nationalities. Il Giornale d'Italia, the organ of Baron Sonnino, saluted the independence of Albania in these words:

"Italy, well aware that there is no sacrifice too great for the inestimable boon of liberty, salutes with joy and with confidence in the triumph of justice the ancient people of Albania."

The impression made in Petrograd, however, by the proclamation of the Italian protectorate on Albania was the reverse of what it was expected to be, and M. Terestchenko, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, asked for more ample explanations as to the meaning of the "protectorate." On the other hand, when questions were raised in the House of Commons and the French Chamber of Deputies on the same subject, Lord Cecil replied, on June 13, that the Italian protectorate over Albania did not convey any material privileges to Italy, and Jules Cambon declared that the Italian protection must be considered in the light of the exclusion of Austrian influence only.

The attitude of the Albanian press was anything but complaisant. Commenting editorially on the Italian action, the newspaper Dielli, (the Sun,) organ of the nationalist Albanians in America, wrote on June 8:

"The proclamations by Austria and Italy, which came one after the other, are neither welcome nor well sounding. These powers are disputing between them the right of protection over Albania. The way in which each desires to reorganize and dominate Albania cannot meet our approval. We acknowledge with boundless pleasure any friendly protection, but we cannot even for a moment agree that Albania be reduced to the state of a vassal country. The Albanians are fighting for the real independence of Albania, and for this we can rely on the assistance of her friends only. The Albanians desire that Albania should be for the Albanians. They do not wish her to be the tool of either Austria or Italy. Such a servile Albania would be the worst element in the Balkans, a fire-maker in the already troublesome peninsula. * * *"

Acrimonious criticisms in the press and in diplomatic circles of the allied powers, as to the Italian protection, led Baron Sonnino, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to make further official declarations. On June 22 he stated that the independence of Albania was a thing to be desired, being in accordance with the principles expounded by President Wilson and espoused by the Allies.

The situation in Albania is likely to be further complicated by the advent of M. Venizelos as Premier of Greece. The Greek statesman is understood to make the participation of Greece in the war by the side of the Allies conditional upon the elimination of Italy's ambitions in Albania.

Canada's Three Years of War

By Frank Yeigh

WHEN Father Time ticks off the 4th of August, 1917, Canada will have ended three years of experience as a war country. Looking back on this stirring period and on her record as a participating ally, the Dominion can at least have the satisfaction of knowing that her response to the call of the motherland and civilization was as prompt as it was definite. The story of the enlistment of the first troops, their initial training in a hastily improvised camp, and their passage overseas, guarded by a part of the British fleet, will long be a creditable chapter in the history of Canada. The first Canadian contingent, comprising nearly 33,000 men, 7,500 horses, and 70 pieces of artillery, was the largest military force that up to that time had ever crossed any ocean to go to any war.

When war was declared, and Canada without delay promised England her aid, the plan of voluntary enlistment was adopted as the one best suited to a country so democratic and in which strong emphasis is placed on individual liberty. The cry of the recruiter was at once heard throughout the land; appeals were made from platform and press, organizations of all kinds became recruiting agencies, and the Church added its voice in solicitation. This method resulted in the raising of the first 400,000, but it now seems unable to go further. The chief criticism of the plan is that it is unfair and unequal in its operation. This is illustrated by the fact that only one man out of fifty joined the forces from Quebec, as against one out of sixteen in Ontario and one out of twelve in the Canadian West. It also left many a slacker untouched, while married men with home ties and responsibilities, or valuable toilers, felt the call and enlisted.

Total Enlistment Figures

Canada's total enlisted force, up to June 15, 1917, was 421,767. According to a recent statement made in the House of Commons by the Minister of Militia, there were, of the above total, in May last 136,400 troops of all ranks in France, with 747 in the Near East and 120 at St. Lucia. There were at the same time 180,326 in England, not counting those in hospitals and convalescent homes. On June 1, 1917, there were 17,353 troops of the Canadian expeditionary forces of all ranks in Canada, gathered in a series of military training camps.

Of the men sent overseas 14,100 were French Canadians. The number of native-born Canadians speaking the English language who have gone overseas is given as 125,245, and the number of British subjects born outside of Canada who have gone overseas, 155,095. The British-born members of the Canadian Army outnumbered the Canadian-born by about 15,000.

It is estimated that Canada has 1,583,549 men of military age, (based on the census of 1911,) of whom 760,453 are single and therefore the first subject to any conscription call, and 680,307 married, between the ages of 20 and 45, or nearly a half-and-half proportion.

A system of national service registration was next adopted. This was obligatory on men beyond the military age, and called upon them to describe their present occupations and responsibilities and to place themselves at the disposal of the Government for whatever service it might determine. A million and a quarter responded, but it is asserted that few practical results have ensued, and that as a source of military strength it has proved ineffectual. The same might be said of the putting into force of a long-standing Militia act, under which men of military age are liable to be called out for home defense. Enlistments were asked under this act, but with few results. Volunteers said in effect that they were willing to be stay-at-home

fighters, but drew the line at overseas service.

The increasingly imperative need for further reinforcements, not only to bring up the Canadian Army to the standard of half a million promised early in the war by the Premier, but to replace the wastage in the ranks, led the Government in June, 1917, to bring in the Military Service bill, which is, in essence, like that of the United States, a selective conscription plan. At the present writing this bill is under discussion in Parliament and throughout the country.

More Than 100,000 Casualties

The casualties in the Canadian ranks have passed the 100,000 mark. On June 22, 1917, there were nearly 30,000 hospital cases; of this number 22,067 were in the United Kingdom and 7,271 in Canada. There were 2,295 Canadian prisoners of war in Germany. Canadians had won, up to the first of January, 1917, 2,715 decorations, including six Victoria Crosses, 329 Military Crosses, and 1,138 military medals.

It is estimated that the war thus far has cost Canada $600,000,000, and that it is now costing over a million a day. The estimate for the year 1917 alone is $433,274,000. To meet this expenditure and establish a line of credit with Great Britain, three Government bond issues have been floated, totaling $350,000,000 Each was largely and quickly oversubscribed, and a fourth is foreshadowed for the Fall. They bear 5 per cent. interest.

As financial aid to England the Dominion Government has contributed $200,000,000 as a loan to the Imperial Treasury, in connection with the financing of munition orders; it also has arranged with the Canadian banks for advances aggregating another $100,000,000. England, on the other hand, advanced to Canada, up to March 30, 1917, $692,000,000. The imperial and international financing is one of the most remarkable features of the war.

The war expenditure is responsible for a steady increase in the public debt of the Dominion. Whereas the debt stood at $327,000,000 before the war, it had risen to $722,111,000 by Dec. 31, 1916, and it is estimated that it will reach a total of $1,200,000,000 by the end of 1918 if the struggle continues until then.

Canada's special war taxes are yielding approximately $65,000,000 a year, made up, for the last fiscal year, as follows: Excess profits tax, $15,600,000; war tariff, $37,000,000; bank tax, $1,000,000; loan companies, $400,000; spirits and tobacco, $7,000,000; extra postage, $6,000,000. The excess profits tax, which raised $12,500,000 the first year, is expected to produce $20,000,000 during the current year under an increased schedule. An income tax is also foreshadowed.

Millions for Relief Work

Canada's war gifts, Governmental and private, have been on a most generous scale. Private benefactions, through such agencies as the Red Cross, the Patriotic Fund and other relief funds, total $60,000,000, and the ratio of giving is continually rising. Every province gave, during the first year of the war, large stores of flour, grain, and other food products, coal and horses. These included a million bags of flour from the Dominion, 250,000 bags from Ontario, and 50,000 from Manitoba; 4,000,000 pounds of cheese from Quebec; 500,000 tons of coal from Nova Scotia; oats, cheese, and hay from Prince Edward Island; 100,000 bushels of potatoes from New Brunswick; 1,200,000 cans of salmon from British Columbia, and 1,500 horses from Saskatchewan. The Patriotic Acre in Saskatchewan has produced tangible results. The school children, too, have raised large sums in the aggregate, through food production and otherwise, and have presented some ambulances to the Red Cross. In a word, every section of the Dominion and almost every class of the population have contributed and are still doing so on a substantial scale.

Some of the most generous gifts of men and means have been made in connection with the hospital service at home and overseas. Several of the larger Canadian universities have equipped war hospitals and manned them with doctors and nurses, and supplies therefor are provided as a gift from those at home. The universities have sent thousands of under-

graduates to the front, so that their halls are practically empty and educational work is almost at a standstill. Officers' training corps of students have been popular from the outset, and these are also being maintained as a source for supplying officers.

Provincial Governments are aiding in providing practical work for the returned soldiers. Ontario has made a start in this direction by training a number of men on the Monteith Government Farm in Northern Ontario. Following the training the men will be given homesteads free of cost, after proving their fitness for the work. They receive soldiers' pay while in training. Alberta also is active in the care and re-employment of those who need help of this kind. A Soldiers' Aid Committee is operating in 500 different places, seeking not only to act as the friend of the soldier in a variety of ways, but to assist some in settling on Government lands. No less than 3,693 returned soldiers have been given positions in the Government service, and vocational training is being conducted in a number of centres. The great war veterans' association, with a membership of over 10,000, is also looking after the interests of the homecoming men.

Caring for the Wounded

The care of the returned soldier who is invalided is under a Military Hospitals Commission appointed by the Government. On the arrival of the men at a Canadian port, such as Halifax, St. John, or Quebec, distribution is made according to their condition and ultimate destination. At Quebec the commodious immigration buildings of the Government are being utilized for this work. For transportation of the more serious cases, sleeping cars, specially fitted up as hospital cars, are used. A large number of military hospitals have been provided in different sections of the country, many Government institutions being used to house hundreds of men.

The Canadian Patriotic Fund, a remarkable voluntary achievement, has raised over $30,000,000. A million a month is being paid out through this channel as an auxiliary help to the soldier and his dependents, in addition to the Government pay of $1.10 a day to the private and a separation allowance for his family. This fund has done much to stimulate recruiting by assuring the soldier of a degree of support for those dependent upon him. The Red Cross has been no less generously supported; in fact, almost every city exceeds the sum asked from it.

In addition to the Government pay and the patriotic funds, several municipalities, like Toronto, have insured their enlisted men, mostly for $1,000 each. Many corporations and large employers of labor are performing a similar service for their employes.

W. J. Hanna, a Cabinet member, was appointed National Food Controller in June, 1917, and is working in harmony with Mr. Hoover, who occupies a similar position for the United States. The Canadian Food Controller, like the American, has been given wide powers and has already issued a manifesto to the people urging maximum production, prevention of waste, and the largest possible consumption of perishable foodstuffs in order to liberate the storable foods for transportation. A National Fuel Controller has also been appointed, to whom has been given wide powers, especially in reference to the coal situation both for manufacturing and domestic use.

Munitions and Aviation

Canada has become an important munition supplying country, operating under the Imperial Munitions Board. The board had placed, up to April last, $850,000,000 worth of orders in the Dominion, employing over 250,000 persons in 630 factories.

Britain is now spending $80,000,000 in aviation training in Canada. Formerly these aviation camps were left partly to private enterprise, but the Government has now installed large ones in several of the provinces. Several aero squadrons are in process of enlistment, and large numbers of machines are to be made in Canada.

The effects of the war on Canada, commercially and industrially, have been most marked. The circulation of extra millions of dollars is felt in a new buoyancy of trade, though the trade channels

are necessarily changed from their pre-war directions. The 22,000 industrial plants of the Dominion are working for the most part to their capacity, often on day and night shifts. The flour and saw mills tell the same story, while the 500 branch United States industries established in Canada find themselves fully occupied.

Exceptionally high wages prevail, though the cost of living shows a steady increase that offsets the wage scale and creates an alarming condition for those on small fixed salaries. Some of the railways are suffering from a lack of adequate rolling stock to meet the exceptional demands. Gauged by the bank figures, both as to deposited savings and loans made, the country is enjoying a degree of economic prosperity that is enabling it to handle the war cost. The Dominion, for example, had a surplus of $60,000,000 during its last fiscal year as between the current revenue and expenditure.

The Governments, both Federal and Provincial, have appointed commissions to deal with resources and to conduct thrift and food production campaigns. A scientific research council is at work. The Governments are using their legislative powers to the utmost, especially in the Federal realm, through the appointment of food, fuel, and other controllers. The mobilization of the resources of the country, both in men and resources, is being carried on to an ever-increasing extent. Along with the movement for conscription of men there is a strong demand for the conscription of wealth and of profits to an extent not yet reached.

Such, in brief, is the three-year story of Canada at war. The period presents an interesting study of development under absolutely new conditions. Errors naturally crept in at first, but the machinery of war is working more smoothly now, and the national will is becoming more and more fixed on seeing the struggle through to a satisfactory end.

Canadian Indians at the Front

By Verne De Witt Rowell

IN striking contrast to the bitter racial discussions provoked in Canada by the charges of the Toronto journalistic school that French Canada has not done her duty in the matter of recruiting men for overseas service is the fervent patriotism of the old-time Indian allies of the French and English in America. In all, approximately 5,000 Canadian Indians have been trained in Indian companies of overseas units and been sent to France to fight for the allied cause. The only tribe that has not sent its full quota of recruits to the firing line in Europe is that of the Eskimo Indians; and while they might prove excellent warriors during the Winter months, they obviously would not survive a Summer campaign.

The once ferocious and formidable Blackfeet Indians, who lived on buffalo meat and were the terror of explorers and outlying settlements, have sent several companies. The Crees of the Slave Lake and Hudson Bay regions have sent their representatives in khaki, and the Indians of Eastern Canada have in many instances sent practically the full number of eligible males in their tribes.

In the early days of American colonization, when the French and English contended in warfare, each was aided by an Indian nation, the French by the Algonquin federation, and the English by the Iroquois, or Six Nation Indians. The Algonquins, largely domesticated, tilled the soil and lived in more or less permanent settlements in the territory now forming the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Time and again did the French establish colonies along the St. Lawrence and the northern shores of the Great Lakes to engage in the fur trade with their Algonquin friends, but nearly always did these colonies disappear before the fierce raids of the Iroquois warriors,

who made their home in Western New York, and, as the unfailing allies of the New England British colonists, swooped over the Niagara and St. Lawrence frontiers, burning and ravaging the French settlements and scalping all the French palefaces they could lay their hands on. Today, under the Canadian flag, Iroquois and Algonquins are fighting side by side in the same Indian companies for the new, united cause of the French, the English, and the great nation that has sprung from the little New England and Pennsylvania settlements of those early days.

Since New Year's, 1917, companies of American Indians have been holding front-line trenches on the western front, and they would have been there nearly three years ago had not an order of the Canadian Militia Department, for some reason never quite explained, forbidden recruiting among the Indians when the war first commenced. But no sooner had the war clouds broken in Europe, in August, 1914, than the Indian tribes one and all met in their tribal councils, pledged firm allegiance, and offered their service to the British Crown, subscribed from their tribal funds money to the Red Cross and to buy machine guns, and petitioned to be allowed to go overseas as fighting men.

The Canadian Indian, not being a citizen, knows no politics as yet. He knows nothing of nationalism, neither that of the French-Canadian variety, which has something of a racial basis, nor the now unheard-of nationalism of the English-speaking Canadian, which was just budding before the war, and which, as one of its manifestations, opposed strenuously any contribution by Canada to an imperial navy. The Indian is loyal to the Crown; he is a monarchist. Whether his views will change when he becomes a citizen, as it is expected he will as a reward for his services in the war, remains to be seen. The agitation for citizenship is now led by the better educated of the old chiefs of the tribes, too old to go on the war trail themselves, but who have given their sons freely, and when these young warriors return, their education broadened by contact with the death grapple between European civilization and barbarism, it goes without saying that they, too, will expect some voice in the direction of their country's affairs.

Chief Scobie Logan of the "Munseys of the Thames," one of the smallest but most progressive and highly educated Indian tribes in America, is an ardent advocate of his people in their claim to citizenship. His only son was the first Indian killed in the war, having enlisted in a Western Ontario unit and gone overseas before any Indian companies were authorized. In several other instances recruiting officers winked at the regulations and enlisted individual Indians in white units. Tales of wonderful Indian snipers who were a law unto themselves and amply earned their exemption from disciplinary rule prescribed for their pale-skin comrades by bringing scores of Germans to the earth found their way into print early in the war. But at the most there were only two or three full-blooded Indians in the first contingent.

The first Indian company to arrive in France was the 135th Middlesex, which crossed the English Channel in December, 1916, after training several months in England. Other Indian units from Western Ontario which soon followed the Middlesex Indians to the trenches were the 149th Lambton Battalion Indians, Chippewas of Walpole Island and Sarnia Reserve; the 160th Bruce Battalion, Saugeen Indians from the remote Georgian Bay district, near the former scene of a bloody massacre of early Christianized Hurons by the Iroquois; the 114th Haldimand County Battalion Indians, and the Mohawks of the Brant County battalions.

The Mohawks have the distinction of giving to Canada one of her finest woman writers, E. Pauline Johnson, or "Tekahionwake," who died several years ago at Vancouver. United Empire Loyalists, the Mohawks came to Canada after the American Revolution and settled near where the City of Brantford is, known widely as the "Telephone City," where Alexander Graham Bell first perfected his epoch-making invention.

The Middlesex County Indians included representatives of three tribes, the Algonquin Chippewas, the Iroquois Oneidas,

and the Munseys, who a century ago came from the Susquehanna River district in the southland, and, welcomed in their homeless wanderings by the Chippewa chief, were allotted one square mile of territory on the Chippewa Reserve, near the picturesque little paleface village of Middlemiss, Ont. Throwing his blanket on the ground and drawing with chalk a map of his territory, the Chippewa chief marked off the little corner which henceforth should be the home of the Munseys. Before the war many of the Oneidas clung to their pagan faith, and in so doing were the last of their race to resist Christianity. Letters from the trenches, however, tell of many of them accepting the Christian faith at Gospel meetings held in Y. M. C. A. huts on the firing line.

Still one of the most interesting religious temples in North America is the "Long House," near Southwold, Ont., a short distance from the Michigan Central Railway connecting Buffalo and Detroit, where annually the sacrifice and feast of the "White Dog," a ceremony of purification for the sins of the year past, is held by the Oneida pagans. The plain-looking wooden building is also the Mecca and temple of the pagan Oneidas of Western New York State, but the only other remnant of the Oneida race, found at Green Bay, Wis., does not count among its members any braves who still adhere to the faith of their fathers. After all, this pagan faith is largely colored by Christian influences very similar to the Judaism of the Old Testament, and, incorporating the story of the Christ among its legends, might be aptly styled an American Islam.

Among the Chippewas of the Middlesex Indian unit are Moraviantown Indians, whose reserve on the River Thames near Chatham is believed to contain the burial place of Tecumseh, whose name is a romantic and bright one in Canadian history, on account of his brilliant assistance given to the Canadians in repelling the American invasion of 1812.

The loyalty of the Indian race in Canada may be illustrated by reference to an Indian mother now living in London, Ont. She has four sons in the war, and her baby son of 14 years also attempted to enlist. His brother, one year older, was held in England on account of his age, when it was discovered, and is now an instructor at Wittley Camp. This Indian mother, whose husband is a descendant of Moses Schuyler, who led the Oneidas from New York to Ontario and founded the settlement on the Thames nearly a century ago, said recently: "Yes, I have given four of my boys, and I am sorry that my other children died when they were babies, for I would gladly have given them, too, to fight for England."

In every way the Canadian Indians have proved themselves the equals of their white comrades on the battle line.

Canada to Have Conscription

A BILL for compulsory military service by Canadians between the ages of 20 and 45 years was presented in the House of Commons on June 11, 1917, by Sir Robert Borden. The measure at once precipitated a bitter controversy. Emboldened by the apparent inactivity of the authorities against the campaign of sedition which was fostered throughout the Province of Quebec, and in which the clergy took an unostentatious but influential part in the country districts, La Croix, a Roman Catholic Church organ published in Montreal, on June 10 frankly and pointedly advocated a policy of "down with conscription."

This was followed up immediately by an editorial in L'Ideal Catholique, generally considered to be the semi-official organ of the Roman Catholic Church in Montreal, in which the writer, Joseph Bégin, also an assistant editor of La Croix, urged Quebec to secede from the Confederation, form a French republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and impose taxes on all exports from Ontario passing down the St. Lawrence.

As both these organs are considered to be semi-official organs of the Archdiocese of Montreal, and as Archbishop Bruchesi did not remonstrate with their editors, Catholics and Protestants at Montreal assert that the Archbishop, if he had not approved of the sentiments expressed, would assuredly have taken some action. The Government took no public action.

In Parliament on July 6 the controversy eventuated in a victory for the Government, when Premier Borden's bill passed the House on second reading by a majority of sixty-three. Twenty-six Liberals voted with the Government and against their leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and only twelve English-speaking Liberals voted against the idea of conscription of the manhood of Canada. West of Montreal there were only four Liberals who voted against the bill. At 3:30 A. M. a fresh amendment was sprung upon the House regarding better treatment for wives and children of soldiers, which was also voted down.

One of the immediate results of the split in the Liberal Party over the conscription bill, which is likely to have very far-reaching effects on the political future of Canada, is the formation of a new Liberal Party, composed of the Liberals of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. The party as at present led by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, it is said, is to disappear and the new party will elect its own leader.

The parliamentary contingent of western Liberals held a meeting and decided to call a convention of the Liberals of Western Canada, to be held in Winnipeg on Aug. 7 and 8. The object of the convention will be to consider the whole political situation, particularly as it affects Western Canada. The membership will include all Dominion members and Senators, Dominion Liberal candidates, and all Liberal candidates in the last provincial elections in the western provinces.

There will be a number of women, it is expected, among the delegates, each constituency in the western provinces being empowered to send four representatives.

Up to July 1 the aggregate of volunteer enlistments in Canada was 423,858. In the last two weeks of June the total enrolled was 2,358, as against 3,392 in the preceding fortnight.

The Mothers

Maurice Maeterlinck's Beautiful Tribute to Women Who Mourn Soldier Sons

IT is they who bear the main burden of suffering in this war. In our streets and open spaces and all along the roads, in our churches, in our towns and villages, in every house we come into contact with mothers who have lost their sons or are living in an anguish more cruel than the certainty of death.

Let us try to understand their loss. They know what it means, but they do not tell the men.

Their sons are taken from them at the fairest moment of life, when their own is in its decline. When a child dies in infancy it is as though his soul had hardly gone, as though it were lingering near the mother who brought it into the world awaiting the time when it may return in a new form. The death which visits the cradle is not the same as that which now spreads terror over the earth, but a son who dies at the age of 20 does not come back again and leaves not a gleam of hope behind him.

He carries away with him all the future that his mother had remaining to her, all that she gave to him and all his promise; the pangs, anguish, and smiles of birth and childhood, the joys of youth, the reward and the harvest of maturity, the comfort and the peace of her old age. He carries away with him something much more than himself; it is not his life only that comes to an end; it is numberless days that finish suddenly,

a whole generation that becomes extinct, a long series of faces, of little fondling hands, of play and laughter, all of which fall at one blow on the battlefield, bidding farewell to the sunshine and reentering the earth which they have never known.

All this the eyes of our mothers perceive without understanding; and this is why, at times, the weight and sadness of their glance are more than any of us can bear.

And yet they do not weep as mothers wept in former wars. All their sons disappear one by one, and we do not hear them complain or moan as in days gone by, when great sufferings, great massacres, and great catastrophes were enwrapped by the clamors and lamentations of the mothers. They do not assemble in the public places, they do not utter recriminations, they rail at no one, they do not rebel. They swallow their sobs and stifle their tears as though obeying a command which they have passed from one to the other, unknown to the men.

We do not know what it is that sustains them and gives them the strength to bear the remnant of their lives. Some of them have other children, and we can understand that they transfer to them the love and the future which death has shattered.

Many of them have never lost or are striving to recover their faith in the eternal promises; and here, again, we can understand that they do not despair, for the mothers of the martyrs did not despair either. But thousands of others, whose home is forever deserted and whose sky is peopled by none but pale phantoms, retain the same hope as those who keep on hoping.

What gives them this courage which astonishes our eyes? When the best, the most compassionate, the wisest among us meet one of these mothers who has just stealthily wiped her eyes, so that the sight of her unhappiness may not offend others who are happier, when they seek for words which, uttered amid the glaring directness of the most awful sorrow that can strike a human heart, shall not sound like odious or ridiculous lies, they can find hardly anything to say to her.

They speak to her of the justice and beauty of the cause for which her hero fell, of the immense and necessary sacrifice, of the remembrance and gratitude of mankind, of the irreality of life, which is measured not by the length of days but by the lofty height of duty and glory. They add that the dead do not die, that there are no dead, that those who are no more live nearer to our souls than when they were in the flesh, and that all that we loved in them lingers on in our hearts so long as it is visited by our memory and revived by our love.

But even while they speak they feel the emptiness of their speech. They are conscious that all this is true only for those whom death has not hurled into the abyss where words are nothing more than childish babble; that the most ardent memory cannot take the place of a dear reality which we touch with our hands or lips; and that the most exalted thought is as nothing compared with the daily going out and coming in, the familiar presence at meals, the morning and evening kiss, the fond embrace at the departure, and the intoxicating delight at the return.

The mothers know and feel this better than we do; and that is why they do not answer our attempts at consolation and why they listen to them in silence, finding within themselves other reasons for living and hoping than those which we, vainly searching the whole horizon of human certainty and thought, try to bring them from the outside. They resume the burden of their days without telling us whence they derive their strength or teaching us the secret of their self-sacrifice, their resignation, and their heroism.

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club

Major Dayton has long had the official recognition of the United States War Department as an authority on strategy and tactics. The article here presented is the sixth in a series which he is writing for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, covering in a rapid and authoritative narrative all the military events of importance since the beginning of the great conflict.

VI.—Italy in the War

IN the Spring of 1915 public opinion in Italy finally swept aside the influence of a large conservative element in high places, and on May 19 the Chamber by a vote of 407 to 74 put the full responsibility of the decision for or against war into the hands of the Salandra Cabinet. This action was equivalent to a decision for war, because no Cabinet could have continued to hold office after denying the popular clamor. Italy declared war against Austria on May 23, 1915, and General Cadorna, Chief of the Italian General Staff, took command of the Italian armies. On Aug. 21, 1915, Italy also declared war on Turkey.

No other country entered the conflict with so much popular enthusiasm as did Italy, which had been until recently an active ally of Germany and Austria. Much that modern Italy had gained was due to Germany, for that northern master had compelled Austria to make large concessions to Italy following the crushing defeat suffered by the Italian armies at Custozza in 1866. Austria won that war with Italy on the field, but lost it at the council table, when Prussia compelled the victor to hand over the frontier provinces to the defeated.

Italy, receiving these territories as a gift, had for two generations longed to extend the conquest on the north through the Trentino to Trent and on the east side of the Adriatic to Trieste. In both regions many Italians unquestionably live on the Austrian side of the frontier, but, while it is a fact that, so far as the coast regions are concerned, Italian influence has long been felt close to the shores, a journey of a very few miles inland would carry the traveler into Slav neighborhoods, where the Italian was heartily hated. As in the case of most politically arranged frontiers, national ambitions and complications surged back and forth in the Alps and along the Isonzo in a way that frequently fanned historic rivalries close to the flaming point. In 1881, at a critical time, Italy joined Germany and Austria in forming the Triple Alliance, but Austrian aggressions in the Balkans were viewed by Italy with strong disapproval. In 1896 Italian ambition to expand suffered a severe check in the disaster at Adowa, but in 1911 the successful war with Turkey won Tripoli and reawakened the national aptitude for real politik.

The year 1915 seemed to Italy the proper juncture to gratify the nation's aspirations. In last efforts to keep Italy from bringing war on her western frontier, Austria offered a number of concessions — territorial, commercial, and political. Italy, however, believed that, when the map of Europe should be remade after the war, the great spoils would go only to those who had fought, and so the die was cast for war.

Cadorna's Plan of Campaign

In the Winter of 1914-15 Italy had been busily preparing for war, so that Cadorna was ready to strike promptly. Two aggressive campaigns were immediately developed. One, aimed straight to the north, toward the City of Trent, sought to gain control of the many mountain passes, while the real attacks followed the line of natural approach along Lake Garda, whose northern end lay across the frontier. The most direct mili-

tary road toward Trent lies through the Valle Lagarina, which is drained by the Adige. Having passed the frontier town of Borghetto, the City of Rovereto becomes the main strategic objective, guarding, as it does, the wider valley between the mountain fastnesses to Trent, which lies only fifteen miles north of Rovereto. There is another approach to Trent from the east by way of the Val Sugana, but the approaches to that valley were

GENERAL LUIGI CADORNA

guarded by the almost impregnable fortified passes of the higher mountain region.

In the first months of the war the news dispatches from Italy were so deceptive that unprofessional readers all over the world were led to believe that the conquest of the Trentino was to be an operation of a few triumphant weeks only. Two years and more have passed, and the Austrians are still secure in Trent. Unless Italy had been strong enough to engage in two great offensives and Austria too much occupied elsewhere to threaten any counterattack, it is evident that General Cadorna would never have seriously contemplated a great invasion of the Trentino while Austria continued to hold the dangerous fortified base at Gorizia on the Isonzo. As a matter of fact, the Italian commander wisely concentrated his strength on his northeastern front after making secure the approaches toward the plains of Lombardy from the north. For the sake of brevity and clearness I shall here discuss the Trentino operations before passing to the much more important campaigns on the Isonzo.

Operations in the Trentino

Italy remembered the ugly lesson at Custozza in the old war of 1866 and determined to block Austria's road into Italy past the southern end of Lake Garda by immediately shifting operations beyond the northern end of that long, narrow lake. Early in June Italian detachments had won their way well into the crests of the Dolomites, the mountain group northeast of Trent, and similar successes were readily won among the Carnic Alps, still further to the east, where it appeared as though Cadorna's men might succeed in reaching the Pusterthal railway between Lienz and Innichen.

While these thrusts were prospering to the east of Trent, several small, aggressive columns appeared among the mountains to the west, between Lake Garda and the Swiss frontier. The Val Camonica was the highway for these forces, one of which struck east through the Tonale Pass, while at least three other columns took the same general direction via passes further south. A strong force marched east through the Val de Ledro and menaced Riva, the important Austrian town at the north end of Lake Garda.

Austria remained strictly on the defensive, and for the first few weeks at least seems to have had only Landwehr and Landsturm troops with which to check the invasion. The veteran regular troops were kept in Galicia until the defeat of Ivanoff's armies was certain and Russia's attack upon the Carpathians definitely turned back. The Allies were greatly disappointed when it was seen that Italy's entrance into the war had no effect in relieving the pressure upon the Russians, for it had been confidently expected that the fresh enemy in the

rear would compel Austria to shift large armies to the new theatre of conflict. When Ivanoff had been defeated and driven back, some of the first-line troops were transferred to the Italian front, but Cadorna's time to have taken Trent was in the early Summer, when the Austrian Generals had little but second and third line troops with which to oppose Italy's best.

About midsummer in 1915 strong efforts were made to capture Rovereto, but without success, although the fall of the mountain town was frequently announced. In the Autumn strong columns began to make some progress north of the frontier on the west side of Lake Garda, while another force took Brentonico on the opposite side of the lake. In the Carnic Alps the Austrians repulsed frequent attacks upon their fortified lines on the Col di Lana, but could not prevent the gradual development of an Italian offensive along the upper Cordevole. With the coming of snow among the high mountains both sides began to provide white coats for the soldiers, whose ordinary uniforms would have stood out in bold relief against snowy backgrounds. In November an Italian column fought hard in an effort to advance toward Rovereto through the Adige Valley.

In December bayonet attacks, following heavy bombardments, won a number of fortified positions in the Giudicaria Valley west of Lake Garda, and in the early weeks of 1916 the Italian campaign in this region continued to make better progress. In February and March there were a series of minor battles in the direction of the Val Sugana, with the Italians almost invariably making the attacks. At the end of March the Austrians made several unsuccessful efforts to drive back from their advanced positions the columns converging toward Rovereto, and by the middle of April there were battles in the Ledro Valley only three miles west of Riva, and further to the east Italian batteries of the heaviest calibres were hurling shells toward Innchen and the Pusterthal railway.

Italy had been a year at war, and it seemed as though at last her soldiers might be about ready to debouch from the mountain passes and begin a real invasion of the Trentino. In April, however, it began to be rumored that large Austrian reinforcements had been assembled about Trent, and on May 15 the Austrians, for the first time, assumed the offensive. With the aid of an overwhelming artillery fire they launched powerful and successful attacks on a wide front. On Armentara Ridge in the southern Sugana Valley and on Folgaria Plateau south of Rovereto 3,000 Italian prisoners were taken with a number of cannon. On the following day the attack progressed especially in the sector east of Rovereto, where the Austrian infantry stormed Zugna Gorta, and at various points over 6,000 more prisoners were taken. In counterattacks several hundred Austrians were captured in Val Sugana, but by May 24 the Italians had been driven back across the frontier with a loss of over 27,000 prisoners, 300 cannon, and many machine guns.

By the end of May the Austrian invasion of Northern Italy had established an attack which threatened the Italian fortified line of interior defense based on Arsiero and Asiago. They were ten to eleven miles into the mountains on the Italian side of the frontier and approaching the easier slopes toward the Venetian plains. Similar progress for another fortnight would have seriously threatened the communications of the main Italian armies engaged on the Isonzo.

As May ended, the Austrians were winning battles close to Arsiero and were vigorously attacking Italian fortifications on the Asiago Plateau. Early in June, after long and bitter fighting, the Italians were compelled to yield some ground on the plateau di Sette Communi, and within less than four miles of Asiago some thousands of Italian prisoners were taken. The result of the failure to stop the Austrian invasion at the frontier threatened serious political results in emotional Italy. The Cabinet fell, several Generals were recalled, and the prestige of even General Cadorna was threatened.

Just then Russia did for Italy what

Italy had failed to do for Russia in the previous year. In April General Ivanoff had been replaced in command of the Southern Russian Armies by General A. A. Brusiloff, the brilliant cavalry leader. The new commander hurled an attack upon the Austrian lines in Volhynia and Galicia which compelled the immediate transfer of every available soldier and gun from the west to the east. That ended the Austrian threat against the Province of Venice, but the Austrians nevertheless have continued to hold approximately the same positions up to the present time, (July, 1917,) although they have been driven back somewhat from Arsiero and Asiago and have lost some ground in the Val Sugana.

Campaign on the Isonzo

While Italian popular ambition longed for the Trentino, General Cadorna, the trained soldier, knew that the necessity for the real attack lay further to the east. While very considerable forces were detached to fight the campaigns described above, the bulk of Italy's military strength was concentrated in the attack upon Gorizia and the Carso. The actual frontier was not defended by the Austrians, so that the Italians advanced practically unopposed until they approached the line of the Isonzo River and the heights covering the approaches along the western side of the stream. While the higher mountain ridges lie on the east, there are numerous rugged hills on the near (west) side admirably adapted to defense. The communications between Gorizia and Trieste were covered by the extraordinarily difficult region called the Carso Plateau, where a seamed and broken plain is thickly strewn with huge masses of limestone boulders.

By the early part of June, 1915, General Cadorna's men were deployed on a front of about fifty miles from Caporetto to the sea. Monfalcone, just east of the river mouth, was easily taken, (June 9,) and Gradisca, too, was won, but the next three principal objectives were hard to get. At the north a large force, principally of Alpine troops, attacked Tolmino and Monte Nero. Their mission was to cut the railway between Gorizia and Villach. The centre had the hardest task and attacked Gorizia with its fortified bridgehead west of the Isonzo and the strong covering positions on Podgora Heights. The right attacked Monfalcone, Gradisca, and the Carso.

The Italians found the Austrian defenses far stronger than had been believed, although the forces employed to hold them were quite inadequate and might have been overwhelmed by a quick, hard attack in the first days of the campaign. The Austrian artillery positions had been well chosen, the intrenched positions were skillfully constructed and the approaches heavily wired. The Italians, by means of pontoons, crossed the swift running river at dawn on June 17, and in a brilliant bayonet attack carried Plava, where the defending artillery included 12-inch guns. On June 28 General Cadorna's men won another bridgehead at Castelnuovo on the east side of the Isonzo, and a footing was gained on the edge of the Carso Plateau between Monfalcone and Sagrado.

GENERAL VON HOETZENDORF

First Battle of Gorizia

In the first week of July the first battle of Gorizia opened, and this costly effort on the part of the Italians to storm

the Austrian stronghold persisted through the next six weeks. Some ground was gained on the Carso—including Sei Busi, San Martino, and San Michele—and on Podgora, while under the eye of King Victor Emmanuel several divisions had finally won a very costly victory at Plava.

The Austrian second line proved even stronger than the first, and no great progress had been made in the direction of Trieste as the result of six weeks of terrific fighting.

The fall of Warsaw had by now enabled the Austrians to bring over to this front reinforcements, which included some of their best units. The difficult terrain was thoroughly understood by the Austrian first-line troops, whose manoeuvres had been held there. The Austrian commander, Field Marshal Baron von Hoetzendorf, had made a special study of the region and wrote a book on its military features. He knew the Isonzo almost as von Hindenburg knew the Masurian Lakes.

After the first great attack on Gorizia ended in the middle of August there was a period of some weeks when the exhausted and much-depleted units were rested and replenished. By early October the Italians were renewing the attacks against the bridgehead at Tolmino and on the Carso. While these efforts made little progress, the Italians seemed always able to repulse such counterattacks as were attempted by the enemy. On Oct. 21 the Italians attacked along the whole Isonzo front and made substantial gains below the summit of Mrzli, a peak dominating Tolmino from the northwest. Other gains were won on the slopes of Monte Sabotino near Gorizia and toward San Martino on the Carso. More than 5,000 Austrian prisoners were taken, and General Cadorna at this time estimated that the Austrians had not less than 800,000 men defending the Isonzo front. The actual figures were probably less than this estimate, but there is reason to believe that General Cadorna had close to a million fighting men trying to break through the almost impregnable Austrian positions, which were unquestionably defended at this time by very large numbers of excellent troops.

In November the Italians made new progress at Oslavia on the west face of the Gorizia position, and in spite of terrific losses wave after wave of fresh infantry continued for weeks the successive assaults upon the fortifications on Podgora and Oslavia covering Gorizia. As the year closed the assaults once more subsided into the normal daily artillery bombardments, but it was evident that the Italians were firmly committed to the task of taking Gorizia and continuing the attacks toward Trieste across the Carso.

Fighting on the Carso

On this plateau the fighting somewhat resembled that in France about the famous Labyrinth, for the intricate and difficult terrain had made it possible for the Austrians to create on the surface a system of defenses almost as intricate as those which the German engineers burrowed under the soil of Artois. Progress was won only by desperate hand-to-hand battles, in which comparatively small detachments fought to the death for every foot of vantage. Occasionally the Austrians launched powerful counterattacks, and in the middle of January, 1916, they took nearly two thousand prisoners at Oslavia in trenches which they stormed but had to yield again a few days later. About this time heavy Italian batteries resumed the long-distance shelling of Malborghetto, on the road toward Garves, but these activities were part of the effort to cripple Austrian lines of communication rather than the prelude to any northern extension of the actual attacks.

Late in 1915 Italy began to move large forces across the Adriatic into Albania, and by February, 1916, an announcement from Rome credited General Giovanni Ameglio with a command numbering 170,000 troops. General Ameglio was the conqueror of Libya and had with him in Albania a division of 22,000 veterans from North Africa. This powerful army eventually checked the southern march of the Austrians and Bulgarians, who hreatened to overrun all of Albania after

their successes in the north against the Montenegrins, Serbs, and Albanians at Mount Lovcen, Alessio, San Giovanni di Medua, and Elbassan.

In the early Spring of 1916 there was much hard fighting in front of Gorizia, which subsided during the great Austrian invasion from the Trentino. After Brusiloff's splendid victories in the east had put a stop to that Austrian campaign, the Italians resumed their assaults along the Isonzo.

The Capture of Gorizia

Early in August, after a series of terrific battles, General Cadorna scored the first great Italian victory of the war. Tunnels had been driven close up to the Austrian fortifications, which enabled several columns of infantry to rush positions that had resisted all other assaults for a year. On Aug. 9, after storming the bridgehead, the Italian troops entered the City of Gorizia on the east side of the Isonzo. Between 15,000 and 20,000 Austrian prisoners were taken in the final fighting at Gorizia. The Italian casualties must have been very heavy, but no statement indicating the extent of the losses was issued.

In the year that has elapsed since Gorizia was taken General Cadorna has made only a little progress among the high and difficult mountain positions still stubbornly defended by the Austrians east and southeast of the city. Further south on the Carso the Italians have gradually won more ground, and their lines are now nearly midway of that most forbidding plateau. The road to Trieste is still blocked by a competent and stubborn foe, who knows how to take every advantage of a region singularly adapted to a defensive campaign. Had the Russians been able to maintain a serious compaign on the other side of Austria in the Spring of 1917 it is possible that General Cadorna might have been enabled to push his striking force further toward Trieste, while his detaining forces could be trusted to prevent any resumption of the previous year's Austrian attack aimed at the Venetian plains and the rear of the armies on the Isonzo.

In the Balkans General Ameglio's army has firmly established Italian control of Southern Albania, with a naval and military base at Avlona. This force links up with General Sarrail's international group of armies near Monastir, and the Italians have undoubtedly made great improvements in the old roadway across Albania from Avlona via Elbassan, which is Ameglio's line of communications.

The British in Mesopotamia

It will be recalled that in the latter part of 1914 a British expedition from India landed at the north end of the Persian Gulf and occupied Basra, the important city close to the junction of the Euphrates and the Tigris. Perhaps the purpose of this force was to block any possible effort which the Germans might have launched via the Tigris Valley against India. Possibly it was a campaign of conquest designed to wrest from German influence the partly completed railway route to Bagdad. If it were only a defensive measure, as it was announced to be in India, every purpose would have been served by maintaining a strong force at Basra, backed up by British naval power.

A fortnight after the fall of Basra the British took Kurna, where an intrenched position was established astride the Tigris. In April the Turks made several abortive efforts against British outposts, and gradually the British forces became involved in operations which extended considerably to the north. Following a routed force of Turks, Esra's tomb was passed, and on June 3, 1915, the British captured Amara, seventy-five miles above Kurna. What was left of the Turkish force under Nur-ed-Din Pasha retreated 150 miles up the Tigris to Kut-el-Amara.

From Kut-el-Amara a river channel cuts away to the south and joins the Euphrates at Nasiriyeh, and as river routes are the only ones practicable for troops in this sunbaked region, the British determined to gain control of this waterway, which links the two great rivers in the interior. Major Gen. G. F. Gorringe led the expedition from Kurna against Nasiriyeh, which, with the help

of a flotilla of gunboats, was captured after a stiff fight on July 25; 2,500 Turks were killed and 700 captured, while the British loss was only 600.

Following this success on the Euphrates, Sir John Nixon dispatched General Townshend's division up the Tigris, and this column found 10,000 Turkish regulars intrenched a few miles below Kut-el-Amara, where, on Sept. 28, in a brilliantly planned action a large part of the Turkish position was captured. By the next day the Turks were in full retreat toward Bagdad, and the British were in Kut-el-Amara. General Townshend embarked a brigade of infantry on river steamers and pushed on up toward Bagdad.

Townshend's Bagdad Expedition

Every mile of this progress toward the north lengthened the line of communications with Basra, but the British Staff doubtless had excellent confidential advices as to the attitude of the Arabs who were passed en route. When the Caliph proclaimed from Constantinople the holy war against the Allies he called upon no other community so solidly Mohammedan as the Arabian Peninsula, yet the event proved that the Arabs of those far regions felt little or no political obligation to the ruler on the Golden Horn.

Below Basra, on the west side of the Persian Gulf, were three vilayets which had either resisted Turkish control or, as in the case of Oman, had always remained independent. West of Basra lies the extensive interior Arab Kingdom of Nejd, which, like far-off Oman, had never been conquered. Between Nejd and the Red Sea lies Hejaz, with both Mecca and Medina within its borders, and consequently the very centre of ultra Mohammedan influence. While in the event of a great disaster to the British expedition most of these tribesmen might be counted upon to attack and plunder broken and retreating columns, it was evident that no strong bonds of sympathy for the far-off Turk moved them to take any very active part in harassing the British advance.

Bagdad, the great city of the Tigris, was the ancient metropolis of the Eastern world, and still harbored a certain provincial independence of thought, which treasured the history of a past, when the fair city of the Tigris was easily the peer of that later capital which settled on the distant edge of Europe, whence little new glory had come to Islam. Whatever difficulties developed further up the country the British control of the bases at Kurna, Basra, and Nasiriyeh proved amply sufficient to prevent the development of any very serious attacks on the flanks.

From Kut-el-Amara General Townshend pushed on up the Tigris to attack Bagdad, 573 miles from the waters of the Persian Gulf. The British force numbered 15,000, of whom about one-third were white soldiers and the other two-thirds Indian troops. The army was accompanied by a large flotilla of river boats of various types, and the advancing troops went forward both by road and by river.

This campaign beyond Kut-el-Amara was a colossal blunder, and it is idle now to speculate on the reasons for the undertaking. To General Townshend's professional credit it is related that he protested against so large an undertaking with so small a force. The British Indian military administration overruled him, and apparently held the Turkish soldier far too lightly. British political and diplomatic interests in the Autumn of 1915 were certainly in a bad way in Gallipoli, in France, in the Balkans, and in Russia. Undoubtedly there was a disposition to take a gambler's chance and hope by capturing Bagdad to offset the imminent failure at Constantinople.

Reverse at Ctesiphon

There was only light skirmishing most of the way, as the troops, heartened by the change from the murderous heat of the Summer campaign to the clear days and cool nights of October, pushed bravely on up the river. In the last week of October a flank attack dislodged the Turkish rear guard from a prepared position at Azizie, and by Nov. 12 General Townshend's force camped at Lajj, seven miles below Ctesiphon, and on the evening of the 21st he marched three columns

out to attack the elaborately prepared Turkish positions below and above the ruins of Ctesiphon.

The plan was practically a duplicate of that which had succeeded so brilliantly at Kut-el-Amara. While one column made a direct frontal attack, another was to strike the Turkish left flank and hold it fully occupied; meanwhile, the third column, by a wide turning movement, was to gain the rear of the Turkish position and join in rolling the whole Turk force up against the river. After a seven-mile march by bright moonlight, the British arrived opposite the Turkish positions before dawn and began the grand attack before 9 o'clock. By the early afternoon the British had the first-line position won and the Turks fell back to their second and much stronger prepared position. In the afternoon a fresh division joined Nur-ed-Din's forces, and the fortunes of the fight strongly favored the Turks. On the 23d there was an exchange of shellfire until the middle of the afternoon, when the Turks made a number of counterattacks upon the well-intrenched British lines.

By the 24th the British casualties amounted to 4,500, with especially severe losses among the officers. The Turks were receiving further reinforcements, and at midnight on the 25th General Townshend retreated to Lajj, and on Dec. 30 was back in Kut-el-Amara, after a heartbreaking retreat in which rear-guard actions were frequent, and the wearied troops sometimes marched as much as twenty-seven miles in a day. The beaten army barely managed to stagger into Kut, and the Turks instantly closed the approaches and settled down to a long siege.

The Russians in Persia

In November and December, 1915, a Russian force pushed down from the Caucasus and defeated several forces of Persian rebels fighting on behalf of German influence. Teheran was occupied by the Russians and most of the Persian forces were driven back on Kermanshah. This prompt action on the part of Russia defeated an elaborate German plan to commit Persia to the Teuton cause.

In the following year military operations in Persia assumed for a time a realy threatening appearance, and a somewhat important campaign was required to drive well-organized forces from several of the larger mountain towns in Western Persia. Wide interest

GENERAL TOWNSHEND

was at one time aroused by an announcement that a small force of Russian cavalry had unexpectedly joined the British on the Tigris, and there was a possibility that this might have been the independent cavalry of an army advancing from Persia to join the British campaign for the relief of Kut-el-Amara. In the end no such army appeared, and the real story of that strange adventure of the Russian horsemen has never yet been told.

Townshend's Force Besieged

The remnant of General Townshend's army just managed by almost superhuman efforts to struggle through the last terrible days of the retreat into Kut. That they were able still to preserve a morale that enabled them to hold that place against a victorious enemy greatly

superior in numbers reflected the greatest glory on the British service. The failure of the campaign had resulted in a damaging blow to British prestige, but the heroic qualities of the troops engaged proved that there was nothing the matter with the courage of the British soldier. Muddled plans might waste British blood and treasure on the Tigris as well as on the Dardanelles, but nothing could break down the indomitable fighting quality of the army. Thoroughly censored press dispatches covered up for many weeks the extent of the disaster at Ctesiphon by assertions that after a great victory General Townshend's force had been compelled temporarily to fall back for lack of water. It was December before England realized that there was a besieged remnant of a heroic army at Kut-el-Amara which would need prompt succor.

On Christmas Day, 1915, after a heavy bombardment for many hours, the Turks fought their way into one of the forts on the right flank. They were expelled, but returned and again occupied the position, from which they were finally driven back to their own trenches after a severe battle.

By the middle of January, 1916, a strong relief force was advancing well up the Tigris under the command of General Aylmer, but this expedition found a detached Turkish army on its front blocking the road toward Kut. From Sheik Saad onward General Aylmer's army was engaged in a number of severe actions, and these prevented the prompt relief which it was expected to afford to the besieged force up the river. The British lost heavily in battles at Sheik Saad and at Essin, and were compelled to intrench at a point twenty-three miles below Kut against a foe too strong to be brushed aside or pierced. At Menlarie the Turks had the advantage in another hot fight, and at Felahie a British reconnoitring party were all killed; 150 miles down stream, at Kurna, irregular Turkish forces defeated a British transport column, and in February there was another severe defeat near Batilia, with many casualties and the loss of a great number of transport animals.

At this time Turkish airmen were frequently bombing the British batteries at Kut. Large reinforcements of British and Indian regiments began to reach General Aylmer's army in February and March, and along the Euphrates the British were strong enough to take the offensive against the Turks above Nasiriyeh. In a fight on the upper Tigris, near Felahie, General Aylmer's men entered the Turkish trenches, but were driven out in a counterattack with a loss of 2,000 dead. The British retreated, and in a rear guard action at Zenzir Heights had 5 officers and 175 men captured.

In April General Lake scored the first British victory in a long time by winning a battle at Umm-el-Henna, about twenty miles below Kut. At Bestissa and Felahie the Turks defeated desperate British efforts to cut a way through with the bayonet, and news from General Townshend's besieged force in Kut told of a serious shortage of food.

On April 29, 1916, General Townshend's troops could hold out no longer, and, although the army advancing to their relief was less than twenty-five miles away, it was apparent that the Turks would be able to delay any further advance for a long time. The entire force surrendered unconditionally after a brave defense of 143 days. The Turks claimed to have captured 13,000 men, while the British figures named 2,970 British and 6,000 Indian troops. General Townshend surrendered to Halil Pasha and the loot was said to include £1,000,000 in cash.

The planning of the successful Turkish campaign in Mesopotamia was credited to the great German Field Marshal von der Goltz, who died April 19, 1916, at Turkish Headquarters. Rumor at the time said he was assassinated by a Turkish Anatolian officer.

How the War Came to America

Official Survey of the Causes That Led the United States to Enter the Great Conflict

The Committee on Public Information, composed of the Secretaries of State, War, and Navy, with George Creel as civilian Chairman, issued on June 24, 1917, a pamphlet entitled "How the War Came to America," setting forth at length the events that had forced the United States to enter the war in defense of the Monroe Doctrine, freedom of the seas, and arbitration. Following is the full text of that important and interesting document:

IN the years when this Republic was still struggling for existence, in the face of threatened encroachments by hostile monarchies over the sea, in order to make the New World safe for democracy our forefathers established here the policy that soon came to be known as the Monroe Doctrine. Warning the Old World not to interfere in the political life of the New, our Government pledged itself in return to abstain from interference in the political conflicts of Europe; and history has vindicated the wisdom of this course. We were then too weak to influence the destinies of Europe, and it was vital to mankind that this first great experiment in government of and by the people should not be disturbed by foreign attack.

Reinforced by the experience of our expanding national life, this doctrine has been ever since the dominating element in the growth of our foreign policy. Whether or not we could have maintained it in case of concerted attack from abroad, it has seemed of such importance to us that we were at all times ready to go to war in its defense. And though since it was first enunciated our strength has grown by leaps and bounds, although in that time the vast increase in our foreign trade and of travel abroad, modern transport, modern mails, the cables, and the wireless have brought us close to Europe and have made our isolation more and more imaginary, there has been until the outbreak of the present conflict small desire on our part to abrogate, or even amend, the old familiar tradition which has for so long given us peace.

Policy at The Hague

In both conferences at The Hague, in 1899 and 1907, we reaffirmed this policy. As our delegates signed the First Convention in regard to arbitration, they read into the minutes this statement:

> Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or policy or internal administration of any foreign State; nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions.

At The Hague we pledged ourselves, in case we ever went to war, to observe certain broad general rules of decency and fair fighting. But at the same time we cleared ourselves from any responsibility for forcing other nations to observe similar pledges. And in 1906, when our delegates took part in the Algeciras Conference, which was to regulate the affairs of the distracted Kingdom of Morocco, they followed the same formula there. While acquiescing in the new régime which guaranteed the independence and integrity of Morocco, we explicitly announced that we assumed no police responsibility for the enforcement of the treaty. And if any honest doubt was left as to our attitude in regard to the enforcement of Old World agreements, it was dispelled five years later, when our Government refused to protest against the overthrow of the Acte d'Algeciras.

We declined to be drawn into quarrels abroad which might endanger in any way our traditional policy.

For Freedom of the Seas

Our second great tradition in international relations has been our persistent effort to secure a stable and equitable agreement of the nations upon such a maritime code as would assure to all the world a just freedom of the seas.

This effort was born of our vital need. For although it was possible for the Republic to keep aloof from the nineteenth century disputes that rent the Continent of Europe, we could not be indifferent to the way in which war was conducted at sea. In those early years of our national life, when we were still but a few communities ranged along the Atlantic coast, we were a seafaring people. At a time when our frontiersmen had not yet reached the Mississippi, the fame of our daring clipper ships had spread to all the Seven Seas. So while we could watch the triumphant march and the tragic countermarch of Napoleon's grand army with detached indifference, his Continental blockade and the British Orders in Council at once affected the lives of our citizens intimately and disastrously.

So it was in the case of the Barbary pirates. We had no interest in the land quarrels and civil wars of the Barbary States, but we fought them for obstructing the freedom of the seas.

And in the decades ever since, although the imagination of our people has been engrossed in the immense labor of winning the West, our Department of State has never lost sight of the compelling interest that we have upon the seas, and has constantly striven to gain the assent of all nations to a maritime code which should be framed and enforced by a joint responsibility. Various watchwords have arisen in this long controversy. We have urged the inviolability of private property at sea, we have asked for a liberal free list and a narrow definition of contraband; but our main insistence has not been on any such details. One salient idea has guided our diplomacy. The law of the sea must be founded not on might, but on right and a common accord—upon a code binding all alike, which cannot be changed or set aside by the will of any one nation. Our ideal has been not a weakening but a strengthening of legal restraint by the free will and agreement of all. We have asked nothing for ourselves that we do not ask for the whole world. The seas will never be free, in our American meaning, until all who sail thereon have had a voice in framing sea laws. The just governance of the seas must rest on the consent of the governed.

The Declaration of London

No other question of international polity has found the great powers more divided. But in our insistence on this fundamental principle, we have been strengthened by the support of many other countries. At times we have had the support of Great Britain. No one of our Secretaries of State has more clearly defined our ideal than has Viscount Grey, recently British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. None of our statesmen has ever gone so far as he in advocating limitation of the rights of belligerents on the sea. It was on his initiative that the international naval conference was summoned to London in 1909, and it was under his guidance that the eminent international lawyers and diplomats and Admirals who gathered there drew up the Declaration of London.

While there were in that declaration sections that did not quite meet our approval and that we should have liked to amend, the document was from our point of view a tremendous step in advance. For although, like any effort to concisely formulate the broad principles of equity, it did not wholly succeed in its purpose, it was at least an honest attempt to arrive at an agreement on a complete international code of sea law, based upon mutual consent and not to be altered by any belligerent in the heat of the conflict.

But the Declaration of London was not ratified by the British Parliament, for the point of view prevailing then in England was that a power dependent almost wholly upon its navy for protection could not safely accept further limitations upon action at sea unless there were compensating limitations on land powers. And this latter concession Ger-

many consistently refused to make. This conference therefore came to nought; and, the London Declaration having been rejected by the strongest maritime power, its indorsement was postponed by all the other countries involved. Our motives, however, remained unchanged, and our Government persisted in its purpose to secure a general ratification either of this Declaration or of some similar maritime code.

Principle of Arbitration

There has been in our diplomacy one more outstanding aspiration. We have constantly sought to substitute judicial for military settlement of disputes between nations.

The genesis of this idea dates from the discussions over the Federal organizations of our thirteen original States, which were almost as jealous of their sovereignties as are the nations of Europe today. The first great step toward the League of Honor, which we hope will at last bring peace to the world, was taken when our thirteen States agreed to disarm and submit all their disputes to the high tribunal of the new federation.

And this idea of an interstate court, which except at the time of our civil war has given this nation internal peace, has profoundly influenced our foreign policy. Of our efforts to bring others to our way of thinking, a historical résumé was presented by our delegates at the First Hague Conference. A project was submitted there for the formation of a world court. And a few years later Mr. Root, our Secretary of State, in instructing our delegates to the Second Conference at The Hague, laid especial emphasis on this same international ideal.

We have taken a particular pride in being in the vanguard of this movement for the peaceable settlement by process of law of all disputes between nations. And these efforts have not been without success. For, although the last few decades have seen this principle time and again put under a terrific strain, no nation has dared to go to war against the award of a court of arbitration. The stupendous possibilities that lie in arbitration for solving international problems, promoting liberal principles, and safeguarding human life had been amply demonstrated before the present war began.

But in the discussions at The Hague, largely through the resistance of the German Empire and its satellites, the efforts of our delegates and those of other Governments to bring about a general treaty of compulsory arbitration had failed; and therefore this nation, having been thwarted in its attempts to secure a general agreement, began negotiations with all those nations which, like our own, preferred the methods of law and peace, with the purpose of effecting dual arbitration treaties. And before the end of 1914 we had signed far-reaching treaties with thirty nations, twenty of which had been duly ratified and proclaimed. But in this work, too, we were made to feel the same opposition as at The Hague; for, while Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy cordially welcomed our overtures, the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires were noticeably absent from the list of those nations who desired, by specific agreements in advance, to minimize the danger of war.

Three Cardinal Doctrines

On the eve of the present conflict our position toward other nations might have been summarized under three heads:

I. The Monroe Doctrine.—We had pledged ourselves to defend the New World from European aggression, and we had by word and deed made it clear that we would not intervene in any European dispute.

II. The Freedom of the Seas.—In every naval conference our influence had been given in support of the principle that sea law to be just and worthy of general respect must be based on the consent of the governed.

III. Arbitration.—As we had secured peace at home by referring interstate disputes to a Federal tribunal, we urged a similar settlement of international controversies. Our ideal was a permanent world court. We had already signed ar-

bitration treaties not only with great powers which might conceivably attack us, but even more freely with weaker neighbors in order to show our good faith in recognizing the equality of all nations both great and small. We had made plain to the nations our purpose to forestall by every means in our power the recurrence of wars in the world.

The outbreak of war in 1914 caught this nation by surprise. The peoples of Europe had had at least some warnings of the coming storm, but to us such a blind, savage onslaught on the ideals of civilization had appeared impossible.

The war was incomprehensible. Either side was championed here by millions living among us who were of European birth. Their contradictory accusations threw our thought into disarray, and in the first chaotic days we could see no clear issue that affected our national policy. There was no direct assault on our rights. It seemed at first to most of us a purely European dispute, and our minds were not prepared to take sides in such a conflict. The President's proclamation of neutrality was received by us as natural and inevitable. It was quickly followed by his appeal to "the citizens of the Republic."

"Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality," he said, "which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. * * * It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it." He expressed the fear that our nation might become divided in camps of hostile opinion. "Such divisions among us * * * might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend."

This purpose—the preservation of a strict neutrality in order that later we might be of use in the great task of mediation—dominated all the President's early speeches.

"We are the mediating nation of the world," he declared in an address on April 20, 1915. "We are compounded of the nations of the world; we mediate their blood, we mediate their traditions, we mediate their sentiments, their tastes, their passions; we are ourselves compounded of those things. We are, therefore, able to understand them in the compound, not separately as partisans, but unitedly as knowing and comprehending and embodying them all. It is in that sense that I mean that America is a mediating nation."

American neutrality, in those first months of the great war, was beyond any question real.

Stirred by Events in Belgium

But the spirit of neutrality was not easy to maintain. Public opinion was deeply stirred by the German invasion of Belgium and by reports of atrocities there. The Royal Belgian Commission, which came in September, 1914, to lay their country's cause for complaint before our National Government, was received with sympathy and respect. The President in his reply reserved our decision in the affair. It was the only course he could take without an abrupt departure from our most treasured traditions of non-interference in Old World disputes. But the sympathy of America went out to the Belgians in the heroic tragedy, and from every section of our land money contributions and supplies of food and clothing poured over to the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which was under the able management of our fellow-countrymen abroad.

Still, the thought of taking an active part in this European war was very far from most of our minds. The nation shared with the President the belief that by maintaining a strict neutrality we could best serve Europe at the end as impartial mediators.

But in the very first days of the war our Government foresaw that complications on the seas might put us in grave risk of being drawn into the conflict. No neutral nation could foretell what violations of its vital interests at sea might be attempted by the belligerents. And so, on Aug. 6, 1914, our Secretary of State dispatched an iden-

tical note to all the powers then at war, calling attention to the risk of serious trouble arising out of this uncertainty of neutrals as to their maritime rights, and proposing that the Declaration of London be accepted by all nations for the duration of the war.

Controversies With Great Britain

But the British Government's response, while expressing sympathy with the purpose of our suggestion and declaring their "keen desire to consult so far as possible the interests of neutral countries," announced their decision "to adopt generally the rules of the Declaration in question, subject to certain modifications and additions which they judge indispensable to the efficient conduct of their naval operations." The Declaration had not been indorsed by any power in time of peace, and there was no legal obligation on Great Britain to accept it. Her reply, however, was disappointing, for it did nothing to clarify the situation. Great Britain recognized as binding certain long-accepted principles of international law and sought now to apply them to the peculiar and unforeseen conditions of this war. But these principles were often vague and therefore full of dangerous possibilities of friction.

Controversies soon arose between Great Britain and this nation. In practice their ruling sometimes seemed to our Government inconsistent with the spirit of international law, and especially with the established precedents which they invoked. But, painful as this divergency of opinion sometimes was, it did not seriously threaten our position of neutrality, for the issues that arose involved only rights of property and were amply covered by the arbitration treaty signed only a short time before by Great Britain and the United States.

And this controversy led to a clearer understanding on our part of the British attitude toward our ideal of the freedom of the seas. They were not willing to accept our classification of the seas as being distinct from the Old World. We had confined our interest to matters affecting rights at sea and had kept carefully aloof from issues affecting the interests of European nations on land. The British were interested in both. They explained that they had participated in the London naval conference in the hope that it would lead to a sound and liberal entente in the interest of the rights of all nations on the sea and on the land as well, and that they had refused to ratify the London Declaration because no compensating accord on the Continent had resulted. They could not afford to decrease the striking power of their navy unless their powerful neighbors on land agreed to decrease their armies.

America's Changed Attitude

That this attitude of England deeply impressed our Government is shown by the increasing attention given by the United States to the search for ways and means of insuring at the end of the war a lasting peace for all the world. The address of our President, on May 27, 1916, before the League to Enforce Peace was a milestone in our history.

He outlined the main principles on which a stable peace must rest, principles plainly indicating that this nation would have to give up its position of isolation and assume the responsibilities of a world power. The President said:

> So sincerely do we believe these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation.

It was a new and significant note in our foreign policy. But the mind of America had learned much in the long, bitter months of war. Future historians will make charts of this remarkable evolution in our public opinion: the gradual abandonment of the illusion of isolation; the slow growth of a realization that we could not win freedom on sea—for us a vital interest—unless we consented to do our share in maintaining freedom on land as well, and that we could not have peace in the world—the peace we loved and needed for the perfection of our democracy—unless we were willing and prepared to help to restrain any nation that willfully endangered the peace of the whole world family.

Had this address of the President come before the war there would have arisen a storm of protest from all sections of the land. But in May, 1916, the nation's response was emphatic approval.

No Treaty with Germany

In the meantime, although our neutral rights were not brought into question by Germany as early as by England, the German controversy was infinitely more serious.

For any dissension that might arise no arbitration treaty existed between the United States and the German Government. This was from no fault of ours. We had tried to establish with Germany the same treaty relations we had with Great Britain and nineteen other nations. But these overtures had been rejected. And this action on the part of the Imperial German Government was only one example of its whole system of diplomacy. In both conferences at The Hague it had been the German delegates who were the most active in blocking all projects for the pacific settlement of disputes between nations.

They had preferred to limit international relations to the old modes of diplomacy and war. It was therefore obvious from the first that any controversy with the German Government would be exceedingly serious; for if it could not be solved by direct diplomatic conversations, there was no recourse except to war.

From such conversations there is small hope of satisfactory results unless the good faith of both sides is profound. If either side lacks good faith, or reveals in all its actions an insidious hostility, diplomacy is of no avail. And so it has proved in the present case.

In the first year of the war the Government of Germany stirred up among its people a feeling of resentment against the United States on account of our insistence upon our right as a neutral nation to trade in munitions with the belligerent powers. Our legal right in the matter was not seriously questioned by Germany. She could not have done so consistently, for as recently as the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 both Germany and Austria sold munitions to the belligerents. Their appeals to us in the present war were not to observe international law, but to revise it in their interest. And these appeals they tried to make on moral and humanitarian grounds. But upon "the moral issue" involved, the stand taken by the United States was consistent with its traditional policy and with obvious common sense.

Our Defense at Stake

For, if, with all other neutrals, we refused to sell munitions to belligerents, we could never in time of a war of our own obtain munitions from neutrals, and the nation which had accumulated the largest reserves of war supplies in time of peace would be assured of victory.

The militarist State that invested its money in arsenals would be at a fatal advantage over the free people who invested their wealth in schools. To write into international law that neutrals should not trade in munitions would be to hand over the world to the rule of the nation with the largest armament factories. Such a policy the United States of America could not accept.

But our principal controversy with the German Government, and the one which rendered the situation at once acute, rose out of their announcement of a sea zone where their submarines would operate in violation of all accepted principles of international law. Our indignation at such a threat was soon rendered passionate by the sinking of the Lusitania. This attack upon our rights was not only grossly illegal; it defied the fundamental concepts of humanity.

Aggravating restraints on our trade were grievances which could be settled by litigation after the war, but the wanton murder of peaceable men and of innocent women and children, citizens of a nation with which Germany was at peace, was a crime against the civilized world which could never be settled in any court.

Our Government, however, inspired still by a desire to preserve peace if possible, used every resource of diplomacy to force the German Government to abandon such attacks. This diplo-

matic correspondence, which has already been published, proves beyond doubt that our Government sought by every honorable means to preserve faith in that mutual sincerity between nations which is the only basis of sound diplomatic interchange.

But evidence of the bad faith of the Imperial German Government soon piled up on every hand. Honest efforts on our part to establish a firm basis of good neighborliness with the German people were met by their Government with quibbles, misrepresentations, and counteraccusations against their enemies abroad.

Work of Hostile Spies

And meanwhile in this country official agents of the Central Powers—protected from criminal prosecution by diplomatic immunity—conspired against our internal peace and placed spies and agents provocateurs throughout the length and breadth of our land, and even in high positions of trust in departments of our Government.

While expressing a cordial friendship for the people of the United States, the Government of Germany had its agents at work both in Latin America and Japan. They bought or subsidized papers and supported speakers there to rouse feelings of bitterness and distrust against us in those friendly nations, in order to embroil us in war. They were inciting to insurrection in Cuba, in Haiti, and in Santo Domingo; their hostile hand was stretched out to take the Danish Islands; and everywhere in South America they were abroad sowing the seeds of dissension, trying to stir up one nation against another and all against the United States.

In their sum these various operations amounted to direct assault upon the Monroe Doctrine. And even if we had given up our right to travel on the sea, even if we had surrendered to German threats and abandoned our legitimate trade in munitions, the German offensive in the New World, in our own land and among our neighbors, was becoming too serious to be ignored.

So long as it was possible, the Government of the United States tried to believe that such activities, the evidence of which was already in a large measure at hand, were the work of irresponsible and misguided individuals. It was only reluctantly, in the face of overwhelming proof, that the recall of the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador and of the German Military and Naval Attachés was demanded.

Proof of their criminal violations of our hospitality was presented to their Governments. But these Governments in reply offered no apologies nor did they issue reprimands. It became clear that such intrigue was their settled policy.

In the meantime the attacks of the German submarines upon the lives and property of American citizens had gone on; the protests of our Government were now sharp and ominous, and this nation was rapidly being drawn into a state of war.

Warnings Given by President

As the President said in Topeka, on Feb. 2, 1916:

> We are not going to invade any nation's right. But suppose, my fellow-countrymen, some nation should invade our rights. What then? * * * I have come here to tell you that the difficulties of our foreign policy * * * daily increase in number and intricacy and in danger; and I would be derelict to my duty to you if I did not deal with you in these matters with the utmost candor, and tell you what it may be necessary to use the force of the United States to do.

The next day, at St. Louis, he repeated his warning:

> The danger is not from within, gentlemen, it is from without; and I am bound to tell you that that danger is constant and immediate—not because anything new has happened, not because there has been any change in our international relationships within recent weeks or months, but because the danger comes with every turn of events.

The break would have come sooner if our Government had not been restrained by the hope that saner counsels might still prevail in Germany. For it was well known to us that the German people had to a very large extent been kept in ignorance of many of the secret crimes of their Government against us.

And the presence of a faction of German public opinion less hostile to this

country was shown when their Government acquiesced to some degree in our demands at the time of the Sussex outrage, and for nearly a year maintained at least a pretense of observing the pledge they had made to us. The tension was abated.

While the war spirit was growing in some sections of our nation, there was still no widespread desire to take part in the conflict abroad; for the tradition of non-interference in Europe's political affairs was too deeply rooted in our national life to be easily overthrown.

Moreover, two other considerations strengthened our Government in its efforts to remain neutral in this war. The first was our traditional sense of responsibility toward all the republics of the New World. Throughout the crisis our Government was in constant communication with the countries of Central and South America.

They, too, preferred the ways of peace. And there was a very obvious obligation upon us to safeguard their interests with our own.

The second consideration, which had been so often developed in the President's speeches, was the hope that by keeping aloof from the bitter passions abroad, by preserving untroubled here the holy ideals of civilized intercourse between nations, we might be free at the end of this war to bind up the wounds of the conflict, to be the restorers and rebuilders of the wrecked structure of the world.

Neutrality Becomes Unsafe

All these motives held us back, but it was not long until we were beset by further complications. We soon had reason to believe that the recent compliance of the German Government had not been made to us in good faith, and was only temporary, and by the end of 1916 it was plain that our neutral status had again been made unsafe through the ever-increasing aggressiveness of the German autocracy. There was a general agreement here with the statement of our President on Oct. 26, 1916, that this conflict was the last great war involving the world in which we would remain neutral.

It was in this frame of mind, fearing we might be drawn into the war if it did not soon come to an end, that the President began the preparation of his note, asking the belligerent powers to define their war aims. But before he had completed it the world was surprised by the peace move of the German Government—an identical note on behalf of the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, sent through neutral powers on Dec. 12, 1916, to the Governments of the Allies, proposing negotiations for peace.

While expressing the wish to end this war—"a catastrophe which thousands of years of common civilization was unable to prevent and which injures the most precious achievements of humanity"—the greater portion of the note was couched in terms that gave small hope of a lasting peace.

Boasting of German conquests, "the glorious deeds of our armies," the note implanted in neutral minds the belief that it was the purpose of the Imperial German Government to insist upon such conditions as would leave all Central Europe under German dominance and so build up an empire which would menace the whole liberal world.

Moreover, the German proposal was accompanied by a thinly veiled threat to all neutral nations; and from a thousand sources, official and unofficial, the word came to Washington that unless the neutrals used their influence to bring the war to an end on terms dictated from Berlin, Germany and her allies would consider themselves henceforth free from any obligations to respect the rights of neutrals.

The Kaiser ordered the neutrals to exert pressure on the Entente to bring the war to an abrupt end, or to beware of the consequences. Clear warnings were brought to our Government that if the German peace move should not be successful, the submarines would be unleashed for a more intense and ruthless war upon all commerce.

On the 18th of December the President dispatched his note to all the belligerent powers, asking them to define their war aims. There was still hope in our minds that the mutual suspicions between the warring powers might be decreased, and

the menace of future German aggression and dominance be removed, by finding a guaranty of good faith in a league of nations.

There was a chance that by the creation of such a league as part of the peace negotiations the war could now be brought to an end before our nation was involved. Two statements issued to the press by our Secretary of State, upon the day the note was dispatched, threw a clear light on the seriousness with which our Government viewed the crisis.

German Reply Evasive

From this point, events moved rapidly. The powers of the Entente replied to the German peace note. Neutral nations took action on the note of the President, and from both belligerents replies to this note were soon in our hands.

The German reply was evasive—in accord with their traditional preference for diplomacy behind closed doors. Refusing to state to the world their terms, Germany and her allies merely proposed a conference. They adjourned all discussion of any plan for a league of peace until after hostilities should end.

The response of the Entente Powers was frank and in harmony with our principal purpose. Many questions raised in the statement of their aims were so purely European in character as to have small interest for us; but our great concern in Europe was the lasting restoration of peace, and it was clear that this was also the chief interest of the Entente nations.

As to the wisdom of some of the measures they proposed toward this end, we might differ in opinion, but the trend of their proposals was the establishment of just frontiers based on the rights of all nations, the small as well as the great, to decide their own destinies.

The aims of the belligerents were now becoming clear. From the outbreak of hostilities the German Government had claimed that it was fighting a war of defense. But the tone of its recent proposals had been that of a conqueror. It sought a peace based on victory.

The Central Empires aspired to extend their domination over other races. They were willing to make liberal terms to any one of their enemies, in a separate peace which would free their hands to crush other opponents. But they were not willing to accept any peace which did not, all fronts considered, leave them victors and the dominating imperial power of Europe.

The war aims of the Entente showed a determination to thwart this ambition of the Imperial German Government. Against the German peace to further German growth and aggression the Entente Powers offered a plan for a European peace that should make the whole Continent secure.

Blow at German Domination

At this juncture the President read his address to the Senate, on Jan. 22, 1917, in which he outlined the kind of peace the United States of America could join in guaranteeing. His words were addressed not only to the Senate and this nation, but to people of all countries:

> May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

The address was a rebuke to those who still cherished dreams of a world dominated by one nation. For the peace he outlined was not that of a victorious Emperor, it was not the peace of Caesar. It was in behalf of all the world, and it was a peace of the people:

> No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.
>
> I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.
>
> I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them

in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose, all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are convinced disciples of liberty, and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

And the paths of the sea must, alike in law and in fact, be free. The freedom of the seas is the sine qua non of peace, equality, and co-operation.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armament and the co-operation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation. * * * There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained.

Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The Issue Becomes Clearer

If there were any doubt in our minds as to which of the great alliances was the more in sympathy with these ideals, it was removed by the popular response abroad to this address of the President. For, while exception was taken to some parts of it in Britain and France, it was plain that so far as the peoples of the Entente were concerned the President had been amply justified in stating that he spoke for all forward-looking, liberal-minded men and women. It was not so in Germany. The people there who could be reached, and whose hearts were stirred by this enunciation of the principles of a people's peace, were too few or too oppressed to make their voices heard in the councils of their nation. Already, on Jan. 16, 1917, unknown to the people of Germany, Herr Zimmermann, their Secretary of Foreign Affairs, had secretly dispatched a note to their Minister in Mexico, informing him of the German intention to repudiate the Sussex pledge and instructing him to offer to the Mexican Government New Mexico and Arizona if Mexico would join with Japan in attacking the United States.

In the new year of 1917, as through our acceptance of world responsibilities so plainly indicated in the President's utterances in regard to a league of nations we felt ourselves now drawing nearer to a full accord with the Powers of the Entente; and, as on the other hand, we found ourselves more and more outraged at the German Government's methods of conducting warfare and their brutal treatment of people in their conquered lands; as we more and more uncovered their hostile intrigues against the peace of the New World; and, above all, as the sinister and anti-democratic ideals of their ruling class became manifest in their manoeuvres for a peace of conquest—the Imperial German Government abruptly threw aside the mask.

Unlimited Submarine Warfare

On the last day of January, 1917, Count Bernstorff handed to Mr. Lansing a note, in which his Government announced its purpose to intensify and render more ruthless the operations of their submarines at sea, in a manner against which our Government had protested from the beginning. The German Chancellor also stated before the Imperial Diet that the reason this ruthless policy had not been earlier employed was simply because the Imperial Government had not then been ready to act. In brief, under the guise of friendship and the cloak of false promises, it had been preparing this attack.

This was the direct challenge. There was no possible answer except to hand their Ambassador his passports and so have done with a diplomatic correspondence which had been vitiated from the start by the often proved bad faith of the Imperial Government.

On the same day, Feb. 3, 1917, the

President addressed both houses of our Congress and announced the complete severance of our relations with Germany. The reluctance with which he took this step was evident in every word. But diplomacy had failed, and it would have been the hollowest pretense to maintain relations. At the same time, however, he made it plain that he did not regard this act as tantamount to a declaration of war. Here for the first time the President made his sharp distinction between government and people in undemocratic lands:

"We are the sincere friends of the German people," he said, "and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. * * * God grant we may not be challenged by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany."

In this address of the President, and in its indorsement by the Senate, there was a solemn warning; for we still had hope that the German Government might hesitate to drive us to war. But it was soon evident that our warning had fallen on deaf ears. The tortuous ways and means of German official diplomacy were clearly shown in the negotiations opened by them through the Swiss Legation on the 10th of February. In no word of their proposals did the German Government meet the real issue between us. And our State Department replied that no minor negotiations could be entertained until the main issue had been met by the withdrawal of the submarine order.

The Armed Neutrality Phase

By the 1st of March it had become plain that the Imperial Government, unrestrained by the warning in the President's address to Congress on Feb. 3, was determined to make good its threat. The President then again appeared before Congress to report the development of the crisis and to ask the approval of the representatives of the nation for the course of armed neutrality upon which, under his constitutional authority, he had now determined. More than 500 of the 531 members of the two houses of Congress showed themselves ready and anxious to act; and the armed neutrality declaration would have been accepted if it had not been for the legal death of the Sixty-fourth Congress on March 4.

No "overt" act, however, was ordered by our Government until Count Bernstorff had reached Berlin and Mr. Gerard was in Washington. For the German Ambassador on his departure had begged that no irrevocable decision should be taken until he had had the chance to make one final plea for peace to his sovereign. We do not know the nature of his report to the Kaiser; we know only that, even if he kept his pledge and urged an eleventh-hour revocation of the submarine order, he was unable to sway the policy of the Imperial Government.

And so, having exhausted every resource of patience, our Government on the 12th of March finally issued orders to place armed guards on our merchant ships.

American Aloofness Ended

With the definite break in diplomatic relations there vanished the last vestige of cordiality toward the Government of Germany. Our attitude was now to change. So long as we had maintained a strict neutrality in the war, for the reason that circumstances might arise in which Europe would have need of an impartial mediator, for us to have given official heed to the accusations of either party would have been to prejudge the case before all the evidence was in.

But now at last, with the breaking of friendly relations with the German Government, we were relieved of the oppressive duty of endeavoring to maintain a judicial detachment from the rights and wrongs involved in the war. We were no longer the outside observers striving to hold an even balance of judgment between disputants. One party by direct attack upon our rights and liberties was forcing us into the conflict. And, much as we had hoped to keep out of the fray, it was no little relief to be free at last from that reserve which is expected of a judge.

Much evidence had been presented to us of things so abhorrent to our ideas of

humanity that they had seemed incredible, things we had been loath to believe, and with heavy hearts we had sought to reserve our judgment. But with the breaking of relations with the Government of Germany that duty at last was ended. The perfidy of that Government in its dealings with this nation relieved us of the necessity of striving to give them the benefit of the doubt in regard to their crimes abroad. The Government which under cover of profuse professions of friendship had tried to embroil us in war with Mexico and Japan could not expect us to believe in its good faith in other matters. The men whose paid agents dynamited our factories here were capable of the infamies reported against them over the sea. Their Government's protestations, that their purpose was self-defense and the freeing of small nations, fell like a house of cards before the revelation of their " peace terms."

And judging the German Government now in the light of our own experience through the long and patient years of our honest attempt to keep the peace, we could see the great autocracy and read her record through the war. And we found that record damnable. Beginning long before the war in Prussian opposition to every effort that was made by other nations and our own to do away with warfare, the story of the autocracy has been one of vast preparations for war combined with an attitude of arrogant intolerance toward all other points of view, all other systems of governments, all other hopes and dreams of men.

Germany's Criminal Record

With a fanatical faith in the destiny of German Kultur as the system that must rule the world, the Imperial Government's actions have through years of boasting, double dealing, and deceit tended toward aggression upon the rights of others. And, if there still be any doubt as to which nation began this war, there can be no uncertainty as to which one was most prepared, most exultant at the chance, and ready instantly to march upon other nations—even those who had given no offense.

The wholesale depredations and hideous atrocities in Belgium and in Serbia were doubtless part and parcel with the Imperial Government's purpose to terrorize small nations into abject submission for generations to come. But in this the autocracy has been blind. For its record in those countries, and in Poland and in Northern France, has given not only to the Allies but to liberal peoples throughout the world the conviction that this menace to human liberties everywhere must be utterly shorn of its power for harm.

For the evil it has effected has ranged far out of Europe—out upon the open seas, where its submarines in defiance of law and the concepts of humanity have blown up neutral vessels and covered the waves with the dead and the dying, men and women and children alike. Its agents have conspired against the peace of neutral nations everywhere, sowing the seeds of dissension, ceaselessly endeavoring by tortuous methods of deceit, of bribery, false promises, and intimidation to stir up brother nations one against the other, in order that the liberal world might not be able to unite, in order that the autocracy might emerge triumphant from the war.

All this we know from our own experience with the Imperial Government. As they have dealt with Europe, so they have dealt with us and with all mankind. And so out of these years the conviction has grown that until the German Nation is divested of such rulers democracy cannot be safe.

Russia Removes the Last Doubt

There remained but one element to confuse the issue. One other great autocracy, the Government of the Russian Czar, had long been hostile to free institutions; it had been a stronghold of tyrranies reaching far back into the past, and its presence among the Allies had seemed to be in disaccord with the great liberal principles they were upholding in this war. Russia had been a source of doubt. Repeatedly during the conflict liberal Europe had been startled by the news of secret accord between the Kaiser and the Czar.

But now at this crucial time for our

nation, on the eve of our entrance into the war, the free men of all the world were thrilled and heartened by the news that the people of Russia had risen to throw off their Government and found a new democracy; and the torch of freedom in Russia lit up the last dark phases of the situation abroad. Here, indeed, was a fit partner for the League of Honor. The conviction was finally crystallized in American minds and hearts that this war across the sea was no mere conflict between dynasties, but a stupendous civil war of all the world; a new campaign in the age-old war, the prize of which is liberty. Here, at last, was a struggle in which all who love freedom have a stake. Further neutrality on our part would have been a crime against our ancestors, who had given their lives that we might be free.

"The world must be made safe for democracy."

State of War Declared

On the 2d of April, 1917, the President read to the new Congress his message, in which he asked the Representatives of the nation to declare the existence of a state of war, and in the early hours of the 6th of April the House by an overwhelming vote accepted the joint resolution which had already passed the Senate:

Whereas, The Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on the war against the Imperial German Government, and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.

Neutrality was a thing of the past. The time had come when the President's proud prophecy was fulfilled:

There will come that day when the world will say, "This America that we thought was full of a multitude of contrary counsels now speaks with the great volume of the heart's accord, and that great heart of America has behind it the supreme moral force of righteousness and hope and the liberty of mankind.

To the United States of America

By ROBERT BRIDGES

British Poet Laureate

Brothers in blood! They who this wrong began
To wreck our commonwealth, will rue the day
When first they challenged freemen to the fray,
And with the Briton dared the American.
Now are we pledged to win the Rights of man;
Labor and Justice now shall have their way,
And in a League of Peace—God grant we may—
Transform the earth, not patch up the old plan.

Sure is our hope since he who led your nation
Spoke for mankind, and ye arose in awe
Of that high call to work the world's salvation;
Clearing your minds of all estranging blindness
In the vision of Beauty and the Spirit's law,
Freedom and Honor and sweet Loving kindness.

April 30, 1917.

HENRY E. DUKE

Chief Secretary for Ireland, Who Has Been Recommended by the British Government as Chairman of the Convention Called to Settle the Question of Irish Home Rule.

(Photo American Press Association)

CANADIAN LEADERS IN THE WAR

SIR ROBERT BORDEN
Premier and Leader in the Fight for Conscription.
(Photo Campbell Studios.)

SIR WILFRID LAURIER
Ex-Premier and Chief Opponent of Conscription.

W. J. HANNA
Recently Appointed Food Controller.
(Photo Press Illustrating Service.)

SIR ARTHUR CURRIE
Commander in Chief of the Canadian Corps in France.
(Photo Press Illustrating Service.)

Why We Entered the Great War

Address by William Howard Taft

Former President of the United States

[Delivered at the 121st Commencement Excercises of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., June 13, 1917]

Mr. Taft first summarized the attacks on our shipping and the plots that led up to our entry into the war, and then continued:

NOW, was there any other alternative for us than to declare war? I would like to begin with the fundamentals. That depends upon what in fact and in law the act of Germany was. What was the law? It is what is called international law; that is, a rule of conduct adopted by the acquiescence of all nations, of one nation toward another, both in peace and in war. The branch of international law in which we are concerned here is perhaps the most definitely fixed of any branch of that jurisprudence, which in some respects is indefinite. It is the branch that governs the capture of commercial vessels at sea. For a hundred years there has been very little doubt about the rules that control that field of jurisprudence. During the Napoleonic wars a great many commercial vessels were captured and in the procedure instituted they had to be brought into the domestic courts of prize where these rules were laid down. At the same time on our own side of the ocean our Supreme Court settled many of the cases. In our civil war, in the war between France and Germany, similar conditions were made. So that when we speak of that law we are speaking of a law that has some similitude to our domestic law.

In the first place, a belligerent—one of those engaged in war upon the high seas—may seize a commercial vessel of its enemy, may confiscate the vessel and its cargo, and, if necessity requires, may sink or burn it. The second is that a neutral vessel may be seized by a belligerent vessel upon the high seas and examined to see whether that neutral vessel is carrying contraband to the enemy of the captor, and if so, the contraband may be confiscated. Third, a belligerent vessel may blockade a port of its enemy. It must blockade it with visible vessels and a knowledge to the world that a blockade exists. Even if a neutral vessel enter this blockade it may be seized by the belligerent and the cargo confiscated.

These are the three rules that cover the whole field of capture of commercial vessels. But accompanying these rules is the limitation that in taking a commercial vessel which makes no response when hailed, which does not attempt to escape under the circumstances I have described, it is the bounden duty of the captor to see to it that the officers, the crew, and the passengers, all of the ship's company, shall be put in a safe place. The captor may, as I say, sink or burn the vessel at the time or it may take it into port and have it adjudged a prize, but in either case the captor is bound to secure the lives of those who are upon that commercial vessel.

Deliberate Violations

Germany has violated that rule. It has deliberately caused the death of men, women and children on the high seas, under the American flag, and where they had a right to be. Killing against the law with deliberation is murder, and Germany has been guilty of murder of 200 of our fellow-citizens, innocent of any offense, national or international.

Now, what is our duty under these circumstances? The Constitution of the United States is interpreted by the Supreme Court to say the duty of the citizens of the United States is to render allegiance, to do service, to pay taxes, and support the Government, and the corresponding duty of the United States

as a Government is to protect the rights of citizens of the United States at home and abroad. Because one citizen of the United States puts himself under the lawful jurisdiction of another country, the absolute right of protection is qualified by his voluntary submission to another jurisdiction. The necessity for protection is not entirely taken away, but it is qualified. When a man is on an American deck and under the American flag, a citizen of the United States, he is as much entitled to protection from the unlawful invasion of a foreign power as if he stood on the soil of the United States.

In view, therefore, of the murder of these 200 citizens and of the announcement of a policy to continue these murders, what alternative was there left open other than a declaration of war to the United States? Suppose this had been Guatemala which had sunk one of our vessels and had sent ten of our sailors to the bottom? How many hours do you think it would be before the President and the Secretary of the Navy would send a battleship down to Guatemala and be thundering at the ports of that republic and demanding restitution, demanding a promise of conduct hereafter, demanding damages for what had been done, and on failure to answer promptly, to begin a bombardment? Even pacifists would have justified that.

Difficult Situations

Now, what is the difference between that situation and this? None? Yes. A very great difference. The nation that has done this is the greatest military nation in the world. It is a nation with which, if we engage, we are likely to lose, it may be, a million men, and all that to resent the sacrifice of only 200 souls. That, it is said, is a trivial discrepancy. Is it? It is if you look at it from a grossly material and mathematical standpoint, but it is not if you understand what it means to consent to the murder of 200 of our citizens because there is a powerful nation you have to meet and overcome in order to vindicate the rights of our citizens. It means submission to the domination of another power; it means giving up the independence for which we fought in 1776 and which we made sacrifices to maintain in 1861.

There was great criticism of the Administration because we did not immediately act as we now have acted. I am not going into the pros and cons of that discussion. It suffices to say that the self-restraint, the deliberation, the tolerance, if you choose, which characterized that policy, has had this great and good effect. It has shown to the world, and it has shown to our people that in entering this war we have done it with the utmost reluctance, and in entering the war we are entirely void of offense. It has shown that we have been forced in and that the situation has been such that no self-respecting nation, no nation which appreciates what a government is formed for, could avoid doing what we are doing when the rights of our citizens, the preservation of which is the chief object of government, have been defiantly violated by a power that rests for its right upon might.

Why We Are in War

That is why we are in. There are many of us who think, "for my country, right or wrong; may she always be right, but always for my country." I do not care to discuss that philosophy, but I do think it important we should realize and take it home to our souls we do not need that kind of philosophy in fighting out the fight we are to fight now. In 1776 we were fighting for our own independence and the development of our future. In 1861 we tried to eliminate that living lie in the Declaration of Independence, which declared that "all men are born free and equal." It took us four years of a terrible struggle to demonstrate to the world what had been doubted. We demonstrated to the world that we could make sacrifices of lives and treasure for the maintenance of a moral principle and the integrity of the nation. We showed in the words of Lincoln, that "the rule of the people should not perish from the earth."

And then we went on and increased from 30,000,000 to 100,000,000 people, and we created a material expansion

which has given us greater wealth than any other country. We have had comfort and luxury. Now the question was when this issue came on whether in that change from 30,000,000 to 100,000,000, from comparative wealth to great wealth, we had lost the moral spirit we had before shown, we had become so enervated by our success that we felt it was not wise to risk the lives of those dear to us, to risk the destruction that war must bring in order to assert our rights. Now we have stepped to the forefront of nations, and they look to us.

Before we came into this fight Russia had become a democracy, and we find ourselves fighting shoulder to shoulder with the democracies of the world. We find arrayed against us the military dynasties of the world, Germany, Austria, and Turkey. Of course, people say England has a King; so has Italy and other countries that are fighting on our side. A democracy is a country ruled by the people. The King of England and the King of Italy haven't any more influence over the policies of their country than an ex-President.

Form Not Our Business

The issue at present is drawn between the democracies of the world and the military dynasties, and people like to characterize that as the issue. It is and it isn't. What I mean by that is: The United States is not a knight-errant country going about to independent people and saying, "We do not like your form of government, we have tried our own popular government and we think it is better for you to take it, and you have got to take it." That is a very unreasonable position, in so far as that form of government deals with only their domestic pursuits and their domestic happiness. If they like to have a Czar, if they prefer it, why, it isn't for us to take away their freedom of will. Otherwise we shall go back to the logic of the Inquisition, when they burned people in this world so that they might not burn in the next.

But when their form of government involves a policy which does not confine its opinions to the people who make the government or support it, but becomes a visible policy against the welfare and happiness of the rest of the world family, we have a right and a duty, standing with other nations as we do, to see to it that such a foreign policy is stopped and stamped out forever.

I will not minimize or confuse. Germany is not exhausted. That machine which it has been creating for fifty years is a wonderful machine. * * * It did not interfere with Austria until Austria showed some signs of coming into a conference, and then it said to Austria, "This is the time to strike." It had been creating this force for fifty years, and now seemed the time to make it most effective. * * *

This militarism is a cancer which must be cut out by a surgical operation. It shows its malignant character in the utter disregard of the rules of war. It shows itself in the violation of Belgium, in the policy of frightfulness in order to subjugate Belgium; in the violation of The Hague treaties, which forbid the dropping of explosives out of aerial craft, the planting of mines, the use of asphyxiating gases and flames, all spread out in The Hague treaties, and all violated promptly by this German military machine.

It is therefore a cancer which would absorb the wholesome life of the world unless it is cut out, and necessitates suffering and pain in ridding the world of it. There are other evidences of divine plan. Think of the battle of the Marne, where this matchless machine began to find France and England unprepared, and they turned at the Marne when the German hosts with their guns were heard in Paris, and by mere moral force they turned these German legions back. Think of the blindness of this absorption of gross materialism as brought into the intellect of the Germans.

Don't Understand Others

They cannot understand other people. They cannot recognize a moral force that binds people together in a cause. They said England will not stand by Belgium; it has trouble with Ireland; they said France is torn with Socialism and it is a decadent nation. In both cases they made

blunders. They said as regards Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, England has no control over them by force; they are far removed from it and will follow the path of materialism and gain; they will follow where profit determines; they will not be held. And yet, nothing has been grander than this light bond which unites England with these independent dependencies, and they have rallied to the support of the mother country, responded out of gratitude for the liberty that it had conferred upon them, and they have made sacrifices which call for our profound admiration. Think of it. Canada has furnished upward of 400,000 men. Nearly every home in English Canada is mourning—their best and most beloved. If we furnish as many men as they have for this war our armies will reach 6,500,000 men.

If our contributions to the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., and other voluntary individual contributions, in addition to taxes, reach the figures which they have in Canada, we shall contribute $14 to $15 per capita.

My friends, those are the mistakes or blunders that Germany has made, self-imposed or imposed by a definite rule that when you subject yourself to grossly material considerations you lose the higher mental and spiritual forces which enable you to conquer in the end.

Now, the last blunder of all. In its determination to depend upon the devilish ingenuity of science in the development of war, the Germans said: "We can starve England out with this submarine." When it saw us it said, "There is a tango-loving nation, too fat to fight, too lazy to go into the trenches," and they have deliberately forced us into the ranks of their enemies. Think of it. They have been fighting for nearly three years. The exhaustion that has come to them has had no comparison in history. The war must be determined by the weight of wealth and resources and the courageous men which can be gathered together to fight it out and be sure of a victorious battle in the end. And yet, in the face of that fact, we should impress on them that they deliberately forced into the ranks of their enemies the nation which can furnish more wealth, more resources, more equipment, and more men than any other nation in the world.

My friends, we are going to make these sacrifices. We do not know what they are yet, and we shall not know until we see the bulletins. The English people watched the bulletins for May and saw a loss of 114,000 in the British Army; 26,000 privates killed and 16,000 officers killed in action; 76,000 privates wounded, and 3,600 officers wounded and 7,000 missing. When we watch a report like this, then it will come home to us in our souls and we shall understand the sacrifice we have to make.

Wartime Life in European Capitals

Vienna—June, 1917

By a Viennese Sojourner at Berne

VIENNA hears little of the actual fighting. The city is full of people who seem bent on enjoyment, the cafés—where conversation about the war is taboo—are full of people from morning till night, the restaurants, where everything except bread and potatoes can be obtained, if one's purse is long enough, are crowded; the opera and the theatres have nearly every seat booked in advance and the cinemas are filled at every performance. In the fashionable streets of the city one cannot help remarking the extraordinary number of officers of all ranks and of both services, who appear to have no other duties than to make themselves agreeable to ladies. Both morning and afternoon the pavements are so crowded that progress is a matter of the utmost difficulty. On all sides are fine shops full of the latest fashions which find purchasers even at the prevailing exorbitant prices. Everything is up to date and of the best, but only within the reach of the rich.

If one makes inquiries below the surface, however, one finds that housekeeping, even on the most modest scale, is almost an impossibility, owing to the difficulty of obtaining supplies. The rich solve this difficulty by giving up all idea of catering for themselves and going to a good restaurant for most of their meals, but to those of moderate or small income the food problem is an ever-increasing anxiety. The question is no longer "What shall I buy?" but "What can I buy?" for it is impossible to procure many articles which were formerly regarded as necessaries.

No longer can a customer, unless he can afford to pay a fancy price, choose a piece of meat; he must be thankful for anything he can get. Bread is not to be bought except with a bread card at a particular shop in the district in which the purchaser dwells, and very often he cannot get bread at all. The supply of potatoes is limited to one pound per person weekly, but for some weeks recently there were none on the market. Milk is so scarce that no person can have more than about one-fifth of a pint daily. Such things as coffee, butter, fat, macaroni, rice, petroleum, soap, and leather are not to be bought. Cards are the order of the day—bread cards, fat cards, sugar cards, coffee cards—indeed, meat is about the only article of food for which a card is not necessary. This is because it was found that the demand for meat was not increasing, presumably on account of its prohibitive price. But as one Viennese plaintively remarked to my informant: "What earthly use are the cards to me if I cannot procure the articles to which they are supposed to entitle me?"

The shops are full of substitutes and prices have gone up enormously—in many cases as much as 300 or 400 per cent. A pair of men's boots of medium quality costs 85 kroner, (at pre-war rates, $17.50,) a lounge suit 300 kroner ($62.50) and more; a small box of sardines 4.50 kroner, (90 cents.) Meat ranges from 6 kroner ($1.25) to 14 kroner ($2.75) per kilogram, (2.2 lbs.) Danish butter is 14 kroner per kilogram, and one candle (carriage size) costs 70 or 80 hellers, (16 cents.) Cheese costs 5 kroner ($1.04) to 7 kroner ($1.37) per kilogram, and everything else is in proportion.

The poor people are not noticeable in the streets. They are only heard of by chance, as it were, and their distress and privations during the last Winter, owing to the scarcity of coal and coke and the price of food, were the cause of numerous deaths from "hunger-typhus." Attempts are now being made to relieve their wants and cheap meat is being supplied to the really needy; but however cheap this meat may be, it is not of much use if the money is not forthcoming to pay for it.

In the country life is strenuous. The villages and small towns are peopled by

old men, women, and children, for every man and youth capable of holding a weapon has been drafted into the army. Day in and day out, from early dawn till late in the evening, the entire population of a village may be seen working on the land trying to raise a crop sufficient for their needs during the coming year, after a very large portion of the harvest has been commandeered by the Government to feed the army—and Vienna. Even in peace time the peasant lives frugally, but now he has to be content with his piece of black bread, which he soaks in his substitute for coffee, and his knödel, (a kind of dumpling,) and he may consider himself very fortunate if he can add eggs from his own fowls and potatoes from his own patch of ground. Meat he very seldom tastes, as he cannot afford to buy it, and he has also to do without many articles, as they are unobtainable in the shops.

Hopes for Peace

The attitude of the people toward the war may be described as one of total indifference—except in regard to its duration. The only desire of the people is for peace, "no matter who wins." For some little time there have been persistent rumors that Austria was about to make a separate peace. Indeed, the Burgomaster of Vienna has spoken very openly and freely about the desirability of peace. Letters received from Vienna have spoken of peace almost as a fait accompli. If Austria could shake off German influence and get good terms she would make peace tomorrow, but as she knows that she would be obliged to give up so much of her territory she is obliged to continue the fight, in the hope that something may turn up. As an Austrian soldier friend of my informant expressed it: "We are beginning to realize that all along we have been the tool of Germany, and whether we win or lose we shall have to pay, and pay dearly."

From the press it is most difficult to gather anything about the real state of affairs except as regards parliamentary reform, which is being kept in the foreground and dangled before the eyes of the people to prevent them from dwelling upon more important matters. Every paper is carefully censored and papers frequently appear with a column or more blank; it is not an unknown thing for a number not to appear at all.

Paris—July, 1917

[By a Correspondent of The New York World.]

The complete list of things regulated in Paris is as follows:

Bread—May be sold not less than twelve hours after it leaves the baker's oven; must be of uniform "standard loaf" shape, all kinds of rolls being forbidden; must contain not more than 85 per cent. of wheat flour.

Meat—May not be sold or consumed in restaurants on Mondays and Tuesdays, with the exception of horse, donkey, or mule meat, which, however, may be bought only in butcher shops and not in restaurants.

Sugar—May be sold only upon presentation of a card issued by the municipal authority, which permits the purchase of not more than 750 grams per person per month.

Pastry—May be made only of rice flour and may not be sold on Tuesdays and Wednesdays, on which days all pastry shops, tearooms, candy stores, &c., must be closed.

Coal, Gas, Transportation

Coal—Stocks in excess of one ton must be declared by all householders to the municipal authority; persons whose homes are not supplied with gas for heating and cooking are granted priority in the purchase of coal, to an extent, however, not exceeding eighty pounds per month. (Coal cards are soon to be introduced.)

Spirits—Alcohol, turpentine, gasoline, &c., may be purchased only by municipal card, to the extent of not more than two liters per month per household.

Gas and Electricity—Consumption in any household reduced by Government decree to about two-thirds of the amount consumed by the same household in November of 1913 or November of 1915.

Railroad Transportation—Trains greatly reduced in number, safe conducts for railroad travel issued only for journeys made necessary by business, health, or family reasons; each passenger limited to sixty pounds of personal baggage, except commercial travelers, who may carry up to 400 pounds by special license.

Paris Subway—Closed between 10 P. M. and 5:15 A. M., except on Thursdays, Saturdays, and Sundays, when trains run till 11:15 P. M.

Automobile Taxicabs—Reduced in number to a maximum of 5,974, of which, however, not more than 2,500 are in operation at any given hour. (There were 8,000 constantly in operation before the war.)

Automobiles in General—Are limited to a maximum consumption of forty liters of gasoline per vehicle per week.

Street Car and Bus Lines—Are in operation daily only from 6 A. M. to 10 P. M. (Only two bus lines are operating on the pre-war scale.)

Must Keep to Earth

Aviation and Ballooning—Are strictly forbidden to private individuals.

Telegrams and Cables—Are accepted for transmission only after the sender has verified his identity by passports, &c.; must not be in code; must be in French except as regards messages abroad, which may be couched in French, Italian, or English, and are subject to censorship.

Letters—Are subject to censorship, and may be received at the general delivery without verification of the recipient's identity by passports, &c. Price of postage in France has been increased to 3 cents.

Telephone Communication—Is restricted to local and a few suburban exchanges. Long-distance calls are prohibited throughout France.

Wireless Telegraphy—May be used only by the Government.

Stores—Must be closed at 7 P. M. daily, except grocery and provision establishments.

Importation and Exportation of Merchandise—Regulated by a series of restrictions decreed by the Government. In principle all imports are forbidden, but there are numerous exceptions to this law.

Firearms—May not be sold, and gunsmiths must keep a register to show to the police at monthly intervals.

Two Non-Bathing Days

Bathing Establishments — Are closed Mondays and Tuesdays.

Museums—Are closed with the exception of a few rooms in the Louvre and Luxembourg.

Theatrical, Musical, and Motion Picture Performances—Are subject to censorship by the Prefect of Police.

Advertising Matter—Must be submitted to the same authority.

Newspapers—Are subject to the military censorship; may not publish more than one edition daily or be cried by newsdealers; are restricted in size according to the form in which they appear. (Great newspapers like Le Matin and Le Temps print only one sheet four days a week.)

Photography—Is forbidden in the zone of the armies, and subject to local restrictions elsewhere.

Theatres and Concert Halls—Are permitted to give only seven evening and two matinée performances, or vice versa, and must close at 11 P. M.

No Evening Clothes

Evening Clothes and Decolleté Frocks —May not be worn at theatres or restaurants or in other public places.

Cafés and Restaurants—Must be closed at 9:30 P. M.; may not sell spirituous liquors to soldiers at any time, and to civilians before 11 A. M.; may not have orchestras.

Dancing—Is forbidden both in public places and in the home.

Games of Chance—Are not tolerated even in the fashionable clubs.

Hunting—Is forbidden except in regions where, on the responsibility of the local Government authority, a general authorization to destroy overabundant game during a specified period is issued.

Horse Racing—Is prohibited, with the exception of a few rarely authorized semi-public "trials" of thoroughbreds at which betting is not permitted.

Fairs—Save certain semi-public bazaars held for the benefit of war charities, are forbidden.

Stock Exchange Transactions in Futures—Are prohibited, except for the liquidation of contracts entered upon before the war.

Gold—May not be dealt in commercially and may not be taken out of France.

Personal liberty is restricted by numerous regulations. France is divided into three zones—of the army, of the interior, and of the frontiers. For all of them passports and municipal identification papers (permis de sejour) are required; for the zone of the armies one must also have a special safe conduct issued by the Great General Staff, and for the frontier zone a safe conduct issued by the Ministry of War. Motoring from one community to another is forbidden except in cases considered exceptional by the Government. To enter or leave France foreigners are obliged to carry passports countersigned by a French Consulate in the country from which they have come or by a Consulate in France of the country to which they are going, and in addition to all the papers mentioned above they are now required to obtain a special identity card, application for which must be made immediately.

Less than half these restrictive measures were put into effect at the time of mobilization, and all those controlling food consumption are less than six months old.

Berlin—June, 1917

[*By F. Sefton Delmer, an Australian, English Lecturer at Berlin University from* 1901 *to* 1914; *interned at Ruhleben from November,* 1914, *to March,* 1915; *resident at Berlin until May,* 1917.—*In The London Times.*]

The Germans were enthusiastic for the war only so long as they were convinced that it was going to pay a tangible, material dividend. As long as it promised to be a big scoop of other nations' wealth they were for it, heart and soul, peer and peasant, Socialist and Junker. Let this never be forgotten. Their enthusiasm waned as soon as success began to look doubtful. Their doubts will turn into execration from the moment they recognize that defeat is inevitable. The last of these three stages has not yet been reached, but they are well on in the second.

It was in the days immediately following Rumania's entrance into the war that their confidence reached its lowest ebb. It was about this time that the criticism of the Emperor and his family and his policy became positively bitter—so bitter as to alarm his Majesty not a little. The Rumanian débâcle saved the situation, and the offer of peace clinched it.

When the limelight-loving Kaiser stepped forward as the protagonist of peace it was a clever move with a double object. It aimed at throwing dust in the eyes of pacifists abroad in order to promote dissension in the ranks of the Allies, and at the same time it was meant to convince the malcontents at home that they were the victims not of the German Emperor's own criminal policy, but of "that wicked England and its accomplices."

Jeers at the Kaiser

When I remarked to the intelligent old Portierfrau of a house in the aristocratic Tiergarten quarter that I had seen the Kaiser a few days before and that he was looking very well, "Ach, der!" (Oh, he!) said the old lady. "I daresay he does, but he wouldn't look so well by a long chalk if he only knew what folk around here are thinking and saying about him. And he thought he was going to beat the English! He, indeed!"

Any one who knows German will no longer recognize the Germany in which the contemptuous demonstrative pronoun "der" can be used of his Imperial Majesty. That in itself is almost a revolution. No; the common people and, what is more, the common soldiers have not the faintest trace left of enthusiasm for the war. "Ach, Gott, wenn man nur das Ende absehen könnte," (If one only knew when and how it's all going to end,) they sigh. You hear the same song wherever you go: at the Boerse, in the banks, in the shops, and in the queues.

At the police station, where I had to report myself daily, I often exchanged a few words with the man whose duty it was to stamp my paper. He used to ask me about once a fortnight when I thought the war was coming to an end, and to give an oracular answer each time rather taxed my supply of commonplaces. With some people who asked this question I usually fell back on the reply of the Scotsman to his German prisoner: "I canna say positeevely; but I think the fur-st three year-rs'll see the wur-rst of it." On another occasion, when I modestly disclaimed all powers of second sight, the man, a furniture dealer, would not take "I haven't the fainest idea" for an answer. "Oh, you must know, all right," he said, "for you're an Englishman."

Just before I came away, however, the Möwe films were shown, and they were, from many points of view, well worth seeing. From a German standpoint they are undoubtedly a gross mistake, for, in their grim realism, they bring home to the beholder the wholesale and wanton destruction of peaceful merchantmen and lead the imagination to conceive the unspeakable horrors of the U-boat war, horrors which the Germans, as a whole, have not yet grasped. One sees on these films, which take exactly one hour to show, steamers and sailing ships brought up, one sees the torpedo strike the ship, and the noble vessel, as in agony, struggle, writhe, fill, and sink.

The effect on the spectators was the very reverse of what the military authorities wished to produce. Far from being exhilarated, the public seemed depressed by the sight of what they felt to be cold-blooded murder of unarmed ships. "Schrecklich! Schrecklich!" (Frightful!) they whisper, as if it is just beginning to dawn on them why that other more terrible and cowardly form of hostilities, the U-boat war, has made the German name so detested throughout the civilized world.

On one of the pictures one sees the Captain of the Brecknockshire after his ship has sunk, standing on the bridge of the Möwe beside Graf Dohna, the German commander. The latter had made some joke at which the British Captain, as was intended, had felt constrained to laugh, although he had just seen his ship sunk, but his heart was breaking. The chivalrous German newspapers sneer at his heartlessness. "This is an English dschentleman," they say, "laughing as he watches his ship go down!"

Hidden Casualties

In spite of all the Germans' twisting of facts, and all their skill in making the worse appear the better reason, they really do not believe they are winning. None of them has, it is true, any idea of their actual losses in the field. Vague estimates are current. I take the one that is going the rounds as being most symptomatic. Among the officials at the Deutsche Bank a report was recently in circulation estimating Germany's losses alone at 1,300,000 men killed up to the end of March, 1917. A civilian in a high official position, who was present at the discussion, contradicted this, saying that he believed this estimate to be too low by at least half a million.

But no official totals are published. The long sheets of casualties are still pasted up on the polished granite of the Kriegsakademie (Staff College) in Berlin, but one no longer sees the groups of weeping women and eager searchers that were constantly standing there in the early stages of the war. The authorities now have more expeditious private ways of informing the relatives.

In spite of their doubts about victory, and of their distrust of and resentment at the methods their own Government has adopted toward them, there is no sign that the Germans will yield till they are at their last gasp. I have, however, myself heard certain members of the Roman Catholic Centre Party in the Reichstag say that they did not see how either Germany or its enemies could possibly hold out till Christmas. Any such discouraging statements when made by less privileged individuals than members of Parliament are liable to be regarded as treasonable, and a reward of £150 is promised to any one who can bring any propagator of such rumors to book. Police proclamations to this effect adorn the advertisement pillars in the streets.

This public incitement to private denunciation has produced a reign of terror. "Nobody is safe in even the most confidential conversation," I heard a university student say. This new regulation has certainly had the effect of muzzling conversation between all but the closest of friends.

Even their idol Hindenburg now comes in for criticism. He has the reputation of being a man who boasts of never having read any books except those written on military subjects, nor have I ever seen or heard of a single statement of his that betrayed anything more than a mediocre mind. Nevertheless, among the Reventlow party Hindenburg is still a fetich.

Hindenburg or no Hindenburg, both soldiers and officers are heartily sick of the war in general and the western front in particular, from which officers are known regularly to head their letters home with the words, "Noch am Leben," (Still alive.)

And that, I think, expresses the state of Germany regarded as a whole. "In spite of everything, we're still alive!"

The well-paid munition workers excite the envy of the rest of the working classes. "These munition workers, who are getting handsome pay and all sorts of extra food, even sausage and fat, are the last who have reason to strike," says the ordinary workman.

The munition workers' strike in Berlin in the middle of April was brought about by the proclamation of a smaller bread ticket. The strike had practically no political inspiration, and was soon nipped in the bud. The authorities, fearing a new outbreak on May 1, liberally sprinkled policemen about on the bridges and at other strategic points of the town, much to their discomfort on that bleak east-wind day.

These strikes, as well as the riots at Magdeburg and Leipsic in March, seem to have been rather absurdly exaggerated in some English newspapers. As far as Berlin goes, not even a revolver shot was fired. All the talk about machine guns having been turned on the crowd is sheer moonshine.

The German Government put the people on bread rations at an early stage in the war. One after another, almost all other foodstuffs had to be brought under the card system. Only at a comparatively late date, however, was the intimate connection between the supply of food for human being and the supply of fodder for stock recognized. The tardy recognition of the economic connection between food and fodder very nearly led to disaster. The Reichsfuttermittelstelle (Imperial Fodder Commission) is now of almost greater importance than the Reichsgetreidestelle, (Imperial Breadstuffs Commission.)

These two organizations are at present working out a great scheme for the formation of a monopoly of the fodder and breadstuffs produced in the whole of Germany. Up to the middle of May Bavaria was still half unwilling to throw in its lot with Northern Germany by joining in the proposed monopoly, but was showing signs of yielding to Prussia's cajolery.

Great battles were taking place behind the scenes when I left, as I know from private sources, as to whether the new organization of the breadstuff and fodder supplies of the whole German Empire was to be run on the lines of a great private monopoly or on State socialistic lines. Some big financiers were anxious for the former, while their opponents, following Adam Smith, (Yes! Adam Smith was quoted in the commission,) maintained that such a plan would spell depredation and hasten revolution. As far as I could understand, Dr. Michaelis was likely to decide in favor of the State socialistic form.

Wood for Food

In Germany there is at present in use a method secretly but every extensively practiced of obtaining a kind of flour from wood. This "flour" goes by the name of Holzmehl. It is a modification of the discovery of a Swedish savant, whose name I have forgotten. I saw a German translation of his book on the subject in the hands of the Director of the Fodder Commission.

This new wood-fodder is a sort of forlorn hope which the landowners have eagerly clutched at. The Russian forests in the occupied districts, I have heard, are being ruthlessly cut down and turned

into wood-meal. This wood-meal is intended primarily to serve as a cattle food. Of its nutritive properties I know nothing. They are said to be low. Bread is also made from it, and I have been told that it is given to the soldiers. I am more inclined to think that it is reserved as a delicacy for the prisoners' camps. It will probably be an improvement on the war bread served out to us at Ruhleben in the Winter of 1914-15, which was made of all sorts of inferior ingredients and included flour made from straw. I remember yet the rasped, scratched feeling it produced in one's throat and digestive canal.

Constantinople—June, 1917

[*By a correspondent who obtained this expression of views from an official who investigated conditions in Turkey.*]

It is almost impossible to give a complete picture of present-day conditions in the Ottoman Empire, because even the most inquiring foreign resident in Turkey finds his efforts to obtain accurate information persistently balked. No diplomatist is allowed to leave Constantinople, except, of course, to return home; and commmunication between Ambassadors and Ministers there, and Consuls and Vice Consuls at Smyrna, Beirut, Damascus, and Jerusalem, are limited and extremely irregular. Only one non-Turk has succeeded in getting through from Smyrna to Constantinople for nearly a year. He turned up toward the end of last month, and told us that, thanks to the good feeling of the Turkish Governor there, Europeans and Americans have a very comfortable time. The British colony numbers about forty, and its members are technically supposed to be "interned." As a matter of fact, however, they are allowed complete liberty during the daytime, the only restriction being that they must be indoors before 10 o'clock each evening. The Englishmen there are nearly all representatives of large Lancashire and Yorkshire textile firms. They are greatly respected by the Turks, and bear up very bravely.

British Prisoners

British officers and men whom I have met in Turkey generally told me that they were well treated; and my own experience is similar, so far as the civilians are concerned. The internment of civilians, I admit, is frequently attended by serious hardships, but these arise from the general conditions existing in Turkey, and are not to be ascribed to cruelty on the part of the Turks. I have known cases of poor Europeans who have had to walk with their jailers hundreds of miles across barren country to inland internment camps.

The peace sentiment is daily growing stronger throughout all classes, but it is folly to imagine that Turkey will ever take the initiative toward making a separate peace. I think, on the other hand, that sympathetic handling on the part of the allied powers might "detach" Turkey from her Teutonic masters.

Popular discontent in Constantinople is provoked by the food scarcity, and not by the loss of close on 500,000 square miles of Turkish territory and 5,000,000 Turkish subjects in Asia. I don't think the average poor Turk has any spirit left to grieve greatly over empire losses, but the authorities, who probably know their people better than I do, take no risks; and an organized attempt to conceal, or at least minimize, British success in Mesopotamia and Egypt is in operation. The fall of Bagdad has not yet been officially announced in Turkey, nor has any Turkish newspaper ever contained any reference to it.

The German Grip

The Germans are more unpopular than ever; but, curiously enough, their grip on the country is tighter than ever. The only tactful thing the Germans do is to conceal the outward manifestation of their authority. The story which constantly crops up about a German garrison of 60,000 men in Constantinople is false. At the most there are not 6,000; and these are kept discreetly concealed in a building outside the city. The crews of the Goeben and Breslau never come to Constantinople, and there are no German policemen in the city. Enver Pasha still

continues to be the dominant figure in Turkey.

This man is an enigma. He rules with a hand of iron; and those of his opponents who have escaped the summary process of hanging are so terrified and obsequious that the great man rules unperturbed. The misery and suffering of the masses of the people in Constantinople and the other large cities are very great; but I doubt whether, making allowance for the size of their respective populations, there is as much abject poverty as in London or New York. It must be admitted, however, that people do actually die of starvation in Constantinople. In spite of all German efforts to impose a "system" of food distribution upon Turkey, bread is the only article of food in which a partial Government monopoly has been established. Every Turk, rich or poor, is entitled to half a pound of bread daily for one penny. If his needs extend beyond this amount, he must buy "Trangola" bread, (a kind of luxury bread,) at 1s. 8d. per pound. The Europeans find the cost of living terribly high. Early this month, as I personally ascertained, tea cost £2, coffee 14s., and sugar 8s. per pound. The middle and upper classes, in spite of, or because of, the war, live a gay, feverish kind of life. The cafés, theatres, and cinema houses are crowded daily. Special cinema performances are given for the women.

New and Old Turkey

The Young Turk Government, it must be confessed, is doing its utmost to encourage the Turks to prepare themselves for the after-the-war economic struggle. Elementary school teachers are excused military service, and new schools are springing up like mushrooms throughout the empire. The "right-for-women" movement is making astonishing progress. Let me quote the following instance, (one among many:) A great charity concert took place early last month in Constintinople, and a group of aristocratic "new" women determined to exercise their rights. They went together to the concert hall, only to find their entrance to it barred by two policemen. "There are men in there; you cannot enter," said the head policeman, in horrified tones. "We are going to enter. We've bought our tickets," said the spokeswoman of the group. "Impossible," said the policeman. "Telephone the Ministry of the Interior and see what the Minister says," cried the women. The policeman rang up the Ministry and received the laconic reply: "Let the ladies in." The "new" woman in Turkey had won another victory.

Side by side with the new movement are the old ways. I went recently to call upon the Grand Vizier and his wife. The latter ordered coffee, but in spite of repeated protests to the servants it was not until one hour and a half later that the coffee arrived. The Grand Vizier's wife is not "modern." She claps her hands to summon the servants, and does not touch an electric bell. The long delay before the coffee was served did not displease her. "You see," she explained, "that we Turks are not really suited to the rapid, go-ahead methods of the West."

New Order of Knighthood for Women in Great Britain

IN recognition of services that have been rendered both by British subjects and their allies in connection with the war the King has instituted two orders.

The first is an Order of Knighthood, to be styled "The Order of the British Empire," and to be conferred for services rendered to the empire, whether at home or abroad. This order will follow, in most respects, the precedents of other orders of knighthood, but it will consist of five classes, and will be given to women as well as men. The first two

classes will, in the case of men, carry the honor of knighthood, and in the case of women the privilege of prefixing the title "Dame" to their names.

STAR WORN BY MEMBERS OF FIRST TWO CLASSES, ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The second order will be entitled the "Order of the Companions of Honour," and will consist of one class only, to which women will be eligible equally with men. The order will carry with it no title or precedence, and will be conferred upon a limited number of persons, for whom this distinction seems to be the most appropriate form of recognition, constituting, as it will, an honor dissociated either from the acceptance of title or the classification of merit.

Both orders, though created in connection with the war, will doubtless survive it.

The King appointed the Prince of Wales to be Grand Master of the order.

The five classes of the order are as follows:

Men.—1. Knights Grand Cross, (G. B. E.) 2. Knights Commanders, (K. B. E.) 3. Commanders, (C. B. E.) 4. Officers, (O. B. E.) 5. Members, (M. B. E.)

Women.—1. Dames Grand Cross, (G. B. E.) 2. Dames Commanders, (D. B. E.) 3. Commanders, (C. B. E.) 4. Officers, (O. B. E.) 5. Members, (M. B. E.)

The badge of the order, worn by the members of the first, second, and third classes, is a silver gilt cross, enameled pearl gray, in the centre of which, in a

BADGE, ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

circle enameled crimson, is a representation of Britannia seated. The circle contains the motto of the order, "For God and the Empire."

The star, worn by members of the first two classes, is an eight-pointed silver star, the centre of which bears the same device as the badge.

The treatment of the badge for the fourth class is similar to that for the first, second, and third classes, except that it is smaller and is not enameled. In the case of the fifth class the badge is of silver instead of silver gilt.

As in the case of other orders, the members will have the privilege of placing the initials (above indicated) after their names.

Assassination of Austrian Premier

The Apologia of Dr. Adler an Important Utterance

DR. FRIEDRICH ADLER, who assassinated the Austrian Premier, Count Stürgkh, in October, 1916, was condemed to death for his act, but the Socialists of neutral countries and the radicals in Germany and Russia have petitioned that his life be spared. After the sentence was pronounced the condemned man turned to the spectators and shouted, "Long live international, revolutionary Social Democracy!" a cry that was loudly re-echoed from the crowded court and galleries, while women waved their handkerchiefs and the whole assembly, even including some individuals in the well of the court, enthusiastically applauded the prisoner. The President thereupon ordered the court to be cleared, and four people were arrested in the process, while other arrests were afterward made in the street.

Dr. Adler delivered an address after his trial which produced a profound impression. He protested emphatically against the attempt to represent him as not responsible for his actions. He had known beforehand, he said, that the "Government Socialists" of Austria and Germany would try to place that construction on his deed, and his counsel was naturally anxious to do the same, but the change that came over Austrian political life within only a few days of the assassination of Count Stürgkh was striking enough to compel some slight recognition even then that the deed was not that of a mere irresponsible.

He asserted that all constitutional rights had been suspended in Austria by the failure of the Premier to assemble the Reichsrat. He declared that the keynote to the situation in Austria and the explanation of his deed were that there was no authority left in Austria that could be considered constitutionally competent, and that Count Stürgkh had persistently suppressed the one institution which could have held him and his Cabinet to account, namely, the Reichsrat. What other way remained open then, he asked, of calling Ministers to account than the way they had themselves chosen, that of force? Years before, in November, 1898, Herr Hochenburger himself, (Count Stürgkh's Minister of Justice,) who was not in office then, declared in the Reichsrat on the subject of legislation by royal decree that any treading underfoot of justice in Austria would not go unpunished. "Herr Minister-President," he said at that time, "take care that you do not bring things to such a pass that you are made to learn that an aggravated people can create justice for itself, and that today still there is an emergency code of peoples." Yet it was this same Hochenburger, who, in conjunction with Count Stürgkh, promulgated on July 25, 1914, such a series of arbitrary decrees as proved that everything had been prepared long before the outbreak of war.

"Hochenburger and Stürgkh," said Dr. Adler, "deliberately planned this coup d'état, and for that reason the moral justification of my deed is complete for me as a citizen. The question at issue is not whether force is justifiable, but what is my individual position. In my opinion, every citizen is justified, if the law is trodden underfoot, in securing justice for himself. When a Government has placed itself outside the legal domain, every citizen is justified in holding it to account outside that domain also. Indeed, every citizen is not only justified in so doing, but is under an obligation so to do."

He objected to being classed as either a patriot or an anti-patriot. He had always held, he said, that the cause of socialism was a much greater thing than any temporary State organism, and that Socialists should not identify themselves too intimately with any one State, as certain of his former friends had now unfortunately done. Indeed, he declared,

it is only since the '70s that the ideal of the national State has taken root among even the bourgeoisie, which at the same time began to regard it, not as the nation, but as an economic unit. Everywhere before that date the intellectual bourgeoisie was not patriotic, but national, and the attitude of the German Austrians was then what that of the Czechs is today. Now, however, the bourgeoisie is interested in the maintenance as an economic unit not only of Austria, but of the whole Central European bloc—with the King of Prussia at its head, of course, and Austria subordinate to him. Its ideal, in fact, is no longer national independence, but national predominance and the foundation of an empire from Berlin to Bagdad. Many Social Democrats, Dr. Adler complained, had themselves been carried away by this development, but while, he observed, it was true in his own case that Austria played a part in his motives, it was not on account of her existence as a State, but as a moral unit. It was the Austrian character for which he was concerned.

"Already at school," he said, "it was clear to me that the greatest sin, the one which cannot be forgiven, is the sin against character; the sin that is customary in Austria. And if you wish to understand my deed and all that led to it, there must run like a red thread through all your considerations the recognition that it was a revolt, a protest against this sin against character which prevents any manly action in Austria. We are in a State which was once made (Roman) Catholic again by fire and sword at the time of the counter-reformation. We are in a State in which the convictions of men are despised, in which it is never recognized that the individual must act according to his convictions. It is the State of the Metternich doctrine which weighed down Austria before 1848, the State which has fettered free speech in order to create a slavish public opinion. * * * I have shown what Hochenburger said in 1898 and how he afterward acted as Minister. It is this abandonment of any loyalty to convictions, this complete lack of stability, which has always filled me with the deepest hatred of Austria, not as a political unit, but as a moral one; of the Austrian character for untrustworthiness."

These traits, Dr. Adler continued, were to be found among all the nationalities of the monarchy, and they had penetrated his own party, a penetration against which his deed was a protest. He was not a fanatical purist, he declared, but he did hold that a man should be clear with himself as to the ground on which he stood, and he despised a party that allowed Austrian Germans to masquerade as Socialists. He denied, however, that he was isolated from the majority of his party except as concerned his final act, and maintained, indeed, that in the seven months that had since elapsed the world had in many respects come around to his standpoint and that much that was characterized as absurd then was now considered quite natural.

Internationalism, for instance, had become the very hope of the Austrian Government, and none were today more sought after by Count Czernin than the "revolutionists," to whom the Public Prosecutor had referred as being the speaker's associates, and who, as having a certain amount of influence in Russia, were to travel to Stockholm with the Government Socialists of Germany as "the commercial travelers of the Foreign Office." Austria's real greeting to the Stockholm conference, however, Dr. Adler observed, would be the sentence passed upon himself.

Proceeding to trace in detail the developments which led him to regard his party as having altogether forsaken the Socialist ideal and his attempts to persuade it of its mistake, Dr. Adler stated that he finally came to the conclusion that only by acting in opposition to the party leaders would it be possible to effect a real revolution in Austria, and that he must do what he could to pave the way for that revolution. That, he said, did not mean that he became an anarchist, or that he imagined he alone could set afoot a revolution. On the contrary, he had always held that the battle must be fought, not by individuals, but by the masses, and he had never believed that

the people would rise in his support. All he wanted to do was to prove to the people and the Government alike that revolutionary action in Austria was not a matter of impossibility, and thus to set the ball a-rolling. It was not his intention to introduce a new Socialist method of warfare, and in general he would deprecate such isolated deeds; but his own was an exceptional one, provoked by exceptional circumstances.

Dr. Adler proceeded to recount the special considerations that had weighed with him, and dealt in detail with the abuse of the censorship, the scandal of the political trials held during the war, and Count Stürgkh's determined attempt to establish permanently an absolutist régime, which eventually became so apparent as to be beyond all doubt, and finally determined the speaker to take forcible action. And at this point the latter was careful to point out that it was not against Count Stürgkh himself but against his system that the deed was directed. He had, he said, a certain respect for the former Premier, who contrasted favorably in his manly straightforwardness with many of his associates. Having consciously taken his stand on force, he had to be removed by force, but the speaker reserved his contempt for those Austrians "who tolerated Stürgkh without attempting to defend themselves, and who by their behavior furnshed the proof that every land has the Stürgkh it deserves."

Above all, Dr. Adler concluded, he was moved to his final act by the political situation at the moment. The fact that there seemed not the slightest prospect of peace affected him profoundly, and he thought hopelessly of what would happen at the Austrian Labor Congress that was to meet on Nov. 5, and of how he would again bring forward his motion for peace without annexations, and of how he would perhaps be able to count an increase of two or three in his following. In that way, he felt, he would never reach the masses; hence his choice of another weapon, which had proved effective in this, as in other respects. The resolution that was adopted on Nov. 5, said the speaker, was almost identical with my own, with the one that had always been rejected previously. My deed, therefore, had the result I anticipated. I have never regretted it since, and am convinced that it was profitable—that I did what had to be done to rescue the situation from the stagnation into which it had fallen.

The Armenian Tragedy

By Edmund Candler

[WRITTEN AT BAGDAD IN APRIL, 1917]

ONE of the best things that are being done in Bagdad is the salvage of Armenian women and children who have survived the massacres and who are now living in Mussulman families. These are being gathered into homes financed by the British Government, and their own community is looking after them.

I visited one of these institutions yesterday. The inmates were all young, many of marriageable age, and there were a great number of children under 6 who have already forgotten their language and their faith.

The bald statement of what they have suffered and seen is a damning and unanswerable arraignment against the Turkish Government. The first girl I saw was a child of 10 from a village near Erzerum. She and her family had started on donkeys with a few of their belongings, but in three days the Kurds had left them nothing, and they had to walk. The Turks had issued a proclamation in all the villages that the Armenians were to be sent away to a colony that was being prepared for them, and that their property was to be kept under the care of the Government during the war and then restored. This was

WHERE THE FRENCH FRONT APPROACHES GERMAN TERRITORY

Picture-map (in ten-mile squares in perspective) showing the proximity of the French battle line to the lost Province of Lorraine.

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THE FRENCH BATTLE FRONT IN ALSACE

Picture-map (in ten-mile squares in perspective) showing where the battle line rests on the Swiss frontier and the section of Alsace so far regained by France.

(Copyright The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial)

more than a year ago. The gendarmes were very pleasant to them in their homes, and told them that they were to be given new land to cultivate, and that their journey would not be long. The first assurance, as they guessed, was visionary. In the second the gendarmes did not lie.

For many of them it was all over on the third day. Two or three hundred of the men were separated from the women and killed at a distance, shot or cut down with the sword. After that the same thing happened nearly every day. The guards were very haphazard; there was no system. Some of the women were pushed into the river, others thrust over precipices. Twelve hundred left the two villages near Erzerum; 400 only reached Ras-el-Ain. The survivors were all women and children; there was not a man among them, or a child over the age of 9.

I met a refugee from the Kara-Hissar district who, with six companions, had been saved by some Armenian women he found established in a Bedouin camp. Eight hundred families in all had left Kara-Hissar. Half of these were capsized and drowned on Arab boats on the Euphrates. The survivors, when they reached Deir-ez-Zor, were placed in an internment camp. While here they approached the Mutesarrif, hoping to purchase their release. They offered him 3,000 liras. It was not enough. They made a second collection; every piastre they could raise was thrown into the pool. This time the sum was nearly 5,000 liras, and the Mutesarrif accepted the bribe on condition that they should sign a paper, "We, the Armenians of ——, give this sum willingly to the Turkish Army." But it did not save them. The hated gendarmes accompanied them on the march, and nine miles from the city the massacre began. Sticks and stones and knives and daggers were employed, and a few merciful bullets. But, as always happens, the assasins tired of their work; even the physical part of it was exhausting, and the last act was postponed from day to day. In the end a tired gendarme gave them the hint to go. The night was dark, and the guard more careless than usual, and the last remnants of the party, fifty-five in all, made their escape.

Another man I heard of was the sole survivor of a group of refugees who disappeared between Ras-el-Ain and Nisibin. They were taken into the desert and formed in line, as in a Chinese execution, to be dispatched with the sword. There was no shortage of ammunition, I was told, but the sword was employed for reasons of economy. While waiting for his turn, it occurred to the Armenian that a bullet would be an easier death. So he broke from the line. In the confusion the gendarmes missed him. It was almost dusk; he hid in the brushwood; by a miracle he escaped, and found his way to Bagdad.

The main features of the massacres are much the same. The emigrants, if they are not killed on the road, are taken to some depot, where they are kept a few days. Here they find a large camp of two or three thousand or more. Soon notice comes from Constantinople that the refugees of a certain district have been allotted land for cultivation, and they are told they must start on their journey again. This, they know, is probably the death sentence, but they nourish a thin hope. For the first half day they are generally safe, as murder on a large scale is deprecated near a town. Nobody, for instance, saw any one killed in Trebizond; but a few days after the Armenians had left the city their bodies came floating down the river. The desert is a non-conductor. What is done there leaves only vague rumor.

The refugees, though unarmed, sometimes turn on their guard. More than once the assassins have paid dearly. There is a woman in Bagdad who was one of a band of 200 or 300 Armenian women from the hills who held a pass near Urfa. Their men had been treacherously killed off earlier, and they knew that obedience to the proclamation of exile was as fatal as resistance. They held the pass with their rifles nearly a week, and the Turks had to bring up artillery. Some fifty of them escaped. The woman who is now in Bagdad was rescued

by a Turk of the better school, who respected her honor and on the journey treated her as his own daughter, though he failed to convert her to Islam.

Few Armenian women were so fortunate. Many were killed with as little scruple as the men. Plainness or good looks were fatal in different ways. The old and ugly died by violence or were starved; the young were taken into the families of the Turks. A traveler now in Bagdad was given a letter by an official at Ras-el-Ain to deliver to the gendarme in charge on the road. "Choose a pretty one for me," he wrote, "and leave her in the village outside the town."

At Aleppo and Ras-el-Ain German officers stalked side by side with these spectres of famine and murder and death, and not a finger was raised or a word said.

Enormous Weight of Metal Hurled by Artillery

THE weight of projectiles fired from the German 77-millimeter guns in the battle of the Somme in July, 1916, was more than 121,000 tons, or about equal to the combined weight of four superdreadnought battleships of the Pennsylvania type, the largest vessel of that class now in commission in the United States Navy. In an article dealing with the expenditure of ammunition in the Somme battles The Field Artillery Journal, published by the officers of the United States Army, says that in July there is reason to believe that the 77-millimeter guns in the German Army fired projectiles the total weight of which was 121,140.25 tons, or 242,280,500 pounds.

"That the expenditure of field artillery ammunition in the present war has been enormous and beyond any conception based upon previous experience is well known, but, like many other matters of importance," The Field Artillery Journal says, "exact data have not generally been available.

"The following data, taken from General Sixt von Arnim's report concerning the battle of the Somme, July, 1916, are extremely interesting in that they give the maximum expended in any one day of twenty-four hours and the average daily expenditure during the month of July, 1916.

"First—Maximum artillery ammunition expended in any one day of twenty-four hours:

	Rounds Per Gun.
77-mm. field gun	322
105-mm. field howitzer	479
150-mm. howitzer	233
105-mm. gun	321
210-mm. mortar	116

"Second—Daily average during July, 1916:

	Rounds Per Gun.
77-mm. field gun	145
105-mm. field howitzer	170
150-mm. howitzer	119
105-mm. gun	118
210-mm. mortar	51

"One field battery (howitzers) expended in one day 3,500 gas shells.

"The actual number of guns in action is not known. The best information gives a probable number of one field gun, exclusive of heavy types, for every twenty yards of front. The approximate frontage of the Somme battle was forty miles, so that the number of field guns engaged numbered in the vicinity of 3,500. Each gun fired 145 projectiles per day, or a total of 4,495 for the month, and the total fired becomes 15,732,500.

"The German 77-millimeter projectile weighs 7 kilograms, or 15.4 pounds, so that the total weight fired was 242,280,500 pounds, or 121,140.25 tons. The computed weight of the heavy artillery ammunition would probably more than double this amount."

It was announced by the British Ministry of Munitions that the British expenditure of shells of the calibre of six inches and upward during the first week of the offensive that opened near Arras on April 9, 1917, was nearly twice that of the first week of the Somme offensive, while the expenditure of such shells during the second week was six and one-half times that of the second week on the Somme.

General Haig's Official Report

Battles on the Ancre From Nov. 18, 1916, to March 13, 1917

[*Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British armies in France, on May* 31 *submitted his official report to the Secretary of State for War of the operations of the armies under his command during the period following Nov.* 18, 1916, *which is the end of the preceding report covering the period from May* 19, 1916, *to Nov.* 15, 1916, *as printed in* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *March*, 1917, *Pages* 1114-1132.]

I.

General Headquarters,
British Armies in France,
May 31, 1917.

My Lord:

I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations of the British armies in France from the 18th of November, 1916, to the commencement of our present offensive.

Nature of Operations

(1) My plans for the Winter, already decided on at the opening of the period under review, were based on several considerations:

The enemy's strength had been considerably reduced by the severe and protracted struggle on the Somme battlefields, and so far as circumstances and the weather would permit it was most desirable to allow him no respite during the Winter.

With this object, although possibilities were limited by the state of the ground under Winter conditions, I considered it feasible to turn to good account the very favorable situation then existing in the region of the River Ancre as a result of the Somme battle.

Our operations prior to the 18th of November, 1916, had forced the enemy into a very pronounced salient in the area between the Ancre and the Scarpe Valleys, and had obtained for us greatly improved opportunities for observation over this salient. A comparatively short further advance would give us complete possession of the few points south of the Ancre to which the enemy still clung, and would enable us to gain entire command of the spur above Beaumont Hamel. Thereafter the configuration of the ground in the neighborhood of the Ancre Valley was such that every fresh advance would enfilade the enemy's positions and automatically open up to the observation of our troops some new part of his defense. Arrangements could, therefore, be made for systematic and deliberate attacks to be delivered on selected positions, to gain further observation for ourselves and deprive the enemy of that advantage. By these means the enemy's defenses would be continually outflanked, and we should be enabled to direct our massed artillery fire with such accuracy against his trenches and communications as to make his positions in the Ancre Valley exceedingly costly to maintain.

With the same object in view a number of minor enterprises and raids were planned to be carried out along the whole front of the British armies.

In addition to the operations outlined above, preparations for the resumption of a general offensive in the Spring had to be proceeded with in due course. In this connection, steps had to be taken to overcome the difficulties which a temporary lack of railway facilities would place in the way of completing our task within the allotted time. Provision had also to be made to cope with the effect of Winter conditions upon work and roads, a factor to which the prolonged frost at the commencement of the present year subsequently gave special prominence.

Another very important consideration was the training of the forces under my command. It was highly desirable that during the Winter the troops engaged in the recent prolonged fighting should be given an adequate period out of the line for training, rest, and refitting.

Certain modifications of my program in this respect eventually became necessary. To meet the wishes of our allies in connection with the plan of operations for the Spring of 1917, a gradual extension of the British front southward as far as a point opposite the town of Roye was decided on in January, and was completed without incident of importance by Feb. 26, 1917. This alteration entailed the maintenance by the British forces of an exceptionally active front of 110 miles, including the whole of the Somme battle front, and, combined with the continued activity maintained throughout the Winter, interfered to no small extent with my arrangements for reliefs. The training of the troops had, consequently, to be restricted to such limited opportunities as circumstances from time to time permitted.

The operations on the Ancre, however, as well as the minor enterprises and raids to which reference has been made, were carried out as intended. Besides gaining valuable position and observation by local attacks in the neighborhood of Bouchavesnes, Sailly-Saillisel, and Grandcourt, these raids and

minor enterprises were the means of inflicting heavy casualties on the enemy, and contributed very appreciably to the total of 5,284 prisoners taken from him in the period under review.

The Enemy's Position

(2) At the conclusion of the operations of the 13th of November and following days the enemy still held the whole of the Ancre Valley from Le Transloy to Grandcourt, and his first line of defense lay along the lower northern slopes of the Thiepval Ridge.

North of the Ancre he still held the greater part of the spur above Beaumont Hamel. Beyond that point the original German front line, in which the enemy had established himself two years previously, ran past Serre, Gommecourt, and Monchy-au-Bois to the northern slopes of the main watershed, and then northeast down to the valley of the River Scarpe east of Arras.

Besides the positions held by him on our immediate front, and in addition to the fortified villages of the Ancre Valley with their connecting trenches, the enemy had prepared along the forward crest of the ridge north of the Ancre Valley a strong second system of defense. This consisted of a double line of trenches, heavily wired, and ran northwest from Saillisel past Le Transloy to the Albert-Bapaume road, where it turned west past Grévillers and Loupart Wood and then northwest again past Achiet-le-Petit to Bucquoy. This system, which was known as the Le Transloy-Loupart line, both by reason of its situation and as a result of the skill and industry expended in its preparation, constituted an exceedingly strong natural defensive position, second only to that from which the enemy had recently been driven on the Morval-Thiepval Ridge. Parallel to this line, but on the far side of the crest, he had constructed toward the close of the past year a third defensive system on the line Rocquigny, Bapaume, Ablainzeville.

Operations Commenced

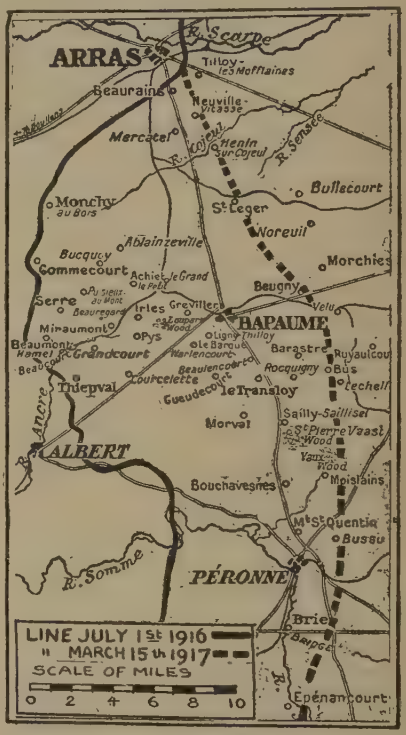
(3.) The first object of our operations in the Ancre Valley was to advance our trenches to within assaulting distance of the Le Transloy-Loupart line.

Accordingly, on Nov. 18, 1916, before the rapidly deteriorating condition of the ground had yet made an undertaking on so considerable a scale impossible, an attack was delivered against the next German line of defense, overlooking the villages of Pys and Grandcourt. Valuable positions were gained on a front of about 5,000 yards, while a simultaneous attack north of the Ancre considerably improved the situation of our troops in the Beaucourt Valley.

By this time Winter conditions had set in, and along a great part of our new front movement across the open had become practically impossible. During the remainder of the month, therefore, and throughout December, our energies were principally directed to the improvement of our own trenches and of roads and communications behind them. At the same time the necessary rearrangement of our artillery was completed, so as to take full advantage of the opportunities afforded by our new positions for concentration of fire.

The Beaumont Hamel Spur

(4.) As soon as active operations again became possible, proceedings were commenced to drive the enemy from the remainder of the



BRITISH ADVANCE DURING THE ANCRE OFFENSIVE

Beaumont Hamel Spur. In January a number of small operations were carried out with this object, resulting in a progressive improvement of our position. Before the end of the month the whole of the high ground north and east of Beaumont Hamel was in our possession, we had pushed across the Beaucourt Valley 1,000 yards north of Beaucourt Village, and had gained a footing on the southern slopes of the spur to the east.

The most important of these attacks was undertaken at dawn on the morning of the 11th of January against a system of hostile trenches extending for some 1,500 yards along the crest of the spur east and northeast of Beaumont Hamel. By 8:30 A. M. all our objectives had been captured, together with over 200 prisoners. That afternoon an enemy counterattack was broken up by our artillery.

Throughout the whole of the month's fighting in this area, in which over 500 German prisoners were taken by us, our casualties were exceedingly light. This satisfactory circumstance can be attributed mainly to the close and skillful co-operation between our infantry and artillery, and to the excellence of our artillery preparation and barrages. These in turn were made possible by the opportunities for accurate observation afforded by the high ground north of Thiepval and by the fine work done by our aircraft.

Grandcourt

(5) Possession of the Beaumont Hamel Spur opened up a new and extensive field of action for our artillery. The whole of the Beaucourt Valley and the western slopes of the spur beyond from opposite Grandcourt to Serre now lay exposed to our fire. Operations were, therefore, at once commenced under the cover of our guns to clear the remainder of the valley south of the Serre Hill, and to push our line forward to the crest of the spur.

On the night of the 3d-4th of February an important German line of defense on the southern slopes of this spur, forming part of the enemy's original second-line system north of the Ancre, was captured by our troops on a front of about three-quarters of a mile. The enemy's resistance was stubborn and hard fighting took place, which lasted throughout the whole of the following day and night. During this period a number of determined counterattacks were beaten off by our infantry or dispersed by our artillery, and by the 5th of February we had gained the whole of our objectives. In this operation, in which the excellence of our artillery cooperation was very marked, we took 176 prisoners and four machine guns.

This success brought our front forward north of the Ancre to a point level with the centre of Grandcourt, and made the enemy's hold on his position in that village and in his more western defenses south of the river very precarious. It was not unexpected, therefore, when on the morning of the 6th of February our patrols reported that the last remaining portion of the old German second-line system south of the river, lying between Grandcourt and Stuff Redoubt, had been evacuated. The abandoned trenches were occupied by our troops the same morning.

Constant reconnoissances were sent out by us to keep touch with the enemy and to ascertain his movements and intentions. Grandcourt itself was next found to be clear of the enemy, and by 10 o'clock on the morning of the 7th of February was also in our possession. That night we carried Baillescourt Farm, about half way between Beaumont and Miraumont, capturing eighty-seven prisoners.

(6) The task of driving the enemy from his position in the Beaucourt Valley was resumed on the night of Feb. 10-11. Our principal attack was directed against some 1,500 yards of a strong line of trenches, the western end of which was already in our possession, lying at the southern foot of the Serre Hill. Our infantry were formed up after dark, and at 8:30 P. M. advanced under our covering artillery barrage. After considerable fighting in the centre and toward the left of our attack, the whole of the trench line which formed our objective was gained, with the exception of two strong points which held out for a few days longer. At 5 A. M. a determined counterattack from the direction of Puisieux-au-Mont was beaten off by our artillery and machine-gun fire. Two other counterattacks on Feb. 11 and a third on Feb. 12 were equally unsuccessful.

The Advance Toward Miraumont

(7) The village of Serre now formed the point of a very pronounced salient, which our further progress along the Ancre Valley would render increasingly difficult, if not impossible, for the enemy to hold. Accordingly, an operation on a somewhat larger scale than anything hitherto attempted since the new year was now undertaken. Its object was to carry our line forward along the spur which runs northward from the main Morval-Thiepval Ridge about Courcelette, and so gain possession of the high ground at its northern extremity. The possession of this high ground, besides commanding the approaches to Pys and Miraumont from the south, would give observation over the upper valley of the Ancre, in which many hostile batteries were situated in positions enabling their fire to be directed for the defense of the Serre sector. At the same time arrangements were made for a smaller attack on the opposite bank of the river, designed to seize a portion of the Sunken Road lying along the eastern crest of the second spur north of the Ancre and so obtain control of the approaches to Miraumont from the west.

Our assault was delivered simultaneously on both banks of the Ancre at 5:45 A. M. on the 17th of February. The night was particularly dark, and thick mist and heavy conditions of the ground produced by the thaw that had just set in added to the difficulties with which our troops had to contend. The enemy was, moreover, on the alert, and commenced a heavy barrage some time before the hour of our assault, while our attacking battalions were still forming up. None the less, our troops advanced to the assault with great gallantry. On the left of our attack our artillery preparation had been assisted by observation from the positions already won on the right back of the Ancre. In consequence, our infantry were able to make a very considerable advance, and established themselves within a few hundred yards of Petit Miraumont. The right of our attack encountered more serious resistance, but here also valuable progress was made.

North of the Ancre our troops met with complete success. The whole of the position attacked, on a front of about half a mile, was secured without great difficulty, and an enemy counterattack during the morning was easily driven off.

Next day, at 11:30 A. M., the enemy delivered a second counterattack from the north with considerable forces, estimated at two battalions, upon our new positions north of the river. His advancing waves came under the concentrated fire of our artillery and machine guns while still some distance in front of our lines, and were driven back in disorder with exceedingly heavy losses.

Eleven officers and 588 other ranks were taken prisoners by us in these operations.

Miraumont and Serre Evacuated

(8) The ground gained by these two attacks and by minor operations carried out during the succeeding days gave us the observation we desired, as well as complete command over the German artillery positions in the upper Ancre Valley and over his defenses in and around Pys and Miraumont. The constant bombardment by our artillery, combined with the threat of an attack in which his troops would have been at great disadvantage, accordingly decided the enemy to abandon both villages. Our possession of Miraumont, however, gravely endangered the enemy's positions at Serre by opening up for us possibilities of a further advance northward, while the loss of Serre would speedily render Puisieux-au-Mont and Gommecourt equally difficult of defense. There was, therefore, good ground to expect that the evacuation of Pys and Miraumont would shortly be followed by a withdrawal on a more considerable scale. This, in fact, occurred.

On the 24th of February the enemy's positions before Pys, Miraumont, and Serre were found by our patrols to have been evacuated, and were occupied by our troops. Our patrols were then at once pushed forward, supported by strong infantry detachments, and by the evening of the 25th of February the enemy's first system of defense from north of Gueudecourt to west of Serre, and including Luisenhof Farm, Warlencourt-Eaucourt, Pys, Miraumont, Beauregard Dovecot, and Serre, had fallen into our hands. The enemy offered some opposition with machine guns at selected strong points in his line, and his artillery actively shelled the areas from which he had withdrawn; but the measures taken to deal with such tactics proved adequate, and the casualties inflicted on our troops were light.

The enemy's retirement at this juncture was greatly favored by the weather. The prolonged period of exceptional frost, following a wet Autumn, had frozen the ground to a great depth. When the thaw commenced in the third week of February the roads disintegrated by the frost broke up, the sides of trenches fell in, and the area across which our troops had fought their way forward returned to a condition of slough and quagmire even worse than that of the previous Autumn. On the other hand, the condition of the roads and the surface of the ground behind the enemy steadily improved the further he withdrew from the scene of the fighting. He was also materially assisted by a succession of misty days, which greatly interfered with the work of our airplanes. Over such ground and in such conditions rapid pursuit was impossible. It is greatly to the credit of all ranks concerned that, in spite of all difficulties, constant touch was maintained with the enemy and that timely information was obtained of his movements.

Le Barque and Gommecourt

(9) Resistance of a more serious character was encountered in a strong secondary line of defense which, from a point in the Le Transloy-Loupart line due west of the village of Beaulencourt, crossed in front of Ligny-Thilloy and Le Barque to the southern defenses of Loupart Wood. Between Feb. 25 and March 2 a series of attacks were carried out against this line, and the enemy was gradually driven out of his positions. By the evening of the latter day the whole line of trenches and the villages of Le Barque, Ligny-Thilloy and Thilloy had in turn been captured. One hundred and twenty-eight prisoners and a number of trench mortars and machine guns were taken in this fighting, in the course of which the enemy made several vigorous but unsuccessful counterattacks.

Meanwhile, rapid progress had been made on the remainder of the front of our advance. On Feb. 27 the enemy's rearguards in Puisieux-au-Mont were driven to their last positions of defense in the neighborhood of the church, and to the northwest of the village our front was extended to within a few hundred yards of Gommecourt. That evening our patrols entered Gommecourt Village and Park, following closely upon the retreating enemy, and by 10 P. M. Gommecourt and its defenses had been occupied. Next morning the capture of Puisieux-au-Mont was completed.

Irles

(10) The enemy had, therefore, been driven back to the Le Transloy-Loupart line, except that he still held the village of Irles, which formed a salient to his position and was linked up to it at Loupart Wood and Achiet-le-Petit by well constructed and well-wired trenches.

Accordingly, our next step was to take Irles, as a preliminary to a larger undertaking against the Le Transloy-Loupart line itself; but before either operation could be attempted exceedingly heavy work had to be done in the improvement of roads and communications, and in bringing forward guns and ammunition. The following week was devoted to these very necessary tasks.

Meanwhile, operations were limited to small enterprises designed to keep in touch with the enemy and to establish forward posts which might assist in the forthcoming attack.

The assault on Irles and its defenses was delivered at 5:25 on the morning of March 10, and was completely successful. The whole of our objectives were captured, and in the village and the surrounding works 289 prisoners were taken, together with sixteen machine guns and four trench mortars. Our casualties were very light, being considerably less than the number of our prisoners.

The Loupart Line

(11) The way was now open for the main operation against the centre of the Le Transloy-Loupart line, which throughout March 11 was heavily shelled by all kinds of our artillery. So effective was this bombardment that during the night of March 12-13 the enemy once more abandoned his positions, and fell back on the parallel system of defenses already referred to on the reverse side of the ridge. Grévillers and Loupart Wood were thereupon occupied by our troops, and methodical preparations were at once begun for an attack on the enemy's next line of defense.

[THE SECOND SECTION OF THE REPORT COVERING THE GENERAL WITHDRAWAL OF THE GERMANS TO THE BEGINNING OF THE BRITISH OFFENSIVE APRIL 9, 1917, WILL APPEAR IN THE SEPTEMBER ISSUE OF CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

Burial of German Prisoners

THE Swiss Minister in London, M. Carlin, transmitted to the Foreign Office under date of May 22 the following copy of a Note Verbale of the German Foreign Office, dated May 9:

The Daily Mirror, in their issue of Jan. 8 last, published under the heading "Hun Skeleton for Anatomy Class" a picture showing blind English soldiers receiving instructions in skeleton anatomy.

Beneath the picture was written, "Twelve months ago the skeleton was a living German."

The Foreign Office would be glad if the Swiss Legation would protest strongly to the British Government, pointing out at the same time that in Germany only the skeletons of convicts are made use of for such purposes. The German Government have a right to expect that German prisoners in England should be buried in a manner in accordance with the conceptions of civilized peoples regarding the respect due to the dead. This is still more so in the case of soldiers who, after bravely defending the land of their birth, have died in a foreign country; for the earthly remains of such men even their opponents ought to entertain feelings of sympathy and respect.

The reply of the Foreign Minister, dated June 6, is as follows:

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs presents his compliments to the Swiss Minister, and with reference to Monsieur Carlin's note No. 486 S.G. of May 22, transmitting a Note Verbale from the German Government relative to a photograph published with the description "Hun Skeleton for Anatomy Class," in The Daily Mirror of Jan. 8, 1917, together with the statement "Twelve months ago the skeleton was a living German," has the honor to request that the German Government may be informed as follows:

The German Government's protest is based on an inaccurate statement, as the photograph in question did not, as stated by The Daily Mirror, represent the skeleton of a German soldier, and a contradiction of the statement was published in the edition of the newspaper in question of Jan. 10, 1917, under the heading "Training Blind Soldiers."

The skeleton depicted in the photograph was purchased by the National Institute for the Blind before August, 1914.

The bodies of German prisoners who die when in British hands are invariably buried in a manner which is in full accord with the conceptions of civilized peoples regarding the respect due to the dead.

German Barbarities in France

Official Report of Illegal Treatment Inflicted Upon Inhabitants in Occupied Territory

The appended report, handed to Premier Ribot by a commission appointed to investigate acts of the enemy in violation of the law of nations, was published by the French Government in the Journal Officiel on June 1, 1917. The commission consisted of Georges Payelle, First President of the Court of Accounts; Armand Mollard, Minister Plenipotentiary; Georges Maringer, Counselor of State, and Edmond Paillot, Judge in the Court of Cassation. The complete text of the report has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

SINCE April 12, [1917,] the date of our previous report, we have pursued our investigations in the portions of France recently freed from enemy occupation, and this further inquiry has only confirmed our conviction that all the violations of international law of which the Germans were guilty at the time of their departure were committed under general orders issued by the Supreme Command. In all the towns the same measures of unjust severity and cruelty toward individuals, the same methods of devastation and brigandage were employed simultaneously and in identical conditions. Everywhere the people were exploited and deported, the factories destroyed, houses demolished or burned, furniture stolen or smashed, trees cut down, wells contaminated, farm implements broken or carried away.

There is not a single locality where inhabitants of both sexes, from sixteen to sixty years of age, were not torn from their homes and sent into Germany or Northern France; sent with no more regard for the grief of their families than for the morality of the young girls thus subjected to the most disquieting dangers. The scenes caused by these deportations were so heartrending that the Germans themselves at times were moved by them. Thus at Nesle, whence 180 women or girls and 164 men were taken away on Feb. 17, 1917, an officer said that he "could not bear to watch their departure, because it was too sad a sight." It is true that all were not so sensitive, as the two following episodes prove:

At Douilly a young woman, who had given birth to a dead infant two days before, was forced to rise from her bed and depart. As she passed, weeping, before the door of Mme. Wager, the latter, seeing that she was scarcely clothed, threw a shawl over her shoulders to protect her from the cold, and watched her depart with the certainty that the poor unfortunate would never come back.

One day in November, 1915, after the evacuation of a part of the population, a distracted woman came to the Town Hall of Chauny; she was uttering cries of despair and tearing her hair, demanding the return of her daughter, a child of 15 years, who had been sent away she knew not where. The Mayor took her to Reserve Officer Bergschmidt, a Berlin lawyer, the local representative of the Kommandantur; but he drove her away, saying that she annoyed him and was disturbing everybody. Then, turning to the Municipal Magistrate, who was trying to move him, he cried: "Mr. Mayor, you know very well, as I have told you repeatedly, that the words 'pity' and 'humanity' are erased from the dictionary. I want it to be understood that you are not to annoy me further in these matters. That is clear, is it not?"

Slavery of Deported Victims

It would be impossible to overemphasize the profoundly outrageous character of these abominable practices, which are nothing else than the re-establishment, for Germany's profit, of the hardest and most revolting form of slavery. The "Notice Concerning the Columns of Civilian Workers," which was prepared by Column Commander Kugemann, (Form. 5 v. 28. 4. 16. ZAK,) and of which we possess a copy, surpasses anything imaginable in this regard. It contains long instructions, the principal ones being these:

General Considerations

The persons belonging to the column of civilian workers are employed in the construction of roads, in farm labor, and in tasks of other kinds. It is forbidden to make them work in the zone of operations, properly so called.

All workers of said column wear on the part of the left arm (sic) a red armlet firmly sewed on; the armlet contains on the outside a black A, which should be easily visible. Workers whose conduct is bad, or who have been punished for attempts to escape, wear the badge on both arms.

Duties of the Workers

The workers live together in places under guard. In exceptional cases permission to live outside the camp may be granted to aged workers whose conduct is particularly good, or who have voluntarily sought admission into the column of workers.

During their labors, and on the way to and from work, the men are guarded by soldiers. At the command of "Achtung!" ("Attention") given by the soldier in charge, the working gangs must, in passing before the officers, as a mark of respect take off their caps. The work that is ordered must be done with speed and good-will.

In case of insubordination or attempt to escape, the soldiers will, if occasion requires, use their weapons unsparingly.

Payment, Food, and Housing

Every workman receives a daily wage of 2.25 francs, (45 cents,) from which are deducted 1.50 francs for board and 25 centimes for clothes, or a total of 1.75 francs, (35 cents.) Of the remaining 50 centimes, 25 are paid on account, 25 go into the reserve fund. Every ten days each serious workman receives 2.50 francs, (50 cents.)

Those who are placed under arrest receive only bread and water; however, in case of moderate offenses, the complete rations are given every second day, and every third day in case of serious offenses. Workmen must furnish their own clothes, linen, and shoes. The administration undertakes only the mending and renewal of footwear and clothing worn out by work.

Punishments

The civilian workers are warned that in case of infraction of any nature whatever, and particularly when it is a matter of attempted escape, of disobedience, of insubordination, of theft, or deception, they can be punished by the ordinary police—if the German law does not provide heavier penalties—with imprisonment not exceeding three months, or with a fine not exceeding 1,000 marks, ($250.) In case of an offense against a member of the German Army the delinquent will be tried before the War Council and may be sentenced to death.

Jail sentences, punishments for minor offenses, for serious offenses, prison to the extent of three months, and fines to a maximum amount of 1,000 marks may be inflicted by the local commandant of the place where the workers are housed. The imprisonment must be imposed in such manner that the man shall not be absent from his work, but shall be confined during other than his working hours. Besides, he shall not receive his pay for that period.

Workers whose attitude gives rise to continual complaints may be thrown into a separate section for discipline.

System of Draconian Laws

Thus all these free men, women, and girls, accustomed to family life, whom the Germans have carried away in crowds from the invaded regions in defiance of the most formal rules of international law, are compelled, under a system of pitiless servitude, to perform the hardest kinds of work for the enemy. At the mere will of a commandant the slightest infractions of the Draconian rules are punished with imprisonment that may run to three months, during which the victims, forced to work hard from morning to night, receive, two days out of every three, only a little bread and water as their sole nourishment.

If this is the treatment of the deported, that imposed upon the inhabitants who are not evacuated is scarcely more tolerable. A notable illustration of the fact is found in the following proclamation, which was posted up at Holnon (Aisne) on July 20, 1915:

All workingmen and women and children of 15 years are required to labor in the fields every day, including Sunday, from 4 o'clock in the morning until 8 in the evening, (French time.) Recreation, half an hour in the morning, an hour at noon, and half an hour in the afternoon. Disobedience will be punished in the following manner:

1. Lazy workmen will be brought together during the harvest, along with the workmen in barracks, under the inspection of German Corporals. After the harvest the idlers will be imprisoned six months; on every third day the rations shall be only bread and water.

2. Lazy women will be exiled to Holnon to work. After the harvest the women will be imprisoned six months.

3. Idle children will be punished with blows of a stick.

Furthermore, the commandant reserves the right to punish lazy workmen with twenty blows of a stick every day.

The workmen of Vandelles Commune are punished severely.

[Signed] GLOSS,
Colonel and Commandant.

Other Tyrannous Edicts

Innumerable notices posted up by the enemy upon the walls of the invaded communities bear irrefutable witness to the harshness of the yoke that weighed upon our unfortunate fellow-countrymen and to the rigor and continuity of the requisitions levied upon them. In these posters will be found, formulated in the most imperative terms and with threats of punishment, the obligation to salute officers, to go without lights, and to keep all doors open during the night; also edicts forbidding the people to leave their homes at certain hours and orders compelling them to place everything, even to their garden products, at the disposal of the military authorities. One ordinance from General Commandant in Chief von Below, dated Oct. 1, 1915, appears to have been promulgated solely to give a semblance of legality to the most arbitrary executions. It will suffice here to reproduce the measure with which it ends:

In every commune a certain number of notables, whose names will be published, will answer *with their lives* for the safety of the railways in the territory tributary to the commune. Besides, every community in the territory belonging to a railway line that has been damaged or destroyed shall pay a contribution or suffer other punishment. In certain circumstances the whole town can be evacuated, the men taken to the prison camp and the rest of the population scattered to other localities.

These were not vain threats. On the remnant of a placard, the upper part of which has not been found—the whole was posted up at Amigny-Rouy (Aisne)—appears this notice:

5. Leon Oudard, farmer and Mayor of Floignes, because he did not immediately notify the nearest German authorities of the known presence of enemy soldiers.

In accordance with the sentence, the condemned were shot on the 3d of August, [or April,] 1916, at 5:45 o'clock in the morning.

[Here follows the mention of seven persons condemned to terms of imprisonment or reclusion.]

Because in the communes of La Vallée and Floignes a large proportion of the inhabitants doubtless had knowledge of the criminal conduct of the persons above named, one-half of all the men of the communes of La Vallée and of Floignes are, besides, incorporated for the duration of the war in a section of workers.

[Signed] V. BOCKELBERG.

Wringing Money From Cities

Officer Bergschmidt told the Mayor of Chauny that the words pity and humanity were to be expunged from the dictionary. These, alas! are not the only expressions that have been eliminated from the German vocabulary. It is the same with all those which represent any idea of generosity or simple honesty, and the mind would refuse to admit, if not compelled by the evidence, that the army of a civilized nation could be guilty of such a frenzy of theft and fury of destruction. In all the invaded regions and during the whole period of occupation the municipalities have been scandalously exploited and the goods of private individuals continually pillaged.

In the beginning Nesle was struck with a forced contribution of 13,000 francs, and in the interval, before the sum could be produced, M. Obry, the assistant who was fulfilling the functions of Mayor, with two members of the Council and an owner of property, were imprisoned in a cellar for six hours. Later the city had to pay 3,000 francs because a few old suits of armor were found in an abandoned house, and 30,000 as the penalty for the discovery of three shotguns—for game—in the home of one of the residents.

In March, 1915, the authorities seized a great quantity of wheat at Nesle, which had been stored up in reserve for the needs of the population, and then compelled the Mayor to buy flour from them for cash. In the same year, after having exacted the expenditure of 6,896 francs for tilling and seeding, they seized the whole crop, and it was necessary to buy back a part of it to feed the horses. The municipality was compelled, besides, to enter into a consortium for the issuance of regional bonds. This measure was quite general, as we indicated in our previous report, and at Réthonvillers, where it was not put into effect rapidly enough to suit the German authorities, an officer announced that if within an

hour the City Council did not meet and submit to the bond issue, the Mayor, the notables of the town, and their families would be arrested immediately and deported to Germany.

Looting and Destroying

At the end of their stay in Nesle the Germans, who had already indulged in many acts of pillage, finished the dismantling of the houses and carried on particularly fruitful operations in those occupied by the superior and general officers. In the church they carried away the pipes of the great organs, and after having broken the bells by throwing them out of the belfry they carried away the pieces. Dr. Braillon, 60 years old, who for four months had spent himself in caring for the enemy wounded, was arrested and transferred to Germany under a gross pretext. His wife had to give lodgings to the General Staff and the secretaries of the central telephone service. Before their departure her guests sacked the house, breaking the marbles and furniture, the windows and mirrors, ripping up the upholstered seats with a knife, cutting down ninety pear trees and as many feet of vines in the garden, and contaminating the well with manure. This task was attended to by the cook, the chauffeur, and the orderlies of the officers, with the aid of the secretaries. When Mme. Braillon protested against the destruction of the roofs of small buildings belonging to her home, a Lieutenant contented himself with replying: "It is the order!"

Everywhere, as we have many times repeated, incessant depredations were committed cynically. The number of broken safes that we have seen in the course of our investigations is unprecedented, and we have also found proof that the enemy had no scruples against theft, even from individuals. Many persons, in fact, were robbed of objects of value and of securities and cash which they carried on their persons. At Vraignes, notably, the Germans on the eve of departure searched many inhabitants of the neighboring villages after they had been herded into farmhouses and stables. They did the same at Tincourt, where Mme. Vancopenolle, after having been ordered to undress, saw them carry away a rente bond representing 1,500 francs.

A Characteristic Theft

An old man at Roisel, M. Villain, was ruined by an important theft committed in characteristic circumstances. On March 4, at the time of the final evacuation of the inhabitants, he had been compelled to remain with the baker who furnished bread for the soldiers. At that time he owned 150,000 francs [$30,000] in securities, and the enemy authorities knew it. On March 15 M. Villain was informed that he was wanted at the kommandantur. He went there and had to wait a long time; finally he was told that the chief could not receive him. When he got back to the bakery he found that the valise which contained his fortune, and which he had hidden under the covers of his bed, had disappeared.

He had noticed for several days that the Germans, as he said, had been hovering around his securities. Several times the secretaries of the kommandantur had come under thin pretexts to his quarters, and on the evening before the theft, after the departure of one who had stopped a considerable time near the door of the house, it was seen that the key of that door had been carried away. As early as the end of February an officer of the pioneers, calling at M. Villain's house, had laid hands upon the linen, the plate, and various other objects, and had sent them all, carefully wrapped, to the railway station. The owner was well aware that the most timid protest would have been not only useless but dangerous. A workman in Roisel, who had broken one of his own chairs in order not to see it carried away, had been imprisoned, and Mme. Boinet, for having expressed herself in a rather lively manner at the moment when they were taking away her piano, had been condemned to prison and to pay a fine of 200 marks.

In many places the commandants used still more summary methods to mulct the inhabitants and those driven from their homes. They simply ordered them to come and deposit their valuables. They

used this method notably at Mesnil-Saint-Nicaise and at Voyennes, where there were many victims; at Rouy-le-Petit, where the enemy gathered in 330,000 francs in securities; at Offoy, where the people had the prudence not to deliver any but insignificant papers, and at Nesle, where the Mayor flatly refused to transmit the order.

It is not without interest to add that at Vraignes and Nesle the Germans appropriated a part of the provisions furnished by the Spanish-American Food Commission.

Vast Destruction of Houses

In our report of April 12 we mentioned the total destruction of cities and villages by means of fire and explosives. We have found an appalling number of further cases of this sort. The method was applied in a systematic and general manner, and scarcely any place was spared except certain towns to which the enemy sent the populations from other localities; even there, sometimes, the Germans, on retiring, took pleasure in cannonading the unfortunates whom they had themselves assigned to those places. We have already told of the bombardment of Brouage, a suburb of Chauny; Rouy-le-Petit, where people from Douchy, Omissy, Matigny, Morcourt, Sancourt, and Viller-Saint-Christophe were herded together, suffered the same fate. On March 18, when the last unit had departed, the German artillery fired on the village before any allied soldier could reach there. Three persons were wounded; a little girl, a woman, and a man were killed.

Out of thirty-seven towns and villages in the Canton of Roye only three remain —Roye, Erchue, and Moyencourt; all the others were burned. In the Canton of Nesle sixteen communes were burned; Nesle, Languevoisin, Rouy-le-Grand, Rouy-le-Petit, and Mesnil-Saint-Nicaise alone escaped the devastation. Finally, in the Canton of Ham, out of twenty-one towns there remain only Ham, Estouilly, Saint-Sulpice, and Eppeville. As we indicated above, the localities spared were places of asylum for the last inhabitants of the villages condemned to the flames.

As for the remnants of the population in the Arrondissement of Péronne, the Germans gathered a part of them at Tincourt, at Vraignes, and at Bouvincourt, in a pitiable state of misery. Of the other inhabitants not a trace remains, but it seems already to be certain, from investigations which we are making, that as long ago as 1914 these people were the victims of frightful atrocities. At Vraignes two sections were burned, despite the presence of a great number of persons evacuated from the surrounding region. Many of these unfortunates, while houses were blazing around them, saw the illumination made by the flames of their own villages in the distance. The Germans had said, on the eve of their departure, to residents of Monchy-Lagache: "Look in the direction of Monchy tomorrow!" And the next day, indeed, Monchy was in flames.

Trying to Ruin the Region

Even in the places where the residences were not all annihilated, the enemy tried, with all the means in his power, to ruin the country; and everywhere he ravaged the factories. At Bernes and Hervilly, adjoining towns, there were two important sugar factories, one belonging to M. Busignies, the other to M. Carpeza. The soldiers blew up the buildings of both, having first pillaged them. All the destruction of property, moreover, was executed with implacable minuteness. In order to demolish houses the Germans first made excavations or cut long, narrow channels into the walls, intended to promote the crumbling of the building when the mine exploded. They did this at Roisel and Péronne.

This latter city was left in a lamentable condition. After the furniture had been carried away or broken, a great number of houses were blown up. Among the ruins we found slashed mattresses, bolsters that had been slit from end to end, baby carriages and sewing machines that had been deliberately smashed, cupboards that had been broken in, and safes, notably those of the Bank of France, which were shattered and empty. On one of the walls of the City Hall, which is almost entirely destroyed, was displayed a large wooden panel on which

was painted in large letters the inscription, "Nicht ärgern, nur wundern!" (Don't be annoyed, only astonished!) and we have seen and photographed an unexploded bomb fixed to a beam in the fallen roof of the monument; to the bomb were still attached the strings intended to set it off.

At Nesle, after compelling the residents of the suburbs to go into the middle of the town, the troops demolished the empty houses with axes. They also destroyed the gas factory, the Lesaffre distillery, the Evence Coppé factory for chemical products, and the Tabary malthouse.

At Offoy, two days before the retreat, they consigned all that remained of the popuation to one part of the village, with orders not to stir outside until after forty-eight hours. Then they blew up and set fire to the vacated quarter.

Belated Explosions

Bapaume has been completely devastated, and on March 25, at 11:30 in the evening, an explosion, certainly produced by a bomb with retarded action, blew the City Hall to pieces and caused the death of two members of Parliament, Messrs. Briquet and Tailliandier, Deputies from the Pas-de-Calais, who had installed themselves in that edifice for the night. This catastrophe at Bapaume is not the only one that has taken place since the departure of the enemy, for the latter, before turning back, sowed in the country which he was compelled to surrender a number of deadly snares set as well for the civilian population as for the allied soldiers. It was thus that the churches in Sapignies and Béthancourt were blown up, the first on the 18th, the second on the 22d of April, that is to say, more than a month after the German retreat.

The measures intended to destroy the fruit trees and render useless the wells have been generalized in all the regions we have visited. At Rouy-le-Petit the Germans, after trying to make the inhabitants themselves contaminate their wells with manure, compelled the children to do it. At Berne some time in February two soldiers, accompanied by a petty officer, who called himself an architect, came to Mrs. Payen and asked whether she had provided herself with water, warning her that they were going to stop up the cistern with manure. One of the men added: "It is unfortunate to be obliged to do this." At Mesnil-Saint-Nicaise a German said to Mme. Wager, pointing to the well on the farm where she was interned after leaving Douilly: "Nicht drink! Colics!"

Text of Official Orders

The General Staff of the British Fifth Army has come into possession of an order given by the German commandant of outposts on March 14, 1917, in which this sentence occurs: "The detachment of the Sixth Cuirassiers will see to it that manure in sufficient quantities is placed in the wells." Another document entitled "Order Relating to Destruction," and bearing at the top the words "Streng geheim" (strictly secret) has also been communicated to us. We quote from Chapter III.:

> The commandant of outposts will direct the destruction of the various localities. The final and complete destruction of Grévillers, Biefvillers, Aubin, and Avesnes will begin at the hour of X+2. To provide the detachments for setting fire to houses each commandant in the sector will furnish two sub-officers and twenty men from the B battalions, and two stretcher bearers with litters. The destruction of Favreuil, Beugnatre, and Frémicourt will begin on the second day of the retirement at the hour of X+3. The destruction of Morchies will be executed in the morning of the third day of the retirement, at about 5 o'clock. * * * The destruction of Louverval, Boursies, Demicourt will begin on the third day of the retirement. For these operations the commandant of pioneers will arrange with the commandant of outposts of Division S, Sector III., Major von Uechtritz, at Doignies, in such manner that all the details of destruction not carried out under orders of the commandant of outposts shall be executed later by Division S.
>
> The lighting of the incendiary fires shall be executed under command of the officers by the different detachments. The destruction of all wells is important.
>
> TIEDE (F. d. R.)
> BAESSLER, Oberleutnant.

Through a dispatch emanating from the German Legation at Berne, Germany attempted, in view of the indignation aroused throughout the world by these latest crimes of her armies, to promul-

gate the idea that "the measures regretfully adopted by the commanders were limited to strict military necessities and had no other object than the defense and safety of their troops." In support of this statement Germany cited an Order of the Day, said to have been issued in the following terms on March 11, 1917, by a division General "operating in the region of Bapaume," and bearing no other signature than the initials V. O.:

The acts of destruction now in progress in the abandoned territory are intended to wipe out all war materials that would be useful to the enemy, the trees, and all structures in so far as they might serve the enemy artillery for a covering. Everything over and above this military aim should be avoided. I request all persons intrusted with this work to keep close watch and see that nothing is destroyed except what enters into this program, and to spare particularly the trees and plants around cemeteries and in gardens of little elevation, also all crosses.

If this Order of the Day is not apocryphal, it simply proves that among the enemy Generals there was one less brutal and inhuman than the others. In any case, it must be admitted that his orders were very poorly carried out.

At the Bar of Nations

The German Government appears to regard military interest as an excuse for everything; but is it not precisely to prevent those abuses for which this interest would be the pretext that there exists a public international law, and that conventions, which Germany herself has formally indorsed, have been enacted by the civilized nations? Was it, furthermore, in behalf of military interest that the enemy burned villages situated far from the highways, where their destruction could not retard the march of a pursuing force; that citizens and their wives and children were reduced to servitude; that their goods were stolen, their furniture destroyed, their wells poisoned, their farming implements broken, and fruit trees cut down or girdled by thousands so as to kill them slowly where they stand?

The truth is that the German High Command intended, in a mood of anger and hatred, to terrorize a defenseless population. Such was the mentality of the chief officers from the beginning, and such it has remained. The deposition made before us by M. Fabre, President of the Chamber in the Paris Court of Appeals, gave us a striking proof of this. That Magistrate found himself with his family at Lassigny, county seat of the canton which he represents in the General Council of the Oise, when the first troops of General von Kluck arrived there. From Aug. 31, 1914, his property was occupied by officers of the General Staff. A superior officer, who spoke French well, at that time summoned him, as well as Mme. Fabre and the rest of the household, and said:

"You do not know the news, but I am going to tell it to you. You are beaten everywhere—in Alsace, in the east, in the north, at St. Quentin; your friends the Russians are annihilated; the British fleet no longer exists, the English troops are scattered. We are the masters. We mean to wipe France off the map. It must disappear. In three days we shall be at Paris; we shall take it; we shall carry away all its wealth, artistic and commercial; we shall pillage and devastate it; nothing but ashes and ruins will remain. Paris must no longer exist."

This harangue, which was to be repeated a few hours later, certainly reflected the thought of the great chief. When General von Kluck arrived, a little later, he was furious at finding the town almost deserted. In the presence of M. and Mme. Fabre he uttered terrible imprecations. "Curses upon the inhabitants who have left their homes!" he cried. "This village shall be punished; everything shall be pillaged, destroyed; nothing shall remain. We will it. Woe, woe to this wretched population!"

The Looting of Lassigny

These threats were soon to be put into effect. The next day, Sept. 1, 144 motor trucks arrived; the men in them scattered themselves through the town and gave it over to pillage; they carried off everything of any value, packed and crated the objects, placed them in the trucks, and ranged the vehicles in a row after having tilted them. All afternoon

there was an orgy of confusion; the horde killed the animals in the farmyards, shook the fruits from the trees, and carried into the public square great heaps of provisions. To cook their food and entertain themselves with bonfires they burned all the furniture that they disdained to carry away. Soldiers dressed out in old French uniforms or women's clothes paraded the streets, shouting, under the complacent eyes of officers.

After such scenes, how can one believe in the so-called humanitarian intentions of the enemy command, or in the scruples trumped up by the news dispatch from the Berne Legation? According to the text already cited, this Order of the Day pretended especially to direct the sparing of trees and plants around cemeteries; but it failed to order the soldiers to respect the graves themselves, for the sacred dwelling places of the dead have been many times violated. To the horrors of this nature related in our previous report, unhappily, many others must be added. The cemetery at Péronne was shamefully ravaged, and many tombs were profaned. At Hervilly five vaults were ransacked, and the altar in the funereal monument of the Paux family was broken. At Cartigny the Germans opened five vaults, each with a chapel above it, by tearing apart the stones. They did the same thing at Ronsoy, at Becquincourt, at Dompierre, at Bouvincourt, and at Herbécourt. At Nurly, Roisel, Bernes, they even broke into coffins. In the inclosed ground serving as a private cemetery for the Rohan family at Manancourt they buried a great number of their soldiers, and, an inconceivable thing, established a kitchen in the interior of the Rohan mausoleum and latrines among their family tombs. In the crypt, where indescribable disorder reigns, almost all the compartments are empty. A child's coffin, taken from one of them, was stripped of its lead. A heavy leaden casket, half drawn from another compartment, bears on its lid marks of a chisel. A block of marble, in which is seen a small excavation, has been thrown among the débris; it bears the inscription: "Here rests the heart of Mme. Amélie de Musnier de Folleville, Countess of Boissy, who died at Paris, July 16, 1830, at the age of 32 years and 10 months."

To what motive should these monstrous profanations be attributed? Did the enemy hope to find valuables or gold placed by the families under the protection of the dead, or jewels in the coffins? It is noteworthy that the sepulchres of the rich suffered especially. Whatever the reason, the repetition of the same acts in so many cemeteries gives ground for affirming that the German chiefs at least tolerated these crimes, if they did not order them.

G. PAYELLE, President.
ARMAND MOLLARD.
G. MARINGER.
PAILLOT, Secretary.

The Resurrection of Devastated France

Fruit Trees Saved by Surgery

THREE months after the French armies had taken back from the Germans 1,000 square kilometers of French soil, blasted and devastated, they had worked such marvels in restoring the fields and orchards that press correspondents devoted enthusiastic articles to the transformation. One of these, an American, looking on the brighter side of the picture, wrote in the last week of May, 1917:

"To a person who passed through this district the day after the German hordes had departed, and who passes there today, the change almost exceeds human belief. It presents a miracle that only the genius of the French race and its painstaking industry could have performed. Nothing has been done to restore the ruined towns, villages, and farmhouses, but these now stand in the midst of fields of waving grain and blossoming

orchards. * * * One has the startling impression that those thousands of hewn-down trees have all grown up again. A close examination, however, shows what has really happened. The French soldiers, working under direction of the French Generals, who know other things than mere military operations, have found the means of saving a large proportion of the trees."

This miracle was worked especially upon those trees which the Germans had intended to destroy by cutting off a circle of bark around the trunk. With a few days' exposure to the sun, that treatment was sufficient to kill thousands of peach, plum, apple, apricot, and cherry trees that had been half a century attaining their full productiveness. These were saved by prompt "first aid." The wounds were merely bound up like the wounds of a soldier. The American correspondent already quoted has described the process:

"Thousands of army Surgeons and Red Cross ambulance drivers and stretcher carriers assisted in this work, so like, in many respects, their own. The circle where the bark had been cut away was first covered with a special grafting cement, and the entire wound then carefully bandaged up—often with the same bandages that had been prepared for human limbs.

"So great was the number of trees that had to be dressed in this way that the entire available supply of grafting preparation was quickly exhausted. Tar was then used as a substitute, and, finally, loamy clay. Substitutes for surgical bandages also had to be found, and in the end it was discovered that moss, twisted and tied about the dressed wound, was as effective as anything else.

"A much more serious problem, of course, presented itself where the trees had been entirely cut or sawed down. But here French genius also solved the problem. The stumps, protruding usually two or three feet from the ground, were first trimmed off in a scientific manner, so as to conserve the sap and prevent the death of the roots. This stump was then treated with grafting paste, and carefully bandaged, till the cut-down tree, lying at the side, budded from the sap and life that remained in it. Branches that showed great numbers of buds and other signs of exceptional vitality were then cut off and finally grafted into the carefully prepared stump. Today these grafts are in full leaf and blossom; the roots appear to have been entirely saved by this process. Years have been saved in restoring the cut-down orchards of France."

A more conservative view is presented by an English correspondent, who estimates that in the territory recovered by a single French army the Germans had felled over 32,000 fruit trees. After stating that some of these have been saved by the methods indicated, he adds: "Unhappily, in the immense majority of cases, German malice has proved effective." The actual extent of the tree-rescue work lies somewhere between these two views.

Of the lands devastated by the Germans between Noyon and the Somme the zone covered by the French Army alone contained 243 evacuated villages and hamlets, not counting the communes recovered in the Soissons district or those in the British zone. The pursuing French Army found here a wretched population of 35,000 old men and women, mothers of large families, and children under 15. Twelve thousand, for whom it was impossible to find food or shelter, were removed to the interior of France, while the remainder stayed in their ruined villages and are endeavoring to restore life and prosperity to what had been one of the richest agricultural districts of France. Aided by the French Army and by American, French, and British civilians, they achieved wonders in the few weeks that still remained for planting and sowing.

The situation was that 250,000 acres of agricultural land which had once kept the whole region in prosperity had been neither plowed nor sown. There was one small exception. About 1 per cent. of the land had been sown with rye in September and October, before the enemy had fully made up his mind to retire. The work began at the end of March, and in less than two months over 6,000

acres had been plowed and over 3,500 acres sown. No draught animals of any kind had been left behind by the enemy, and almost all the agricultural implements had either been carried off or destroyed. The army, however, could supply horses, and miracles of ingenuity were displayed by the French officers in repairing and improvising the indispensable machines.

The French military authorities organized the whole project with wisdom and efficiency. First they concentrated their energies upon the vegetable gardens, and these were soon flourishing throughout the district, later giving large yields of potatoes, strawberries, and vegetables—enough to carry the local population until Winter. The army based its system on that adopted in the reconquered territory of Alsace. The recovered zone was divided into seven sectors, each under the command of a Lieutenant Colonel or Major. Each officer had under his orders a permanent staff, which included an agricultural expert, an architect, and about forty military engineers. This military organization is still working hand in hand with the civil organization, headed in each town by the Mayor, or, if he has been carried off by the Germans, then by a municipal councilor, who acts as intermediary between the army and the people. The results achieved have been surprising.

The first step was to supply food for the people, and this was done through the army commissariat. Horses for plowing were lent by the army, broken plows and harrows were repaired by motor mechanics of the army, seeds of all kinds were procured, and thirty American tractors found lying idle in a depot were put to work. Soldiers joined the meagre peasant contingent of laborers and toiled early and late to sow, cultivate, and gather the crops, counting all as part of their service for beloved France.

In the meantime houses are being repaired where possible, and temporary buildings erected where no habitation exists. Schools have been opened, military doctors attend the sick, a postal service has begun, and so far as possible life is being made endurable for the thousands who suffered so much during the German occupation and virtually lost everything they possessed when the invaders departed.

The State, in providing the peasants with their immediate necessities as concerns seeds, animals, implements, and the like, has adopted the following system: One-fifth of the cost price is to be paid down by the beneficiary, while the remainder is to be set against the indemnity that he is to receive from the State as compensation for the damage that he has suffered through the war. On this principle army horses still capable of work in the fields, though past war work, are being sold in the district. Brood mares also are being sent there on certain conditions. In addition to State aid, the inhabitants are being helped by French, English, and American subscriptions. Baron Henri de Rothschild has centralized a part of the work and founded a store that has rendered invaluable services by supplying gratuitously all necessities.

Midsummer of 1917 finds at least a beginning made in the vast task of rebuilding the ruined towns, partly with American aid. Noyon has been "adopted" by the City of Washington and is being rebuilt by contributions from the people of that city. The American Fund for French Wounded has taken full charge of the hamlet of Behericourt, and the Comtesse de Chabrannes has undertaken to rebuild the hamlet of Maucourt, which the enemy reduced to a desolate heap of bricks and stones. The vastness of the task that remains, however, is indicated by the fact that fully a hundred towns and villages were as thoroughly destroyed as Maucourt.

In the picturesque mountain region of the Vosges is the village of Vitrimont, an earlier victim of German destructiveness, which Mrs. Crocker of California has chosen for a similar work of resurrection. Being too infirm to go abroad herself, she sent Miss Daisy Polk with an ample fund to rebuild a ruined town in the region designated. Miss Polk chose Vitrimont, a village in Lorraine that had been reduced to a mass of blackened stones during the fighting around Nancy.

The place was a desert when she began, but soon she found herself at the head of a small army of eager villagers, mostly old men and young women, who undertook the heaviest tasks of house building under her leadership. The Préfet of the department came and solemnly laid the first stone of the new village. Already a church and rows of attractive two-story houses have risen under the American magic. In an illustrated article on the subject in Les Annales an enthusiastic French writer says:

"The construction of Vitrimont constitutes an experience which deserves to found a school. The architect of the department, who is directing the work, intends to make of Vitrimont a model village. Houses, farms, public buildings, are being erected according to a plan which gives them a logical grouping.

"Mme. Crocker has devoted a first appropriation of $20,000 to the resurrection of Vitrimont. Her ingenious charity seeks to avoid the form of alms and to render a real service. Half of her gift will remain the property of the commune, the other half is to be returned to her in annuities from the war indemnity which Vitrimont will receive when the imitators of the Huns will be compelled to pay for breakage."

Two Years Under the Germans

A Villager's Diary

SAVY is a little village three miles southwest of St. Quentin. A resident of Savy kept a diary throughout the years of German occupation, a simple document, such as any villager might write, but presenting a unique and truthful picture of what the people suffered under the heel of the invader. A correspondent of The London Times, writing from France, has summarized its contents in an interesting article.

The diary begins with occasional entries recording the outbreak of the war, the passing of English soldiers, and then, on Aug. 28, 1914, the news comes that the Germans are at St. Quentin. "At Savy nobody would believe it. However, it was only too true." The next day the first Germans appeared in Savy itself. They celebrated the day by looting a baker's shop and taking possession of the local tavern and drinking all the liquor.

Then began the real occupation, with continual and increasing requisitions, plunderings, limitations of the liberty of the residents, and punishments for minor offenses. People were fined or imprisoned for going out of the village into the wood without permission, for hiding oats or food in their houses or gardens, for not saluting German officers or not saluting properly, for giving oats to a horse to eat, for plowing a field without permission, for resisting German soldiers who came to loot furniture without authority, for giving coffee to a French prisoner of war, and (the Mayor himself being the culprit in this case) for selling potatoes contrary to orders. When a man was imprisoned he got off his sentence after a few days by paying money.

Meanwhile, constant thieving went on by German soldiers, especially from outhouses, barns, &c., which the villagers, being obliged to be indoors after dusk, were powerless to prevent. Houses were looted and barns stripped of planks and whatever odds and ends seemed worth taking.

Then notice was formally posted giving the German soldiers the right to go into any garden and take vegetables as they pleased.

Besides money tribute, requisitions were made for innumerable articles, such as oats, corn, clover, eggs, potatoes, beans, straw, blankets, boards, tools, and especially wine, which was hunted for in every celler and hiding place and drunk. Besides firearms, bicycles and blankets had to be given up. Individual houses were plundered of chairs, beds, stoves, bottles, casks, and so forth. Censuses were made at one time and another of

agricultural implements, fruit trees, fowls, wheelbarrows, all bronze articles, and sheep, besides horses, asses, and mules, of which the three last were all first vaccinated and then commandeered by installments. So with cows. By November, 1916, only three cows were left in Savy to give milk to the children and invalids, and on Feb. 9, 1917, even these last three were taken.

A census was taken of all walnut trees, then all were cut down and the wood carted away. The Germans sheared all the sheep and similarly sent away the wool. Russian prisoners were set to break up the stones of the local mill to prevent illicit grinding. People were forbidden to go into the wood to gather fuel, or glean in the harvest fields, or to set traps for game. Notices ordered all the people to be ready to work in the fields from 4 in the morning to 8 in the evening. Children were made to weed the crops. As the corn and oats were reaped the Germans took charge of it all. The people were ordered to pick all the fruit and turn it over to the authorities. Finally, all copper articles, including the bells of the church and the school, were taken off to Germany.

We hear of the brutal abusing of old men of 80 by German soldiers and of men being beaten with sticks for trivial offenses. Thus:

> At the general census of horses at Holnon, the owners had to stand for six hours at their horses' heads. Henri Catry happened to be standing two yards away from his horse. A gendarme demanded "Is that your horse?" Henri replied, "Yes," and was beaten with a stick. When he protested, "Don't hit so hard," he was beaten even more severely. There was one, an old man, who was lying down in front of his horse. He was severely beaten by a gendarme. M. Datchy of Holnon saw an old man who had hardly strength to walk. Two Germans hit him continually with their sticks. The other communes were treated in the same brutal manner.

These random quotations, says the correspondent, can give little of the impression created by reading the whole document, but they suffice to show the régime under which the people lived, a régime which grew steadily more severe. Then came the beginning of the end.

On June 29, 1916, we read: "Commencement of the German offensive, according to some; of the English offensive, according to others. For the last ten days at least there has been uninterrupted bombardment." For some days the bombardment continued, then on July 3 it ceased: "All is quite quiet." Though the people in Savy knew nothing of it, the British had made their great attack and were slowly at work breaking the German power on the slopes of the ridge toward Contalmaison and Mametz.

In November the Germans began to fill in the wells under the pretense that they were no longer wholesome, to destroy empty houses, and to carry all sorts of goods away. Just before Christmas the destruction of the fruit trees commenced and went on through the January frosts, when the Germans also pulled down the temporary huts which they had built for camp purposes. On Feb. 10 the Curé, doubtless with a hint of what was coming, turned over the sacred objects and vessels from the church to the Germans for safe keeping.

And then comes the last entry in the diary: "There is a rumor current that soon we are all going to be evacuated from our homes." They were evacuated to certain villages where the residents of the country round were concentrated before the Germans began in earnest their work of devastation, and by the middle of March the great retreat was in full swing. When the British reached the site of Savy in the early days of April the village was no more than a litter of dust and broken bricks. The torch and high explosives had done their work well before the Germans left the town.

Von Bissing's Plan to Annex Belgium

Pan-German Program Revealed

THE late Governor General of Belgium, Baron von Bissing, left at his death an extraordinary "political testament," which has finally reached the outside world through the columns of the Hamburger Nachrichten and the Deutsche Tageszeitung. As a frank and insistent statement of the Junker demand for the annexation of Belgium it must rank among the historic documents bearing upon the war aims of the Central Powers.

It begins with a long argument about the dire necessity and sacred duty of Germany to annex Belgium, insisting especially upon the military requirements of "the next war" and the value of the Belgian coal mines. Baron von Bissing protests against any thought of Germany's accepting "the Meuse line" and the fortresses of Liége and Namur, because the German frontier "must reach the sea." Coming to details, he reveals in the following passage the real intent underlying the talk about "the liberation of the Flemings":

We have among the Flemings many open, and very many still undeclared, friends, who are ready to join the great circle of German world interests. That will also be very important for the future policy of Holland. But, as soon as we remove our protecting hand, the Flemish movement will be branded by the Walloons and the Frenchlings (Französlinge) as pro-German, and will be completely suppressed. We must do everything without delay to repress boundless hopes on the part of the Flemings. Some of them dream of an independent State of Flanders, with a King to govern it, and of complete separation. It is true that we must protect the Flemish movement, but never must we lend a hand to make the Flemings completely independent. The Flemings, with their antagonistic attitude to the Walloons, will, as a Germanic tribe, constitute a strengthening of Germanism. But if we abandon part of Belgium, or if we make a part of it, such as the territory of Flanders, into an independent Flemish State, we are not only creating for ourselves considerable difficulties, but we are depriving ourselves of the considerable advantages and aids which can be afforded us only by Belgium as a whole and under German administration. If only on account of the necessary bases for our fleet, and in order not to cut off Antwerp from the Belgian trade area, it is necessary to have the adjacent hinterland.

Thus at the conclusion of peace we shall find opportunity after a century to make good the mistakes of the Vienna Congress. In 1871, by the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, which Prussia even at the time of the Vienna Congress wanted to claim for herself, repaired the first of these mistakes. It is our business now to put aside reluctance and ideas of reconciliation, and not to fall into new mistakes.

Baron von Bissing goes on to argue that the annexation of Belgium is the only means of obtaining "the necessary respect" from England, and of saving the Germans from being regarded all over the world as weaklings. He says that it is also the only means of repairing the prestige of German diplomacy. He then deals with alleged German anxieties as to the danger of incorporating non-German territory, and proceeds to the following conclusions:

There is no prospect that we shall ever be able to conclude with the King of the Belgians and his Government a peace by which Belgium will remain in the German sphere of power, and it is impossible that the Quadruple Entente, over the heads of its allies, shall ever accept our peace demands with regard to Belgium. It only remains for us, therefore, to avoid during the peace negotiations all discussion about the form of the annexation and to apply nothing but the right of conquest.

It is true that dynastic considerations have an importance which is not to be underestimated. For, in view of our just and ruthless procedure, the King of the Belgians will be deposed, and will remain abroad as an aggrieved enemy. We must put up with that, and it is to be regarded almost as a happy circumstance that necessity compels us to leave dynastic considerations entirely out of account. A King will never voluntarily hand over his country to the conqueror, and Belgium's King can never consent to abandon his sovereignty or to allow it to be restricted. If he did so his prestige would be so undermined that he would have to be regarded not as a support, but as an obstacle, to German interests. On the most various occasions the English have described the right of conquest as the healthiest and simplest kind of right, and we can read in Machiavelli that he who desires to take possession of a country will be compelled to remove the King or Regent, even by killing him.

These are grave decisions, but they must be taken, for we are concerned with the welfare and the future of Germany, and concerned also with reparation for the war of destruction that has been directed against us.

Finally, Baron von Bissing demands that Belgium shall be kept under the present dictatorship after the peace, and discusses the comparative values of Belgium and the Belgian Congo. He says:

For years to come we must maintain the existing state of dictatorship. It is the only form of administration, based as it is upon military resources, which can be chosen, in order to gain time for the gradual and methodical building up of the most appropriate possible administration. The completion of the annexation will be regarded by many Flemings and by a great part of the Walloons as a release from uncertainty and from vain hopes. Both races will return to the life that will be rendered possible by renewed opportunities for trade and pleasure. The Walloons can, and must, decide, during this period of transition, whether they will adapt themselves to the definitely altered state of affairs, or whether they prefer to leave Belgium. He who remains in the country must declare his allegiance to Germany, and, after a fixed time, must declare his adoption of Germanism. * * *

Half measures and a middle course must be condemned most of all. Lack of determination in the decisive days of German fate will be a grave wrong to the blood that has been shed. Among such half measures I include the intention of treating Belgium merely as a pawn which might be used to recover or extend our colonial possessions. As regards the extension of our colonial possessions, the Belgian Congo comes especially into question. The possession of the Belgian Congo is certainly to be aimed at, and I desire to insist that a German colonial empire, whatever its shape, is indispensable for Germany's world policy and expansion of power. But, on the other hand, I am of the opinion that only such frontiers as will contribute to the acquisition of greater freedom on the sea are calculated to make colonial possessions valuable. Consequently the supporters of the colonial movement must also demand the Belgian coast, together with the Belgian hinterland. If we give up the Belgian coast our fleet will lack important bases for its share in the protection of our colonial empire.

Vorwärts, the Berlin Socialist organ, published in May, 1917, an interchange of letters between Baron Gebsattel, a Pan-Germanist leader, and Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg. On May 5 the Baron wrote to the Chancellor on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Pan-Germanist League protesting against the Government's too narrow view of the way in which the results of certain victory should be utilized. The Baron said that the soldiers might even overturn the monarchy itself if they returned from the war and found that all possible gains from their sacrifices had not been secured by the Government.

The Chancellor replied on May 13 with a letter in which he said:

Only after the complete defeat of all the enemies of Germany will the time be ripe for considering the Pan-Germanist war aims. For the moment, the interests of the country forbid a closer examination of these aims. The league has rendered great service to Germany by developing national sentiment and combating the idealism of those who dreamed of a fraternity of nations, but it is grotesquely lacking in political judgment.

The Chancellor added that the Baron's allusion to a possible revolution, if it had any foundation, was a condemnation of those who were stirring up a dangerous spirit among the people, and, if it had no foundation, then it was a threat betraying the desires of those who were using it to subjugate to their own will the responsible counselors chosen by the Kaiser.

Battle's Grim Realities at Ginchy

An Irish Officer's Realistic Account of One Day's Awful Experiences

Second Lieutenant Arthur C. Young of the Seventh Battalion, Royal Irish Fusiliers, a volunteer from Kobe, Japan, took part in the storming of Ginchy on the Somme front, Sept. 9, 1916, and wrote the subjoined letter to a relative in London shortly afterward. This remarkable narrative is here presented in its entirety, with the exception of a few personal references.

THE storming of Ginchy took place on Saturday last, Sept. 9. It had been taken once or twice before, I believe, (some say four times,) but even out here it is so difficult to get authentic news about things which are happening quite close to us that you will have to make allowances for my possible inaccuracies. Each time, however, it was recaptured by the Germans, for to them it was a most important stronghold, particularly from their artillery's point of view. A gunner officer told me why this was. You must remember that artillery fire is not very effective unless there is good observation, for atmospheric conditions affect shooting considerably. Now, the best sort of observation is that obtained from high ground in a forward position—it is better even than airplane or balloon observation, so I am told. Well, Ginchy was the last bit of high ground which the Germans held, and now that they have lost it, they are dependent on their less certain aerial observation, or, failing that, they must shoot by the map, which is no better than guesswork. Hence the vital importance to the Germans of Ginchy.

Try and picture in your mind's eye a fairly broad valley running more or less north and south. You must imagine that the Germans are somewhere over the further, or southern, crest. You are looking across the valley from the ruins of Guillemont. About half-right the further crest rises to a height crowned by a mass of wreckage and tangled trees. Well, that is Ginchy. The valley narrows somewhat and bends round this way to the right of Ginchy. Then it bends back again to its original line of direction, and goes on, goodness knows where. At that point another valley branches off at right angles to the left, or southward, and leads up to Combles, which the French are investing.

At the point of the peninsula between this valley and that other one is Falfemont Farm, which is now in our possession, for we have driven the Germans well back along the flat top of the peninsula to some place beyond Leuze Wood, which is on the right of Ginchy as we face it from Guillemont. You can see the trees sticking up on the skyline. Now, if you look the other way, half-left, you will see the ruins of Delville Wood, which seems to start almost at the botom of the broad valley and to go over the top of the slope beyond. Well, we hold that place too. In fact, we hold all the ground which you can see in front of you, except Ginchy, and that is what the Irish division is now going to storm at the point of the bayonet, if you have the patience to follow me.

I have conjured up some kind of scene in your mind—a framework, anyway. Now, to complete it, you must imagine that every square yard of ground, in front, behind, wherever you look, is churned up as if by some monster plow until barely one blade of green is left. Think what Hampstead Heath would look like if it were dug up in all directions into pits about ten feet deep and fifteen feet across—and you will have framed an image (I'm afraid a faint one only) of the awful scene of desolation which your eyes have to dwell upon for days at a time on the battlefield of the Somme.

Seeking a Habitable Trench

On the night previous to the taking of Ginchy my battalion had to take up a

position on the further slope of the valley. We were some distance in rear at the time, where the shells did not fall so plentifully. We had had nearly a week of it already, and a more horrible five days I have never passed in my life. We had been over the top from Falfemont Farm on the Tuesday, and had been thanked for our services in a special divisional order, but the price we had to pay for that feat of arms was a big one, as the casualty list printed by this time only too well shows.

I was sent out to find a habitable trench for my company. I found one near the spot indicated on the map. We moved in there at dusk. There is no proceeding to your sector through a long communication trench at the Somme. You just go over the top, skirting shell holes all the way. Nor is there any "taking over" in the sense in which that term is used in the more civilized regions further north, where the officer of the relieving company finds out the exact delimitations of his frontage, and takes an inventory of all stock in the way of ammunition, bombs, stores, &c. You don't do things on those lines here. The relieving company comes up at an unexpected hour, the commander reports himself to you, and asks you all sorts of questions which you answer to the best of your ability, and then you get your men together and make off, hell for leather. And the trenches are nothing like the elaborate affairs you meet with in the more settled parts of the line. They are just ditches and nothing else. There are no dugouts or shelters or fire bays or anything of that sort. Then, again, you don't always relieve another regiment in the same trench. You may prefer to go on a little bit in search of a more suitable one.

Driven Out by the Dead

Well, as I have just said, we moved into our trench north of Guillemont at dusk. We faced half-right, as it were, looking up the slope toward Ginchy. It was like being near the foot of Parliament Hill, with the village on top. Our right flank was down near the bottom of the valley; our left extended up to the higher ground toward the ruins of Waterlot Farm. The trench was very shallow in places, where it had been knocked in by shellfire. I had chosen it as the only one suitable in the neighborhood, but it was a horrible place.

SCENE OF THE FIGHT FOR GINCHY

British dead were lying about everywhere. Our men had to give up digging in some places, because they came down to bodies which were buried there when the parapet blew in. The smell turned us sick. At last in desperation I went out to look for another trench, for I felt sure the Germans must have the range of the trench we were in, and that they would give us hell when dawn broke. To my joy I found that a very deep trench some distance back had just been vacated by another regiment, so we went in there.

The night was bitterly cold. I have felt hunger and thirst and fatigue out here to a degree I have never experienced them before, but those torments I can endure far better than I thought I could. But the cold—my word! It is dreadful. I suppose life in the Far East does not harden one's constitution against that torture. Many a night have I slept out in the open, in narrow, wet trenches, with the rain pouring down, and almost groaned with the agony of cold. If two can huddle together, you can get some

warmth, but the trenches are frequently too narrow for that. I think I feel the cold more than any one.

However, dawn broke at last. It was very misty. All night we had been trying to get into touch with the unit on our left, but without success. So the Captain sent me out with an orderly to see whether I could manage it. We two stumbled along, but the mist was so dense we could see nothing. We came to one trench after another, but not a living thing could we see—nothing but dead, British and German, some of them mangled beyond recognition. Bombs and rifles and equipment were lying all over the place, with here and there a great-coat, khaki or gray according to the nationality of their one-time owners, but of living beings we could see no sign whatsoever. There was a horrible stench in places which nearly turned our stomachs.

A Dangerous Reconnoissance

To make matters more wretched, we could not make sure of our direction, and were afraid of running into a German patrol, or even into a German trench, for such accidents are by no means uncommon in this region. However, we managed to find our way back and report that up to such and such a point on the map (approximately) there was no one on our left. The Captain was not content with this, so I went out again, this time with another officer. Having a compass on this second occasion, I felt far more self-confidence, and to our mutual satisfaction we discovered that the unit on our left was the right flank of an English division. Captain —— was very bucked when we brought back this information. As the mist continued for some time afterward, we were able to light fires and make breakfast.

Now, I have forgotten to tell you that we were in reserve. The front line was some five or six hundred yards higher up the slope nearer Ginchy. We knew that a big attack was coming off that day, but did not think we should be called upon to take part. Accordingly, we settled down for the day, and most of the men slept. I felt quite at home, as I sat in the bottom of the deep trench, reading the papers I had received the previous day from England. I went through The Times and was much interested in its Japan Supplement, for the memories it brought back of many happy days in Dai Nippon were vivid ones. I also read The Nation from cover to cover. At Falfemont Farm I had picked up a good copy of Burns's "Poems" in the Everyman Series, so I read "The Cottar's Saturday Night" and some other pieces. Mentally, in fact, I was living in quite another world, and it was only the occasional "cr-r-r-rump" of a Boche shell which brought me back to my senses and to the hideous reality of things.

"*Over the Top*"

It was about 4 o'clock in the afternoon when we first learned that we should have to take part in the attack on Ginchy. Now, you probably expect me to say at this point in my narrative that my heart leaped with joy at the news and that the men gave three rousing cheers, for that's the sort of thing you read in the papers. Well, I had been over the top once already that week, and knew what it was to see men dropping dead all around me, to see men blown to bits, to see men writhing in pain, to see men running round and round, gibbering, raving mad. Can you wonder, therefore, that I felt a sort of sickening dread of the horrors which I knew we should all have to go through? How the others felt I don't exactly know, but I don't think I am far wrong when I say that their emotions were not far different from mine. You read no end of twaddle in the papers at home about the spirit in which men go into action. You might almost think they reveled in the horror and the agony of it all. I saw one account of the battle of Ginchy in which the correspondent spoke of the men of a certain regiment in reserve as "almost crying with rage" because they couldn't take part in the show. All I can say is that I should like to see such superhuman beings. It is rubbish like this which makes thousands of people in England think that war is great sport. As a famous Yankee General said, "War is hell," and you have only got to be in the Somme one single day to know it. The man who says he

loves being in a charge is a liar, and an adjective liar at that.

But to get on with the story. We were ordered to move up into the front line to reinforce the Royal Irish Rifles. None of us knew for a certainty whether we were going over the top or not, but everything seemed to point that way. Guides were sent down by the Rifles to lead us up. We wended our way up slowly, keeping as much as possible to the trenches, which were so shallow that the deepest part of them did not conceal more than our waists, but they were something to duck into if we heard a shell coming. The bombardment was now intense. Our shells bursting in the village of Ginchy made it belch forth smoke like a volcano. The German shells were bursting on the slope in front of us. The noise was deafening. I turned to my servant O'Brein, who has always been a cheery, optimistic soul, and said, " Well, O'Brien, how do you think we'll fare? " and his answer was for once not encouraging. " We'll never come out alive, Sir! " was his reply. Happily, we both came out alive, but I never though we should at the time.

Real Picture of a Charge

It was at this moment, just as we were debouching on to the scragged front line of trench, that we beheld a scene which stirred and thrilled us to the bottommost depths of our souls. The great charge of the Irish division had begun, and we had come up in the nick of time. Mere words must fail to convey anything like a true picture of the scene, but it is burned into the memory of all those who were there and saw it. Let me employ once more the simile of Parliament Hill. You are more than half way up it now. The flat top, where the village lies a heap of ruins, surrounded by a fence of shattered trees, is about 400 yards away. Between the outer fringe of Ginchy and the front line of our own trenches is No Man's Land—a wilderness of pits, so close together that you could ride astraddle the partitions between any two of them. As you look half-right, obliquely along No Man's Land, you behold a great host of yellow-coated men rise out of the earth and surge forward and upward in a torrent—not in extended order, as you might expect, but in one mass—I almost said a compact mass. The only way I can describe the scene is to ask you to picture five or six columns of men marching up hill in fours, with about a hundred yards between each column. Now, conceive those columns being gradually disorganized, some men going off to the right and others to the left to avoid shell holes. There seems to be no end to them. Just when you think the flood is subsiding, another wave comes surging up the beach toward Ginchy.

We joined in on the left. There was no time for us any more than the others to get into extended order. We formed another stream converging on the others at the summit. By this time we were all wildly excited. Our shouts and yells alone must have struck terror into the Germans, who were firing their machine guns down the slope. But there was no wavering in the Irish host. We couldn't run. We advanced at a steady walking pace, stumbling here and there, but going ever onward and upward. That numbing dread had now left me completely. Like the others, I was intoxicated with the glory of it all. I can remember shouting and bawling to the men of my platoon, who were only too eager to go on. The German barrage had now been opened in earnest, and shells were falling here, there, and everywhere in No Man's Land. They were mostly dropping on our right, but they were coming nearer and nearer, as if a screen were being drawn across our front. I knew that it was a case of " now or never " and stumbled on feverishly. We managed to get through the barrage in the nick of time, for it closed behind us, and after that we had no shells to fear in front of us.

A Psychological Note

I mention, merely as an interesting fact in psychology, how in a crisis of this sort one's mental faculties are sharpened. Instinct told us when the shells were coming gradually closer to crouch down in the holes until they had passed. Acquired knowledge on the other hand—the knowledge instilled into one by lectures and books, (of which I have only read one, namely, Haking's " Company Training,")

—told us that it was safer in the long run to push ahead before the enemy got the range, and it was acquired knowledge that won. And here's another observation I should like to make by the way: I remember reading somewhere, I think it was in a book by Winston Churchill, that of the battle of Omdurman the writer could recollect nothing in the way of noise; he had an acute visual recollection of all that went on about him, but his aural recollection was nil; he could only recall the scene as if it were a cinematograph picture. Curiously, this was my own experience at Ginchy. The din must have been deafening, (I learned afterward that it could be heard miles away,) yet I have only a confused remembrance of it. Shells, which at any other time would have scared me out of my wits, I never so much as heard—not even when they were bursting quite close to me. One landed in the midst of a bunch of men about seventy yards away on my right; I have a most vivid recollection of seeing a tremendous burst of clay and earth go shooting up into the air—yes, and even parts of human bodies—and that when the smoke cleared away there was nothing left. I shall never forget that horrifying spectacle as long as I live, but I shall remember it as a sight only, for I can associate no sound with it.

Capture of the Trenches

How long we were in crossing No Man's Land I don't know. It could not have been more than five minutes, yet it seemed much longer. We were now well up to the Boche. We had to clamber over all manner of obstacles—fallen trees, beams, great mounds of brick and rubble —in fact, over the ruins of Ginchy. It seems like a nightmare to me now. I remember seeing comrades falling round me. My sense of hearing returned, for I became conscious of a new sound, namely, the pop, pop, pop of machine guns and the continuous crackling of rifle fire. I remember men lying in shell holes holding out their arms and beseeching water. I remember men crawling about and coughing up blood, as they searched round for some place in which they could shelter until help could reach them. By this time all units were mixed up. But they were all Irishmen. They were cheering and cheering and cheering like mad. It was hell let loose. There was a machine gun playing on us near by, and we all made for it.

At this moment we caught our first sight of the Germans. They were in a trench of sorts, which ran in and out among the ruins. Some of them had their hands up. Others were kneeling and holding their arms out to us. Still others were running up and down the trench distractedly as if they didn't know which way to go, but as we got close they went down on their knees, too. To the everlasting good name of the Irish soldiery, not one of these Germans, some of whom had been engaged in slaughtering our men up to the very last moment, was killed. I did not see a single instance of a prisoner being shot or bayonetted. When you remember that our men were now worked up to a frenzy of excitement, this crowning act of mercy to their foes is surely to their eternal credit. They could feel pity even in their rage.

Only Two Officers Left

By this time we had penetrated the German front line, and were on the flat ground where the village once stood, surrounded by a wood of fairly high trees. There was no holding the men back. They rushed through Ginchy, driving the Germans before them. The German dead were lying everywhere, some of them having been frightfully mangled by our shellfire. As I was clambering out of the front trench, I felt a sudden stab in my right thigh. I thought I had got a "blighty," [a wound serious enough to send him back to Britain,] but found it was only a graze from a bullet, and so went on.

I managed to find my men without difficulty. They had rushed through the ruins of the village and were almost a hundred yards beyond the wood, where the ground dips down slightly into a shallow valley and mounts up gradually to a ridge about half a mile away. We were facing south here, having Delville Wood away to our left and Leuze Wood on our right. —— and I were the only two officers left in the company, so it was up to us to take charge. There

were not more than half a dozen officers in this part of the line, and so we had a great deal of work to do. We could see the Germans hopping over the distant ridge like rabbits, and we had some difficulty in preventing our men from chasing them, for we had orders not to go too far.

We got them—Irish Fusiliers, Inniskillings, and Dublins—to dig in by linking up the shell craters, and though the men were tired, (some wanted to smoke and others to make tea,) they worked with a will, and before long we had got a pretty decent trench outlined.

Scenes Among Prisoners

While we were at work a number of Germans who had stopped behind, and were hiding in shell holes, commenced a bombing attack on our right. But they did not keep it up long, for they hoisted a white flag, (a handkerchief tied to a rifle,) as a sign of surrender. I should think we must have made about twenty prisoners. They were very frightened. Some of them bunked into a sunken road or cutting which ran straight out from the wood in a southerly direction, and huddled together, with hands upraised. They began to empty their pockets and hand out souvenirs—watches, compasses, cigars, penknives—to their captors, and even wanted to shake hands with us! There was no other officer about at the moment, so I had to find an escort to take the prisoners down. Among the prisoners was a tall, distinguished-looking man, and I asked him in my broken German whether he was an officer. "Ja! mein Herr!" was the answer I got. "Sprechen sie English?" "Ja!" "Good," I said, thankful that I didn't have to rack my brains for any more German words; "please tell your men that no harm will come to them if they follow you quietly." He turned round and addressed his men, who seemed to be very grateful that we were not going to kill them! I must say the officer behaved with real soldierly dignity, and, not to be outdone in politeness, I treated him with the same respect that he showed me. I gave him an escort for himself and told off three or four men for the remainder. I could not but rather admire his bearing, for he did not show anything like the terror that his men did.

I heard afterward that when Captain ——'s company rushed a trench more to our right, round the corner of the wood, a German officer surrendered in great style. He stood to attention, gave a clinking salute, and said in perfect English, "Sir, myself, this other officer, and ten men are your prisoners." Captain —— said, "Right you are, old chap!" and they shook hands, the prisoners being led away immediately. So you see there are certain amenities which are observed even on the bloodiest of battlefields. I believe our prisoners were all Bavarians, who are better mannered from all accounts than the Prussians. They could thank their stars they had Irish chivalry to deal with.

There were a great many German dead and wounded in the sunken road. One of them was an officer. He was lying at the entrance to a dugout. He was waving his arms about. I went over and spoke to him. He could talk a little English. All he could say was, "Comrade, I die, I die." I asked him where he was hit and he said in the stomach. It was impossible to move him, for our stretcher bearers had not yet come up, so I got my servant to look for an overcoat to throw over him, as he was suffering terribly from the cold. Whether or not he survived the night I do not know.

After the Battle

Our line was now extended across the sunken road and beyond the corner of the wood to our right. Darkness was coming on. Airplanes were hovering overhead, and shortly afterward our shells began to form a barrage in front. The Germans had evidently rallied, for we could see a long line of them coming up on our right, evidently from the direction of Leuze Wood. Our machine guns opened fire. The counterattack was hung up, but the Germans must have dug themselves in for the night, for in the morning they gave us a good deal of trouble.

I could go on in this strain for a long time, but will cut the rest of the story short, for you must be weary of it. As briefly as possible, then, after the coun-

terattack had subsided, I was ordered to take my men and join up with the rest of the battalion on our right. There we spent the night in a trench. We must have been facing south. It was a miserable night we passed, for we were all very cold and thirsty. We had to keep digging. When morning broke it was very misty. We expected to be relieved at 2 in the morning, but the relief did not come till noon. Never shall I forget those hours of suspense. We were all hungry. The only food we could get was German black bread, which we picked up all over the place; also German tinned sausages and bully-beef. We had to lift up some of the dead to get at these things. Some of them had water bottles full of cold coffee, which we drank.

We all craved a smoke. Fortunately, the German haversacks were pretty well stocked with cigarettes and cigars. I got a handful of cigars off a dead German, and smoked them all morning. Also a tin of cigarettes. His chocolates also came in handy. Poor devil, he must have been a cheery soul when living, for he had a photograph of himself in his pocket, in a group with his wife and two children, and the picture made him look a jolly old sport. And here he was dead, with both legs missing! The trench (between ours and the wood) was stacked with dead. It was full of débris—bombs, shovels, and what not—and torn books, magazines, and newspapers. I came across a copy of Schiller's "Wallenstein."

Treatment of Wounded Germans

Hearing moans as I went along the trench, I looked into a shelter or hole dug in the side and found a young German. He could not move, as his legs were broken. He begged me to get him some water, so I hunted round and found a flask of cold coffee, which I held to his lips. He kept saying "Danke, Kamerad, danke, danke." However much you may hate the Germans when you are fighting them, you can only feel pity for them when you see them lying helpless and wounded on the ground. I saw this man afterward on his way to the dressing station. About ten yards further on was another German, minus a leg. He, too, craved water, but I could get him none, though I looked everywhere. Our men were very good to the German wounded. An Irishman's heart melts very soon. In fact, kindness and compassion for the wounded, our own and the enemy's, is about the only decent thing I have seen in war. It is not at all uncommon to see a British and German soldier side by side in the same shell hole nursing each other as best they can and placidly smoking cigarettes. A poor wounded German who hobbled into our trench in the morning, his face badly mutilated by a bullet—he whimpered and moaned as piteously as a child—was bound up by one of our officers, who took off his coat and set to work in earnest. Another German, whose legs were hit, was carried in by our men and put into a shell hole for safety, where he lay awaiting the stretcher bearers when we left. It is with a sense of pride that I can write this of our soldiers.

There was a counterattack on our left in the morning, and for a few minutes the machine guns were very active, but the Germans were beaten off. At last we were relieved, and made our way back, behind Guillemont, to be taken out of the line. We spent one night in a camp and next day came on here. I am writing this in a picturesque French village. You can see green fields and trees and stacks of corn and cattle when you look through the window. Here, at all events, "grim-visaged war hath smoothed his wrinkled front." I am not alone in hoping that we shall not have to go back to that hellish place.

Well, now, that's the story of the great Irish charge at Ginchy, so far as I can tell it. I suppose by this time the great event has been forgotten by the English public. But it will never be forgotten by those who took part in it, for it is an event we shall remember with pride to the end of our days.

Need I tell you how proud we officers and men are of the Royal Irish Fusiliers who played as big a part as any in the storming of that stronghold, and who went into action shouting their old battle cry of "Faugh-a-Ballagh"—"Clear the way!"

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Italian Cartoon]

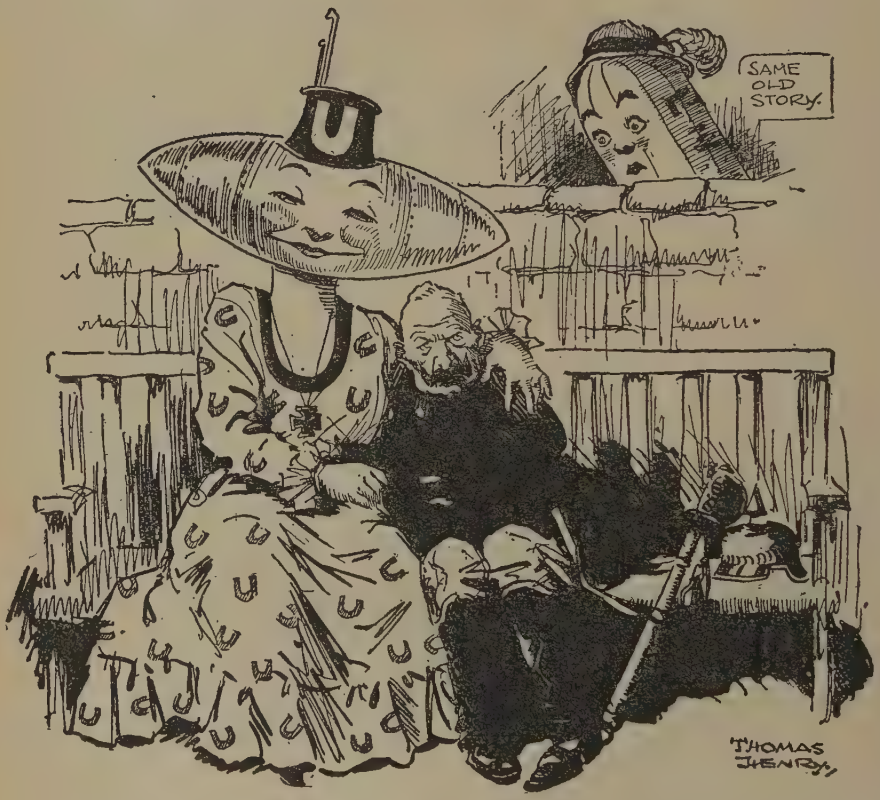
The World Moves Slowly

—From Il 420, Florence.

"And still it moves"—as Galileo said—and in the end it will crush those who tried to seize it.

[English Cartoon]

The Old Love and the New

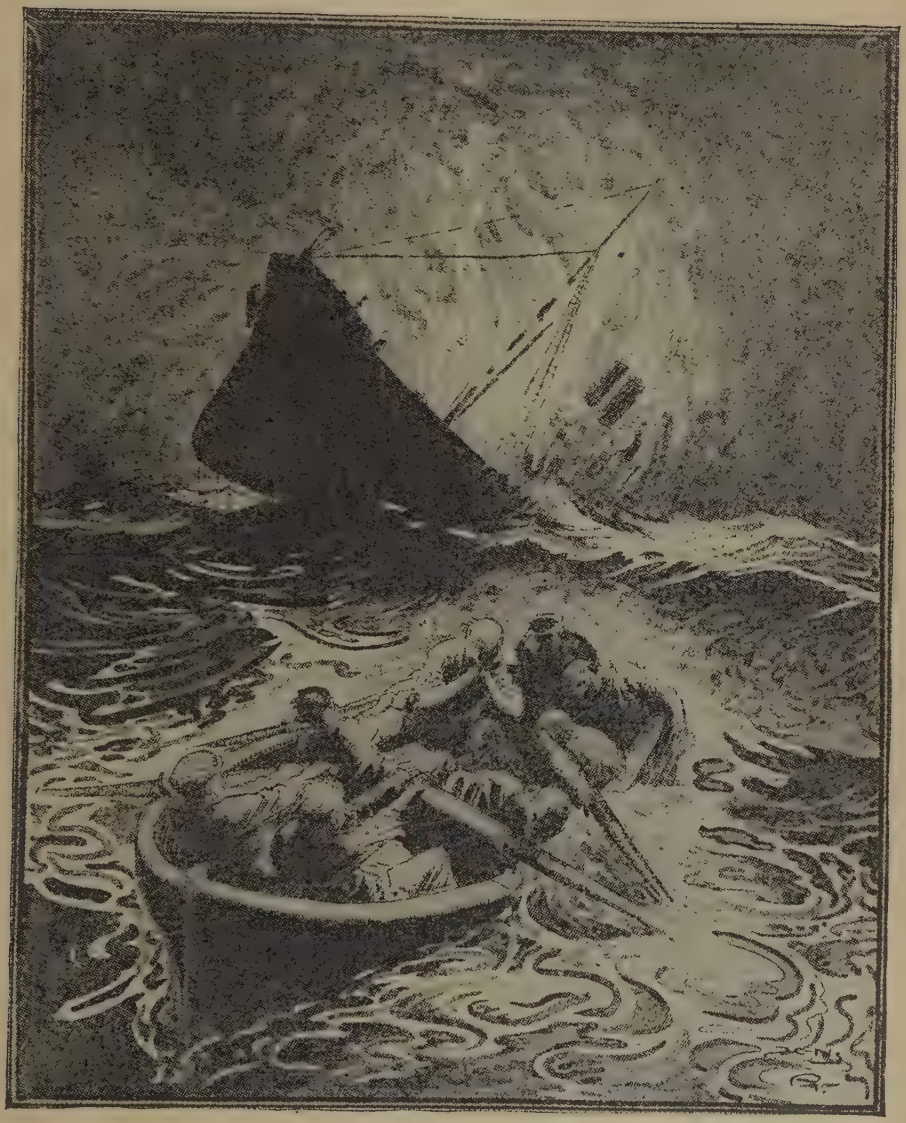


—*From Cassell's Saturday Journal.*

MISS U-BOAT: "Will you love me as much three months later?"
WILLIAM (sotto voce): "I wonder!"

[Norwegian Cartoon]

U-Boat Morality

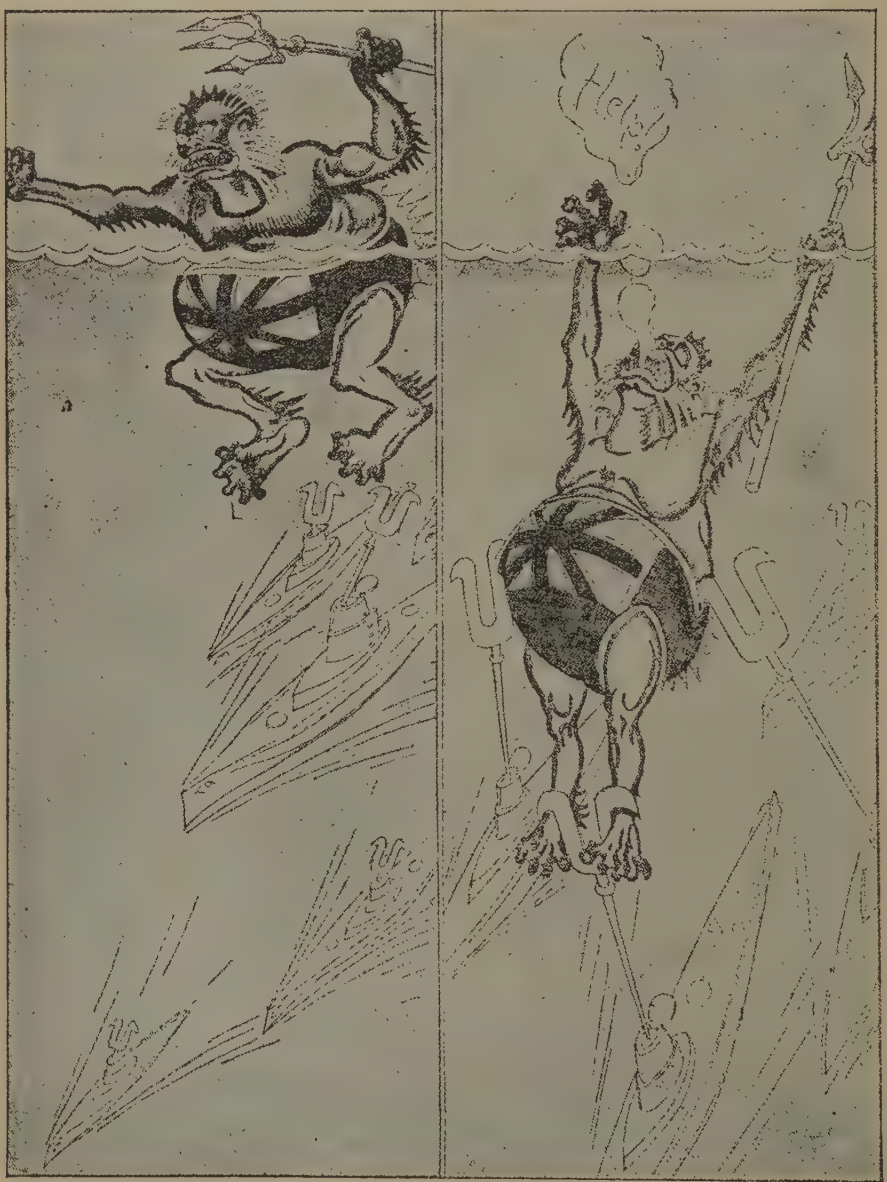


—From Hvepsen, Christiania.

"We are champions of the freedom of the seas."—German Claim.

[German Cartoon]

Britain and the U-Boats

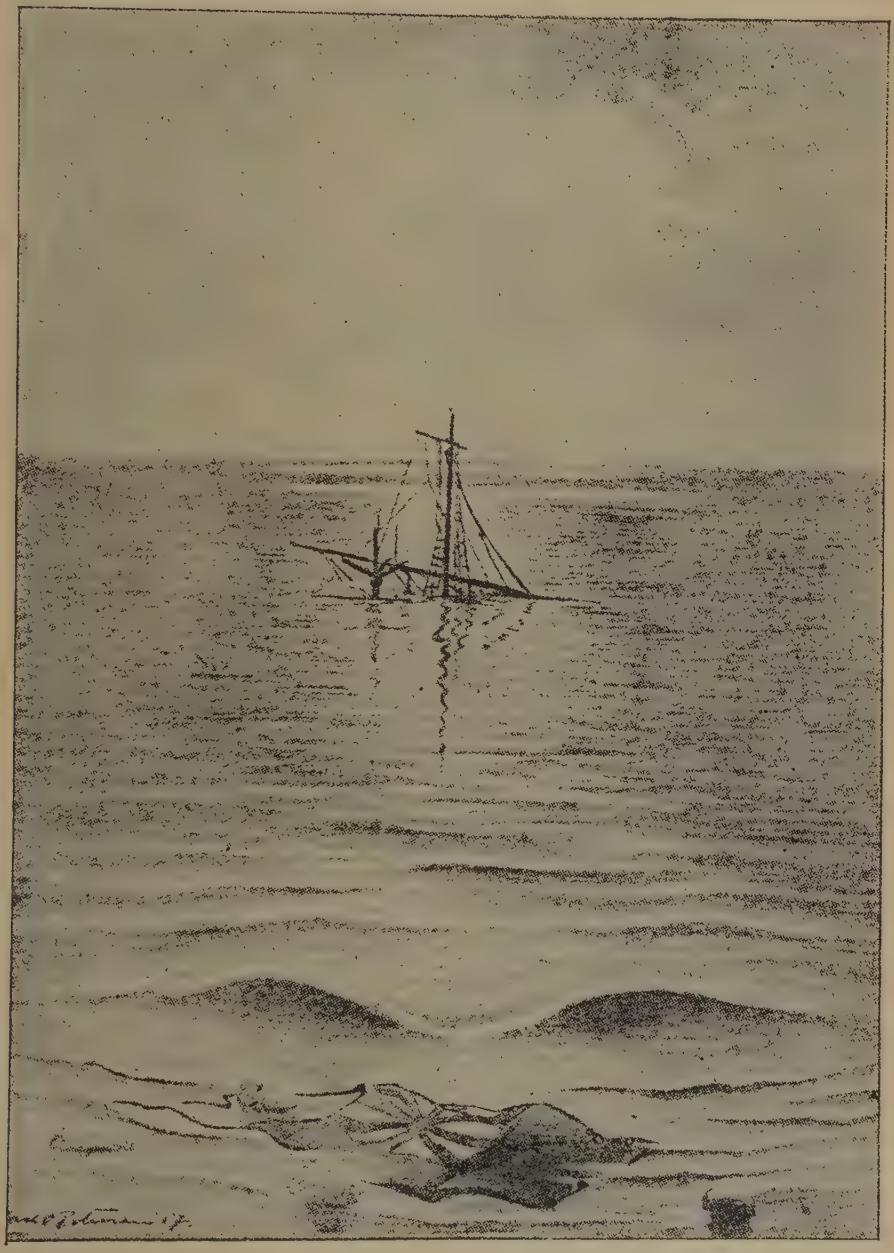


—From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.

RULER OF THE WAVES: "I will break Germany! I will smash Germany! I will . . . . !!!"

[German Cartoon]

"Still Lies the Sea!"



—*From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

[A German dream which is a long way from fulfillment.]

[English Cartoons]

A Naval Discovery

—From The Sunday Evening Telegram, London.

FATHER NEPTUNE (to John Bull and Brother Jonathan): "Well, boys, it's taken over a hundred years and Armageddon to convince you that my seas are intended not to divide, but to bring you together."

The Hope of the Family

—From The News of the World, London.

THE WOEFUL WARRIOR: "He is our last hope, Willie dear, and he's sinking fast!"

[American Cartoon]

Getting Hotter Every Minute

—*From The New York Times.*

[Spanish Cartoon]

The German Note to Spain

—*From Iberia, Barcelona.*

GERMANY (to Spain): "Bless you, my dear, you are the only one who has stood by me. You shall be rewarded afterward."

[English Cartoon]

The Junk Sale at Stockholm

—From The Passing Show, London.

AUCTIONEER BETHMANN (to Russia): "Going! Going! this wonderful peace masterpiece. Just the thing for a democratic art lover's parlor!"

[French Cartoon]

Blind Leaders of the Blind

In due time they will fall into the ditch. —*From La Baionnette, Paris.*

[Figures, right to left: Hindenburg, Kaiser Wilhelm, Crown Prince, Ferdinand of Bulgaria, Charles of Austria, Mohammed V. of Turkey.]

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Stockholm Conference

—From De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

[English Cartoon]

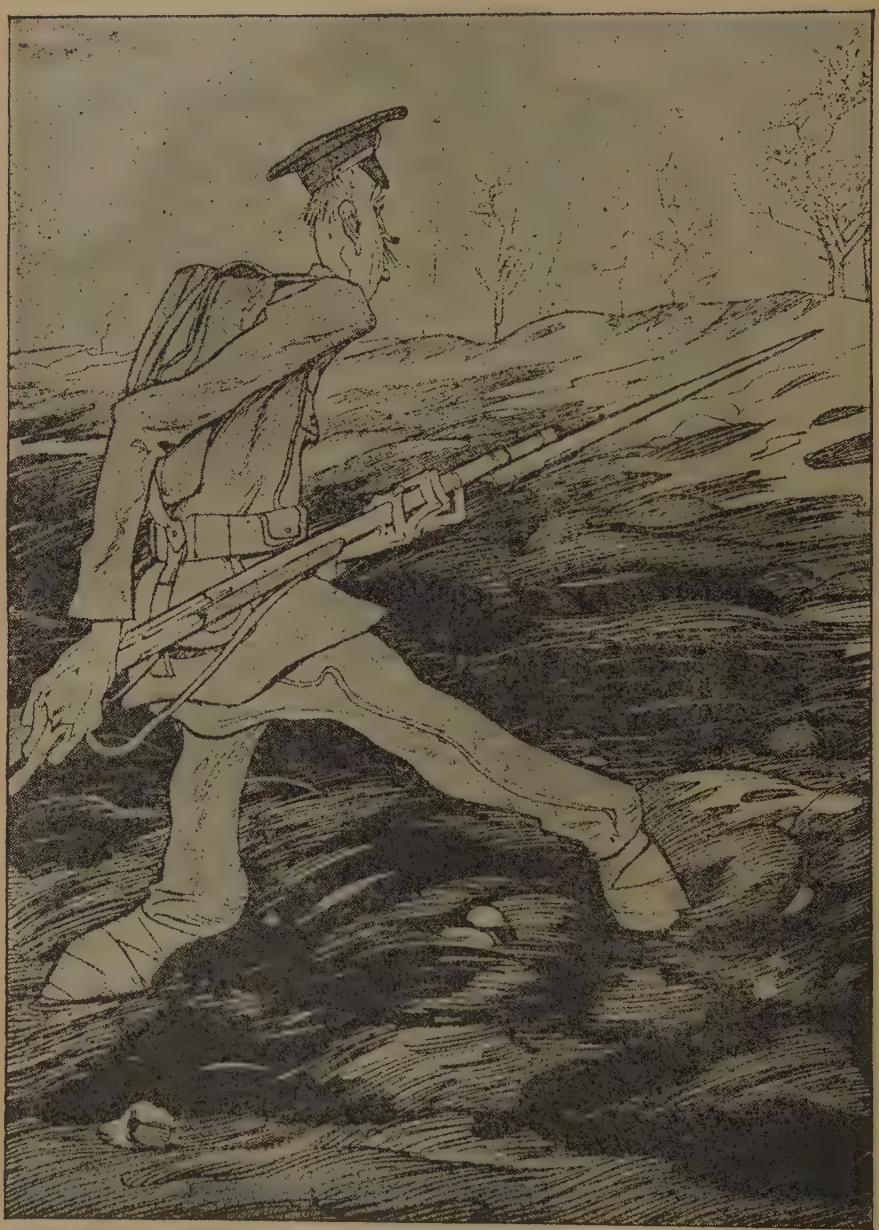
St. George and the Pacifist

—From The London Evening News.

PEACE CRANK: "Before you go on with this conflict you must give me your word that you will do nothing really injurious to the dragon."

[German Cartoon]

Germany's Clever Retreat



—From Kladderdatsch, Berlin.

BRITISH TOMMY: "Where are those confounded Germans?"

[French Cartoon]

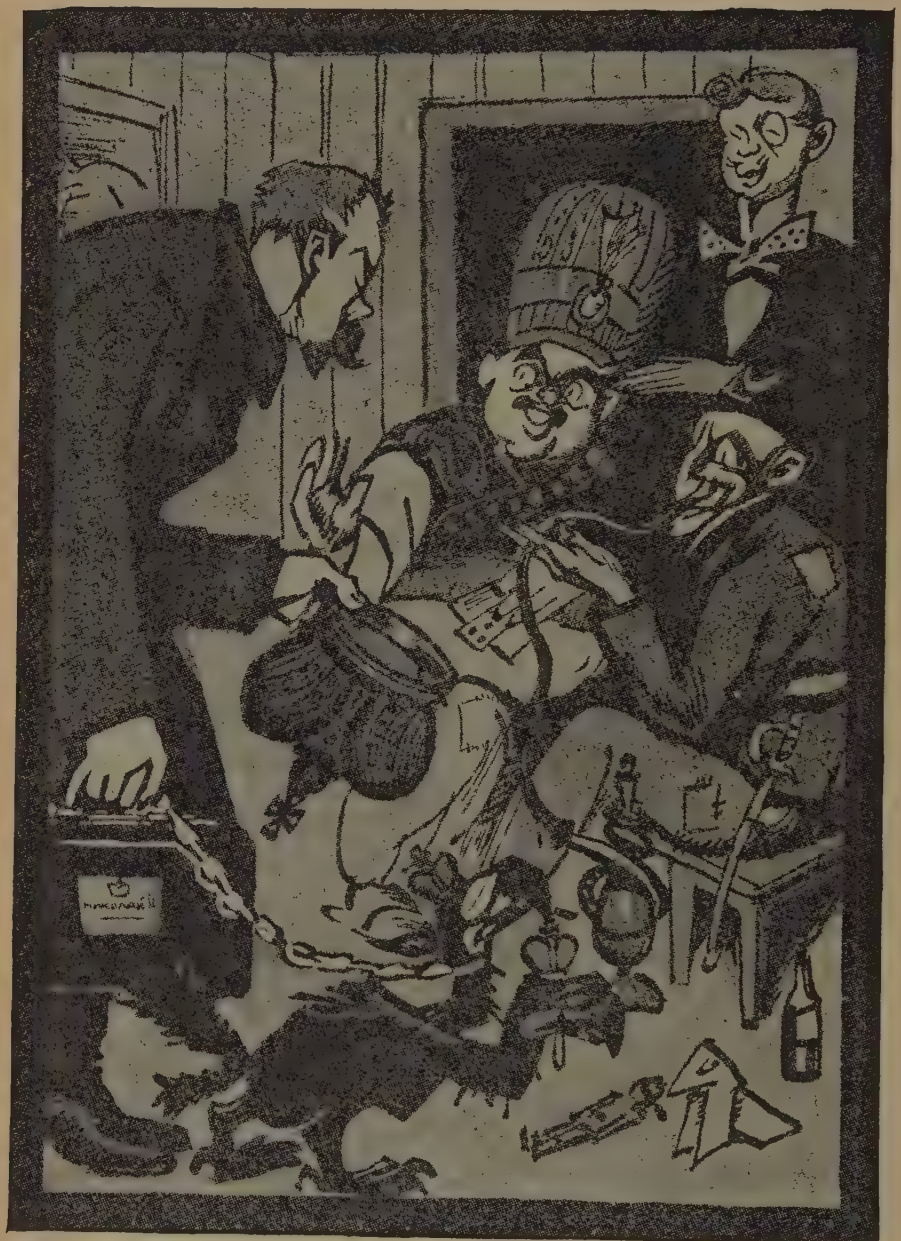
In the Torture Chamber at Nuremberg

—From La Baionnette, Paris.

GERMAN MOTHER: "All these instruments, my boy, will be useful after our victory—with the aid of the good old God."

[Russian Cartoon]

Company for Nicholas



—From Novi Satiricon, Petrograd.

"Ha, ha! Here is a fourth partner. Now we can play whist!"
[The other three are the ex-Shah of Persia, ex-Sultan Abdul Hamid of Turkey, and ex-King Manuel of Portugal.]

[German Cartoon]

Wartime Punch and Judy

—From Der Brummer, Berlin.

MARS: "Whose turn next?"
BRITAIN: "Please, Sir, take Ivan next!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Choice of Hercules

—*From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.*

The Russian Hercules is at the parting of the ways. Which will he choose?

[Dutch Cartoon]

A Difficult Problem

—From De Nieuwe Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

PEACE ANGEL: "I don't see where I can ever get hold of it."

Russia's Answer

—*Duluth Herald.*

"Oh, Say, Can You See?"

—*Knoxville Journal and Tribune.*

"— and Greece!"

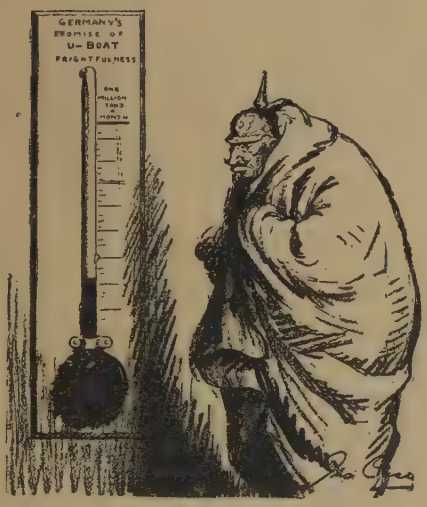
—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

The Middleman

—*Mobile Register.*

Find the Producer and the Consumer.

A Late Spring



—*Mobile Register.*

Blind the Enemy!

—*Baltimore American.*

How Constantine Lost His Crown

—*St. Louis Republic.*

Bars of Gold

—*Memphis Commercial Appeal.*

Who Next?

—*New York World.*

That Draft Gives Him a Chill

—*Los Angeles Times.*

When Charlie Begins Strafing

—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

In the Wrong Shop

—*St. Joseph News-Press.*

DR. GEORG MICHAELIS

Germany's new Imperial Chancellor, successor to Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, and head of a complete new Imperial and Prussian administration

(Photo Central News)

ALEXANDER F. KERENSKY

Premier of Russia, on whom the new Republic is depending for a successful issue, both to its external dangers and its internal troubles

(© *The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial*)

PERIOD XXXVI.

Mustering Our Armed Forces—Food Dictator for the United States—Pope Benedict's Appeal for Peace—U-Boat Destruction of Shipping—Grand Tactics of Three Years of Warfare—Estimates of War Casualties—Serbia's Plan of Reorganization—Russia Passes Through Deep Waters—The Socialists in the War—The Appalling Waste of the War—Secretary Lansing on Our War Aims—War for American Honor and Lives—The Fighting Forces of France—Results of Three Years of War—Serbia Plundered by Conquerors—A German Version of the Marne—Berlin After Three Years of War—Life in Denmark's Lost Province—$640,000,000 for American Aviation Corps—Some Historic Airplane Raids—Japan's Part in the War—The Arabs and the Turks in the War—The Mesopotamian Disaster—Report on the Capture of Bagdad.

MUSTERING OUR ARMED FORCES

America's First Million of Fighting Men Mobilized and Ready to Begin Training for the Front

ONE of the most notable advances in the preparations of the United States to take part in the European war came with the conclusion of the effort to bring the regular army up to war strength. This was accomplished on Aug. 9, 1917, when the 183,898 men required at the beginning of the recruiting campaign on April 1 were at last enlisted. More than four months were thus occupied in reaching the maximum war strength of 300,000 men. The average daily enlistments during the 141 days were 1,300. But, despite its having now reached its war strength, volunteers for the regular army have since been coming forward in considerable numbers, so that on Aug. 20 the total was more than 10,000 in excess of the number originally required.

A further addition to the nation's military forces was made on Aug. 5, when the National Guard was drafted into Federal service. More than 300,000 men in the guard units were discharged from State service, and with enlistments which have since taken place the National Guard now numbers about 350.000. Add this to the regular army, and we find that the United States now has 650,000 men under arms. These figures do not include the 40,000 men in officers' training camps. Finally, when the 687,000 men of the first conscript army are under arms, the United States will have over 1,300,000 men in its land forces. If the training of these men proceeds without delay, the United States ought to have its first million men on the firing line at the beginning of the Summer of 1918. Early in September the first section of the National Army—raised by draft—will be in camp. From now onward all these men will form one great army, since regulars, guardsmen, and conscripts, together with the newly trained officers, will be merged into a single fighting force.

Comparison With Peace Forces

Within five months of America's entry into the war the nation will have raised over a million men, a fact which can be more fully appreciated by looking back a few years to the small army which was considered adequate for the defense of the United States in times of peace. In 1880 the actual strength of the regular army was 26,509, in 1890 it was 27,095, in 1900 it was 69,155, and in 1910 it was 77,035. At the beginning of 1916 it had increased to 5,016 officers and 92,973 enlisted men, including 5,733 Philippine Scouts.

But the year 1916 saw important developments. The Mexican raid on March 9, 1916, caused Congress to authorize an increase of 20,000, while the National Defense act of June 3, 1916, which was passed at a time when there was no thought of the United States intervening in the war, provided an aggregate war strength—including officers and special corps and services of all kinds—of 301,375. But when the United States declared war in April, 1917, over 180,000 enlisted men were required to bring the army up to this figure. The National Guard before the war had about 8,500 officers and 123,000 enlisted men.

At that time it was calculated that the United States could put into the field not more than 80,000 men at the utmost. It follows, then, that practically the whole army which will be ready to go to the front in 1918 will be an entirely new fighting force, created since America entered the war.

Navy and Army Totals

The naval forces have not been included in these figures. It was officially announced on Aug. 18 that since the United States declared war approximately 1,300,000 men had offered themselves for service in the naval and military forces of the country. Of this number, not includ-

ing those who have been commissioned from the training camps, 448,859 had been accepted since April 1.

The total number serving on Aug. 18 in the armed forces—all volunteers—on land and sea was 943,141 men, not including the 687,000 men who are being drafted and who will go into training camps in September and October. Since the United States became a belligerent in April, 121,514 men who had volunteered for service in the navy, marine corps, and other sea forces had been accepted. In the regular army the increase since April 1 by voluntary enlistment had been 190,347, and in the National Guard 136,998, making a total of 327,345 recruits accepted in the army branches, and a grand total of 448,859 for both land and sea forces.

Even this figure does not include all who have been accepted for service, for there have been additions to the different reserve corps, but these figures are not all available. The largest single item is that of 27,341 added to the list of land officers representing the young men commissioned from the first series of training camps.

The land forces on Aug. 18 were:

	Officers	Enlisted Men.
Regular army	6,700	298,996
National Guard	11,000	300,000
Reserve Corps	10,500	55,487
Res. Corps (train. camps)	27,341	.....
Total	55,541	654,483
		55,541
Total land forces		710,024

The sea forces are as follows:

Regular navy, enlisted men	138,500
Naval Reserves, enlisted men	35,000
Naval Militia in Federal service, enlisted men	11,000
Hospital Corps, regular navy, enlisted men	6,000
Hospital Corps, Naval Reserves, enlisted men	400
Marine Corps, officers and enlisted men	33,117
Total	224,077
Approximate number of naval officers	9,040
Total	233,117

The total forces on the date named were:

Land forces	710,024
Sea forces	233,117
Total forces	943,141

The enlistments since the declaration of war (in the case of the army since April 1) were as follows:

Regular navy	73,880
Naval Reserve forces	25,000
Hospital Corps	4,400
National naval volunteers	1,500
Marine Corps	16,734
Total naval forces	121,514
Regular army	190,347
National Guard	136,998
Total land forces	327,345
Grand total	448,859

New System of Organization

The changes in warfare during the last three years have been responsible for an important change in American Army organization. The new scheme is outlined in the following general order issued by the War Department on Aug. 7:

"The ratio of artillery strength to infantry is greatly increased. A division will hereafter include only four infantry regiments in two brigades in place of the old division of three brigades, each comprising three regiments of infantry. There will still be three regiments of field artillery in each division. Thus, in the new organization, there will be three regiments of field artillery to every four regiments of infantry instead of the ratio of three to nine. In addition, a trench mortar battery is attached to each division.

"The machine gun arm is also materially enlarged. A machine gun battalion of four companies has been made a unit of each division, in addition to the three machine gun companies included in each regiment.

Each Division 19,000 Men

"The American division will be made by this order to confirm practically to the units utilized by the Entente Allies, among whom a division numbers approximately 19,000 men. The reason for the change is that the division as heretofore made up of about 28,000 men is too unwieldy for the demands of trench warfare. With so large a unit, sure and

swift communication with all parts is difficult. The problem to be met was basically one of mobility for the peculiar needs of fighting on the western front.

"The smaller sized units call for maintenance of all units at full fighting strength. For this purpose reserve battalions will be provided. These will consist of 612 men each and are listed in the general order as 'separate training battalions.' The number of these battalions has not been made public. Details of regimental organization are also withheld for military reasons.

"The new order provides for army corps and armies, units which have practically existed only on paper since the civil war. Corps were organized during the Spanish war, but were not actually operated as such to any great extent.

Three Divisions to a Corps

"Each army corps will consist of three infantry divisions, corps headquarters, and certain army corps troops not specified. Each army will normally consist of three or more army corps, army headquarters, and certain army troops not specified.

"Under the new order each infantry division will be composed as follows, the changes from the present organization being as indicated:

"One division headquarters, (same as at present.)

"One machine gun battalion of four companies, (new.)

"Two infantry brigades of two regiments and one machine gun battalion (four companies) each. (The present division is three infantry brigades of three regiments each.)

"One field artillery brigade of three regiments and one trench mortar battery, (same, except trench mortar battery, is new.)

"One field signal battalion, (same.)

"One train headquarters and military police, (same.)

"One ammunition train, (same.)

"One supply train, (same.)

"One engineer train, (same, except that pontoon and searchlights sections are not included in new plan.)

"One sanitary train of four field hospital companies and four ambulance companies, (same.)

"The new organization provides for no cavalry in the division. The division as at present constituted calls for one regiment of cavalry. The present division also calls for one aero squadron, while the new plan calls for none, the aircraft units being otherwise provided for.

"The order specifies sixteen divisions of the National Army to be organized and numbered from 76 to 91, both inclusive, and states the numbers to be given to each of the different units in each division. It provides that the sixteen divisions of the National Guard now organized shall be reorganized to conform to the new plan as soon as practicable after their arrival in the training camps.

"The regular army, the National Guard, and the National Army will all conform to the same plan."

So far as the regulars are concerned, the reorganization already has been carried out for the units now in France.

Sixteen Weeks of Training

A large number of French officers have been selected by the French War Office to assist in the training of the new armies. France has also furnished aviation specialists for the instruction of American officers as well as a number of artillery specialists, who are giving the benefit of their experience to American artillery men at the Army School of Fire at Fort Sill, Okla. There are several French officers in Washington who have been in daily conference at the War College and the War Department. These officers will be attached to the staffs of the thirty-seven Major Generals recently announced to command the national army divisions.

The plans of the War Department call for sixteen weeks, or virtually four months, intensive training, for the National Army and the National Guard in the cantonments. According to this plan, the first of these men should complete their training in January. On account of difficulties of transportation the probabilities are that American troops will be sent to France in a steady stream as fast as transports are available to send

them. A considerable number of picked National Guard officers are now undergoing special training at the War College in Washington. This special instruction covers the whole field of modern warfare as now developed in Europe.

The number of applications for the second series of officers' training camps was much larger than was at first expected. The figures made public by the Adjutant General showed a total of 72,914, of whom 51,838 passed the physical examinations. This work was accomplished in a month, as the applications were opened June 15 and closed July 15. It was originally stated that the War Department would choose for the second series of camps about 16,000 applicants. Applications came in very slowly at first, but increased with unexpected rapidity during the last ten days, as a result of the active campaign of the War Department. The camps opened on Aug. 27.

Forty-seven Major Generals

President Wilson on Aug. 14 sent to the Senate the names of 37 Major Generals and 147 Brigadier Generals whom he had appointed as general officers in the National Army. The appointments are for the period of the war. These officers may be assigned to the regular army, the National Guard army, or the National Army. All the thirty-five Brigadier Generals in the regular army were promoted to be Major Generals, and two officers of the National Guard were likewise promoted.

These, with the ten Major Generals of the regular army already in office, give the United States a total of forty-seven Major Generals.

Following are the names of the Brigadiers of the regular army who have been made Major Generals:

William A. Mann,
James Parker,
Eben Swift,
Edward H. Plummer,
Edwin F. Glenn,
A. P. Blocksom,
Henry A. Greene,
Francis H. French,
Charles J. Bailey,
George Bell, Jr.,
F. S. Strong,
Harry F. Hodges,
C. P. Townsley,
E. St. J. Greble,
Francis J. Kernan,
John F. Biddle,
George T. Bartlett,
Henry C. Hodges, Jr.,
Joseph T. Dickman,
Charles G. Treat,
Adelbert Cronkhite,
Henry T. Allen,
William H. Sage,
Clarence R. Edwards,
John W. Ruckman,
Chase W. Kennedy,
Omar Bundy,
Harry C. Hale,
R. M. Blatchford,
Samuel D. Sturgis,
David C. Shanks,
William M. Wright,
Robert L. Bullard,
Joseph E. Kuhn,
Peyton C. March.

The National Guard officers made Major Generals of the army are:

Major Gen. Charles M. Clement, Pennsylvania.
Major Gen. John F. O'Ryan, New York.

The Major Generals already in office in the regular army are:

John J. Pershing,
Leonard Wood,
J. Franklin Bell,
Thomas H. Barry,
Hugh L. Scott,
Tasker H. Bliss,
Erasmus M. Weaver,
Hunter Liggett,
Henry G. Sharpe,
William C. Gorgas.

One hundred and five Colonels of the regular army and two Lieutenant Colonels of that service were appointed Brigadier Generals of the National Army; also thirty Brigadier Generals of the National Guard and nine National Guard Colonels. The new officers are to rank from Aug. 5, 1917.

It was announced on Aug. 14 that the first National Guard division to be sent to France would be the Forty-second, to be formed immediately out of troops from twenty-six States and commanded by Major Gen. William A. Mann. Three days later the War Department had completed plans for sending another composite division, the Forty-third, to be made up of National Guard troops from twenty-four States.

The Conscript Army in the Making

The second step toward the development of the National Army was taken on July 20 when a drawing by lot at Washington decided the order in which the nine and a half million men who had registered on June 5 should be called up for examination. The great national lottery created far more interest and discussion than either the enactment of the conscription law or the registration of the nation's young men.

The War Department had devised a

simple system of deciding the order of all registrants in each of the 4,557 local registration districts. As the total registered in any one district did not exceed 10,500, all that was necessary was to draw all numbers up to that number. When the drawing was complete, the list of rearranged numbers enabled every man to see at a glance when he would be required to report for examination. Thus, the first number drawn was 258, and the man in each district who had received that number was the first to report to the local board. If there were not 258 men in the district, then the first man called was the one holding the first sufficiently low number drawn at Washington. It took sixteen and a half hours to draw the 10,500 numbers.

A Historic Occasion

The drawing of the numbers was made the occasion of an interesting ceremony. The scene was one of the rooms in the Senate Office Building, and the centre of the stage was taken by Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War. He opened the proceedings with a brief address, in which he said:

> We have met this morning to conduct the lot or draft by which the national army and such additions as may be necessary to bring the regular army and the National Guard up to war strength are to be selected. This is an occasion of very great dignity and some solemnity. It represents the first application of a principle believed by many of us to be throughly democratic, equal and fair in selecting soldiers to defend the national honor abroad and at home.
>
> I take this occasion to say that every step has been most honestly studied with a view not only to preserving throughout the utmost fairness in the selection, but also to preserve all those appearances of fairness which are necessary to satisfy the country that this great selection has been made in accordance with every principle of justice.
>
> There are assembled here this morning in addition to officers of the army, who are going to conduct for the most part the mechanical part of the work, the Chief of Staff, the Adjutant General, and other men high in the military establishment, and the drawing is to be held under the observation of the Senate and House Military Committees, so that both the executive and legislative branches of the Government are here to see that fairness is given to every person.

Secretary Baker then introduced General Crowder, who succinctly explained the process of the lottery and the program of the War Department to acquaint each one of the men registered on June 5 with information regarding the priority of his examination for service with the National Army. As General Crowder concluded, a handkerchief was tied about the eyes of Secretary Baker, the camera squad focused their instruments, the calcium light of the movie operators played upon the big blackboards in the rear, and the lottery began.

Drawing the First Numbers

Secretary Baker plunged his hand into the large glass jar containing the 10,500 numbers inclosed in capsules and drew one, announcing to the spectators, "I have drawn the first number." A clerk assigned by the War Department opened the capsule and announced "258." An officer seated at the long table upon which were spread the tally sheets repeated the number, and another clerk walked to a large blackboard at the rear and wrote upon it the figures. Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, likewise blindfolded, drew the second number. He was plainly nervous. His hand was guided to the top of the jar, which was fourteen inches in diameter. "The second number is 2,522," said the announcer, and again there came the click of the cameras, the rustle of copy paper, and the murmur of excited men and women who thronged the committee room.

Members of Congress and high officials of the army attended the start of the drawing. Eight numbers were drawn by officials before the ceremony became routine, with students from various universities acting as the blindfolded withdrawers of the fateful capsules. Chairman Dent of the House Committee on Military Affairs drew the third gelatin capsule from the jar. The number within was 9,613. In turn Senator Warren, Representative Kahn, the ranking Republican of the House Committee on Military Affairs; Major Gen. Tasker H. Bliss, Acting Chief of Staff; Provost Marshal General Enoch H. Crowder, and Adjt. Gen. McCain were blindfolded and led to the glass bowl.

A round of applause greeted the appearance of General Crowder, who had worked tirelessly for days perfecting the details of the nation-wide lottery. Adjt. Gen. McCain, too, was applauded by the throng which crowded the committee rooms. Members of the Senate and House Committees on Military Affairs and other members of Congress occupied seats of honor at the drawing.

The unprecedented ceremony seemed particularly to impress Representative Julius Kahn, who had led the Administration's fight in the House for the Army Draft bill. "It is an inspiring sight," he commented as he left the room soon after the proceedings settled down to a routine basis. Mr. Kahn was born in Germany and came to the United States when a child. The thrilling statement printed at the end of this article was issued by him on July 20. As the eighth number was drawn by an official, Secretary Baker said: "We will wait a "moment while the photographers re- "move their apparatus. Meanwhile I "want to ask that perfect quiet prevail. "This is a most important occasion and "absolute quiet is necessary."

Work of Regular Tellers

John H. Phillips, a student of Princeton University, was the first "regular teller" who took his place at the glass jar and began to draw out the capsules —black looking affairs, because the paper upon which the numbers were written was coated black on the outer surface. It was impossible for any one to examine the exterior of a capsule and ascertain the number within. The blindfolding lent an additional touch of the dramatic to the event, but it was unnecessary. Every few minutes Major Gen. C. A. Devol, delegated by Secretary Baker to guard the glass container, walked over to stir the capsules with a long wooden spoon. On the handle of the spoon was a piece of bunting, red, white, and blue. General Devol stirred deeply, bringing the capsules at the bottom to the top and a few moments later sending the capsules at the top to the bottom. While this stirring process was on there was a momentary pause in the recording of the numbers. The only interruptions were the frequent changes of tired announcers and tabulators and the removal of the blackboards. When a group of 500 numbers had been written the first section of the board was taken out to be photographed to establish an absolute record, while a second section was substituted.

The lottery ended at 2:15 o'clock on the morning of July 21, and later the same day the figures were officially checked and rechecked in the office of General Crowder. There were a number of tally sheets kept simultaneously, in addition to the recording of the drawn numbers on two blackboards, and every number was gone over and checked by a force of experts under the supervision of army officers. The result of the drawing was set into type at the Government Printing Office. "Master sheets" containing the numbers in the order in which they were drawn were then sent by General Crowder to each Governor and distributed to each local registration board.

Appointing the District Boards

Another step accomplished was the appointment of the district boards of the States and the announcement of the names of the five men who composed each of them. Some States have six or eight boards to ease the task, Federal judicial districts, the areas used for geographical location of the boards, being divided into two or three parts for that purpose and a separate board named for each. These district boards have no function until the local boards in their territory have begun to certify to them the men found fitted for military duty physically and not burdened with dependents. The higher boards are courts of appeal, either for the individual or for the Government, against the findings of the local boards. The whole question of industrial exemption, however, has been turned over directly to these district boards, which have original jurisdiction in all cases of this kind. They are sole judges of any registered man's field of greatest service to the nation, whether in the army or in the munition factory, business house, or other civilian occupation in which he is engaged. Each case

is weighed on its merits and the value of the individual, for there is no blanket exemption for the other classes specifically named in the law. Even they must file affidavits showing their status, to be supported in such matters as the board may determine.

The War Department, having completed the work of deciding the order in which registrants should be called for examination, drew up a list showing the quota which each State would have to furnish toward the 687,000 men required in the first draft. Each State in turn determined the quotas for its registration districts. To allow for exemptions, the number called up in each district was double that of the quota, but as it was soon found, when the examinations began at the end of July, that there was a very high percentage of rejects on physical grounds and an unexpectedly higher percentage of claims for exemption, many more men on the lists had to be called up. At this writing the work of examination is proceeding all over the country.

Sporadic cases of resistance to the execution of the conscription law were reported from some parts of the country, mostly in the South and Southwest. At the outset most of the agitation was in the mountain regions of the South, but it spread later to other districts, and one of the most serious revolts against the law was in Texas. The Department of Justice was informed that fifty-three members of the Farmers' and Laborers' Protective Association had been indicted in the United States court at Dallas for an organized attempt to resist the draft. In Oklahoma farmers were reported to have armed to prevent Federal officers from executing the draft law. There was also said to be organized resistance in Georgia. Through an agent of the Internal Revenue Service the Department of Justice learned of a revolt against the draft in Western North Carolina.

An Appeal to American Patriotism

Representative Julius Kahn of California, a German-born American, made the following statement on the occasion of the drawing of the numbers under the conscription law on July 20, 1917:

For the fourth time in our history we are ready to fight for the right of American citizens to sail the seas untrammeled. Our first difficulty after the Revolution was with France. In 1798 we broke off diplomatic relations with that Government. We ordered the immediate construction of a fleet of many vessels. Washington was appointed, by act of Congress, commander of the American forces. France had interfered with our ships and our shipping. We were determined to fight rather than submit. France yielded our rights, and the incident was closed.

In 1812 we fought England for the rights of American citizens on the seas. Every schoolboy is familiar with the history of that war. In 1815 we threw down the gage of battle for the third time and fought the Barbary corsairs who interfered with American ships in the Mediterranean. We brought them to terms and compelled them to recognize American rights on the seas without the payment of any tribute.

Now we are at war with Germany to protect again the rights of Americans on the seas. Today the National Army of the United States is being formed through the medium of the draft. Hundreds of thousands of our citizens between the ages of 21 and 31 years will give their lives, if need be, to the service of the country.

To those who were drawn to bear the burdens of the Republic on the field of battle I would like to recall an incident in our national life. In 1798, when we broke off relations with France, the Congress appointed George Washington as commander of the American forces. He was in retirement at Mount Vernon. The Secretary of War himself brought the commission to General Washington and announced to him the action of Congress.

Washington was in the field at the time harvesting his crops. When the matter was stated to him by the Secretary of War, he said:

"I am ready for any service that I can give to my country."

In that spirit I am sure the young men of this day will accept their obligation to the Republic. In that spirit they will again show the world that American rights must be observed by all the world. In that spirit they will make it possible for future generations to continue still to enjoy the blessings of liberty which this country vouchsafed to its humblest citizens. In that spirit they will again carry the American colors to victory, and may God defend the right.

The United States Army in France

The number of American soldiers in France is gradually increasing as additional contingents arrive, and the training of these men with the assistance of French and British instructors is making excellent progress. These are the two principal facts of the last month regarding the United States Army in France.

The entire army is divided into squads, the majority of which are billeted out with the inhabitants of the district in which the training camp is located. The first official inspection of the camp and the quarters where troops are billeted was made by Major Gen. William L. Sibert on July 19. The result of the inspection was apparently satisfactory in the main, for the General criticised but seldom, and everywhere had a good word for the results achieved by the troops in cleaning up the quarters into which they had moved. The encampment has almost metamorphosed the thoroughly and distinctively French town into an American community, notwithstanding the fact that the soldiers have taken notable pains to adapt themselves to the customs and habits of their hosts.

Actual intensive training began on July 25. Trenches were dug in the way of practice with an enthusiasm almost equal to that with which soldiers dig themselves in under actual artillery fire. These trenches were of full depth and were duplicates of certain sections of the front line, consisting of front, or fire, trenches, support trenches, and reserve trenches, with intricate communication trenches connecting them. Dummies were constructed for bayonet practice, and the men taught the six most vital points of attack. Later instruction in the use of gas masks was begun under British officers.

General Pershing made a thorough inspection of the training centres on Aug. 1 and 2. He also inspected various places suggested for his field quarters, in anticipation of removing from Paris to near the troops in training. At the end of the first day's inspection General Pershing said:

> Our principal concern just now, of course, is to perfect the army organization. This is a big task, but it is moving along smoothly and in a most satisfactory manner.
>
> The work at certain ports of disembarkation is well started. Railroad material is coming over as rapidly as can be arranged. The progress we have made thus far with the assistance of the French is a source of great satisfaction to me. Billets and training ground for the men are as well located as could be expected at this time of the year, when space is limited by crops in the field.
>
> After these are removed we shall have plenty of space for lodging and training the divisions that are to come. Some of the places where men are now sleeping are not all that could be desired, but this soon will be remedied by the construction of portable barracks. Training is progressing very well with the assistance of the French.

Official announcement was made on July 18 that the United States transport service was taking over control of the French railroad lines from the port bases to the permanent camp and the front. Tracks were laid and sidings enlarged.

A section of the French State forests has been turned over to the United States. American lumbermen are taking out lumber for railroad ties, barracks, and other purposes. In addition to this, 30,000 tons of lumber are being imported from America monthly.

Troops Greeted in London

A great demonstration took place in London on Aug. 15, when a large contingent of United States troops marched

through the streets, escorted by all the famous bands of the Guards, English, Scotch, and Irish, and were reviewed by Ambassador Page and Admiral Sims from the balcony of the embassy in Grosvenor Gardens, and afterward by King George at Buckingham Palace. British soldiers on their way to the front and wounded men recentiy sent back from the firing line joined in the demonstration, the like of which had not been witnessed since the frenzied scenes which marked the return of the troops from the Boer war.

A meeting of the Cabinet was in progress when the Americans approached Whitehall. It was promptly adjourned and the Premier and his colleagues hurried in a body to the War Office. As the Americans passed the Horse Guards Parade to Whitehall they were greeted from the windows of the War Office by Premier Lloyd George, Foreign Secretary Balfour, Chancellor Bonar Law, War Secretary Derby, Winston Spencer Churchill, Minister of Munitions; George N. Barnes, member of the War Council; Admiral Jellicoe, and other high officials, as well as by French and Belgian officers.

The greatest crowd gathered in front of Buckingham Palace. The King, accompanied by the Queen, Queen Alexandra, Princess Mary, Field Marshal French, commander of the home forces; the household staff, and officers, took his place at the gate. The Americans then filed past, eyes left, officers at salute, while the bands played and the cheering and waving of flags continued. As the first Stars and Stripes passed with the ranks the King and his party raised their hands in salute. The flag was dipped, and the crowd roared approval so vigorously that the King was forced to smile. As each flag passed the King saluted, and the enthusiasm of the crowd became almost uncontrollable. After the review the Americans camped temporarily in Green Park, at the rear of the palace.

Food Dictator for the United States

Law to Control War Supplies Places Large Powers in the Hands of Herbert C. Hoover

A WAR measure endowing the President with far-reaching powers over the nation's food supplies became law on Aug. 10, 1917. Herbert C. Hoover, who was thereupon formally appointed Food Administrator by President Wilson, immediately served notice on speculators and profiteers that the time of reckoning had come if they were not ready to co-operate with the Government to obtain lower prices for the American consumer and help supply the Allies with foodstuffs.

The Government's food control program was outlined in a statement issued by President Wilson on May 19, in which he said:

> The objects sought to be served by the legislation asked for are: Full inquiry into the existing available stocks of foodstuffs and into the costs and practices of the various food producing and distributing trades; the prevention of all unwarranted hoarding of every kind and of the control of foodstuffs by persons who are not in any legitimate sense producers, dealers, or traders; the requisitioning when necessary for the public use of food supplies and of the equipment necessary for handling them properly; the licensing of wholesome and legitimate mixtures and milling percentages, and the prohibition of the unnecessary or wasteful use of foods.
>
> Authority is asked also to establish prices, but not in order to limit the profits of the farmers, but only to guarantee to them when necessary a minimum price which will insure them a profit where they are asked to attempt new crops and to secure the consumer against extortion by breaking up corners and attempts at speculation, when they occur, by fixing temporarily a reasonable price at which middlemen must sell.

After nearly two months' delay in the Senate the Administration Food Control bill was passed by that body on Aug. 8. One of the chief objections made by the Senate was to the appointment of one man who would practically have dictatorial powers. But the Senate eventually yielded, as it also did in eliminating the amendment by which it had sought to create a Congressional board to supervise the conduct of the war.

Statement by Mr. Hoover

Immediately after his formal appointment, Mr. Hoover issued a statement in the course of which he said:

The hopes of the food administration are threefold. First, to so guide the trade in the fundamental food commodities as to eliminate vicious speculation, extortion, and wasteful practices and to stabilize prices in the essential staples. Second, to guard our exports so that against the world's shortage we retain sufficient supplies for our own people, and to co-operate with the Allies to prevent inflation of prices, and third, that we stimulate in every manner within our power the saving of our food in order that we may increase exports to our Allies to a point which will enable them to properly provision their armies and to feed their peoples during the coming Winter.

The food administration is called into being to stabilize and not to disturb conditions and to defend honest enterprise against illegitimate competition. If there are men or organizations scheming to increase the trials of this country, we shall not hesitate to apply to the full the drastic, coercive powers that Congress has conferred upon us in this instrument.

The deep obligation is upon us to feed the armies and the peoples associated with us in this struggle. The diversion of 40,000,000 of their men to war or war work; the additional millions of women drafted to the places of their husbands and brothers; the toll of the submarine, have all conspired to so reduce production that their harvests this Autumn will fall 500,000,000 bushels of grain below their normal production.

Therefore, whereas we exported before the war but 80,000,000 bushels of wheat per annum, this year, by one means or another, we must find for them 225,000,000 bushels, and this in the face of a short crop. Our best will but partly meet their needs, for even then they must reduce their bread consumption 25 per cent., and it will be war bread they must eat—war bread, of which a large portion consists of other cereals.

Already the greater call for meat and animal products, due to the stress of war on the millions of men on the fighting line and the enhanced physical labor of populations ordinarily subsisting on lighter diets, coupled with the inadequate world supply, have compelled our allies to kill upward of 33,000,000 head of their stock animals. This is burning the candle at both ends, for they are thus stifling their annual production. Therefore, not only must we increase their supplies of meat and dairy products, but must prepare, as war goes on, to meet an even greater demand for these necessary commodities.

France and Italy formerly produced their own sugar, while England and Ireland imported largely from Germany. Owing to the inability of the first named to produce more than one-third of their needs, and the necessity for the others to import from other markets, they all must come to the West Indies for very large supplies and therefore deplete our own resources.

Because of the shortage of shipping only the most concentrated of foods, wheat, grain, beef, pork, and dairy products and sugar can be sent across the seas. Fortunately we have for our own use a superabundance of foodstuffs of other kinds—the perishables, fish, corn, and other cereals—and surely our first manifest duty is to substitute these for those other products which are of greater use to our fellow-fighters.

Our second duty is to eliminate wastes to the last degree. Seventy per cent. of our people are well known to be as thrifty and careful as any in the world, and they consume but little or no more than is necessary to maintain their physical strength. It is not too much to ask the other 30 per cent., by simpler living, to reduce their consumption. The substitutions we ask impose no hardships.

There is no royal road to food conservation. It can be accomplished only through sincere and earnest daily co-operation in the 20,000,000 kitchens and at the 20,000,000 dinner tables of the United States. If we can reduce our consumption of wheat flour by one pound, our meat by seven ounces, our fat by seven ounces, our sugar by seven ounces per person per week, those quantities, multiplied by 100,000,000, will immeasurably aid and encourage our allies, help our own growing armies and so effectively serve the great and noble cause of humanity in which our nation has embarked.

Wheat Speculation Stopped

Mr. Hoover's first step was to announce a sweeping scheme to regulate wheat and flour supplies. In a statement issued on Aug. 12 he said that,

with the full approval of President Wilson, the price to be paid for the wheat crop of 1917 would be fixed by a commission headed by Harry A. Garfield, son of the late President James A. Garfield, and President of Williams College. Gambling on the Wheat Exchanges, Mr. Hoover asserted, must end, even if the Government had to purchase the entire wheat supply of the nation. As a preliminary step, Mr. Hoover decided to take over control of all grain elevators and all mills with a daily capacity of over 100 barrels of flour and place them under a system of licenses which would make hoarding impossible. The Grain Exchanges at the same time were to be requested to suspend all dealings in futures. The Food Administration, despite the protests of some of the bread-making interests, considered the present level of prices extortionate.

There was no intimation as to the price which would be fixed for the 1917 crop, but Mr. Hoover was careful to point out that the minimum of $2 a bushel fixed by the Food Control act did not apply to it, and affected next year's crop only, under restrictions to be later explained.

Flour Contracts Unlawful

The text of Mr. Hoover's announcement read:

> With a view to determining a fair price, the President has approved the appointment of a committee, to be selected from representatives of the producing sections and consuming elements in the community. The committee will be assembled under the Chairmanship of President Garfield of Williams College, and it will be the duty of this committee to determine a fair price for the 1917 harvest.
>
> Upon the determination of this fair basis it is the intention of the Food Administration to use every authority given it under the bill and the control of exports to effect the universality of this fair basis throughout the whole of the 1917 harvest year, without change or fluctuation. It should thus be clear that it will not be to the advantage of any producer to hold back his grain in anticipation of further advance, for he will do so only at his own cost of storage and interest, and, if it is necessary for the Government to buy the entire wheat harvest in order to maintain this fair price in protection of the producer, we intend to do so.
>
> Furthermore, the holding of wheat or flour contracts by persons not engaged in the trade, and even when in trade, in larger quantities than is necessary for the ordinary course of their business is unlawful under the food act, and such cases will be prosecuted with vigor. We would advise such holders to liquidate their contracts at once.

Immediate Drop in Prices

A Chicago dispatch, dated Aug. 12, stated that the signing of the Food Control bill had caused a drop in prices of grain, vegetables, and poultry. Cash corn registered a decline of 25 and 27 cents a bushel. Prices in St. Louis and Peoria fell off 30 and 32 cents a bushel. The last Chicago quotation, $1.85, showed a loss of 50 cents in three days. Futures were affected, December going to $1.14. Wheat declined 4 cents a bushel, selling down to $2.15, within 15 cents of the minimum established by the bill. Hogs at the yards sold at the highest prices ever known, one lot bringing $17.25 a hundred pounds. Since March 1 hog packing had fallen off 225,000, compared with the same period last year. Pork was now selling higher than beef and poultry. Beef sold as high as $14.50, almost a record price. Lard was 22.75 cents a pound, 10 cents higher than the same time last year. Pork was $17 a barrel higher, at $43.17. Potatoes sold for $1.50 a bushel, $2 down from the high price. Poultry was down 2 and 3 cents a pound, turkeys at 14 cents and 17 cents for chickens. Eggs were down 2 cents, at 30 cents for firsts. Butter was down 1 cent, to 37 cents.

Federal Wheat Corporation

A $50,000,000 corporation, with all the stock held by the United States Government, was established on Aug. 15 to buy and sell wheat at the principal terminals. Preparations were made to take over the entire 1917 wheat crop, if necessary, to stabilize the price of wheat throughout the year. The move was one of a series largely with the object to reduce the price of bread. Millers had already agreed to put themselves under voluntary regulations and were working out with the food administration a differential of profits.

In announcing the formation of the

wheat corporation, the food administration also made known the personnel of a committee to fix the price for this year's wheat yield and the names of twelve purchasing agents for the corporation at terminals. The wheat corporation was put under the Administration's grain division. Its Chairman is Herbert C. Hoover and its President Julius Barnes, a Duluth exporter, who has been serving as a voluntary aid in the food administration. The price-fixing committee is headed by President Garfield of Williams College, and will comprise twelve members, representing producers and consumers.

Pope Benedict's Appeal for Peace

Official Text of His Proposal

PRESS dispatches from Rome on Aug. 14, 1917, announced that the Pope was issuing a peace proposal in the form of an identic letter to all the belligerent powers, and added an official outline of the document. The British Foreign Office published the French text and an English translation of the Pope's appeal on the evening of the 15th, with Cardinal Gasparri's note of transmission. The translation made by the State Department at Washington, and given to the public on the morning of Aug. 16, is as follows:

To the Rulers of the Belligerent Peoples:

From the beginning of our Pontificate, in the midst of the horrors of the awful war let loose on Europe, we have had of all things three in mind: To maintain perfect impartiality toward all the belligerents, as becomes him who is the common father and loves all his children with equal affection, continually to endeavor to do them all as much good as possible, without exception of person, without distinction of nationality or religion, as is dictated to us by the universal law of charity as well as by the supreme spiritual charge with which we have been intrusted by Christ; finally, as also required by our mission of peace, to omit nothing, as far as it lay in our power, that could contribute to expedite the end of these calamities by endeavoring to bring the peoples and their rulers to more moderate resolutions, to the serene deliberation of peace, of a "just and lasting" peace.

Whoever has watched our endeavors in these three grievous years that have just elapsed could easily see that, while we remained ever true to our resolution of absolute impartiality and beneficent action, we never ceased to urge the belligerent peoples and Governments again to be brothers, although all that we did to reach this very noble goal was not made public.

About the end of the first year of the war we addressed to the contending nations the most earnest exhortations, and in addition pointed to the path that would lead to a stable peace honorable to all. Unfortunately our appeal was not heeded, and the war was fiercely carried on for two years more, with all its horrors. It became even more cruel, and spread over land and sea, and even to the air, and desolation and death were seen to fall upon defenseless cities, peaceful villages, and their innocent people.

And now no one can imagine how much the general suffering would increase if other months or, still worse, other years were added to this sanguinary triennium. Is this civilized world to be turned into a field of death, and is Europe, so glorious and flourishing, to rush, as carried by a universal folly, to the abyss and take a hand in its own suicide?

In so distressing a situation, in the presence of so grave a menace, we, who have no personal political aim, who listen to the suggestions or interests of none of the belligerents, but are solely actuated by the sense of our supreme duty as the common father of the faithful, by the solicitations of our children who implore our intervention and peace-bearing word, uttering the very voice of humanity and reason—we again call for peace, and we renew a pressing appeal to those who have in their hands the destinies of the nations. But no longer confining ourslves to general terms, as we were led to do by circumstances in the past, we will now come to more concrete and practical proposals and invite the Governments of both belligerent peoples to arrive at an agreement on the following points, which seem to offer the base of a just and lasting peace, leaving it with them to make them more precise and complete.

First, the fundamental point must be that the material force of arms shall give

way to the moral force of right, whence shall proceed a just agreement of all upon the simultaneous and reciprocal decrease of armaments, according to rules and guarantees to be established, in the necessary and sufficient measure for the maintenance of public order in every State; then, taking the place of arms, the institution of arbitration, with its high pacifying function, according to rules to be drawn in concert and under sanctions to be determined against any State which would decline either to refer international questions to arbitration or to accept its awards.

When supremacy of right is thus established, let every obstacle to ways of communication of the peoples be removed by insuring, through rules to be also determined, the true freedom and community of the seas, which, on the one hand, would eliminate any causes of conflict, and, on the other hand, would open to all new sources of prosperity and progress.

As for the damages to be repaid and the cost of the war, we see no other way of solving the question than by setting up the general principle of entire and reciprocal conditions, which would be justified by the immense benefit to be derived from disarmament, all the more as one could not understand that such carnage could go on for mere economic reasons. If certain particular reasons stand against this in certain cases, let them be weighed in justice and equity.

But these specific agreements, with the immense advantages that flow from them, are not possible unless territory now occupied is reciprocally restituted. Therefore, on the part of Germany, there should be total evacuation of Belgium, with guarantees of its entire political, military, and economic independence toward any power whatever; evacuation also of the French territory; on the part of the other belligerents, a similar restitution of the German colonies.

As regards territorial questions, as, for instance, those that are disputed by Italy and Austria, by Germany and France, there is reason to hope that, in consideration of the immense advantages of durable peace with disarmament, the contending parties will examine them in a conciliatory spirit, taking into account, as far as is just and possible, as we have said formerly, the aspirations of the population, and, if occasion arises, adjusting private interests to the general good of the great human society.

The same spirit of equity and justice must guide the examination of the other territorial and political questions, notably those relative to Armenia, the Balkan States, and the territories forming part of the old Kingdom of Poland, for which in particular, its noble historical traditions and suffering, particularly undergone in the present war, must win, with justice, the sympathies of the nations.

These we believe are the main basis upon which must rest the future reorganization of the peoples. They are such as to make the recurrence of such conflicts impossible and open the way for the solution of the economic question, which is so important for the future and the material welfare of all of the belligerent States. And so, in presenting them to you, who at this tragic hour judge the destinies of the belligerent nations, we indulge a gratifying hope, that they will be accepted and that we shall thus see an early termination of the terrible struggle which has more and more the appearance of a useless massacre.

Everybody acknowledges, on the other hand, that on both sides the honor of arms is safe. Do not, then, turn a deaf ear to our prayer, but accept the international invitation which we extend to you in the name of the Divine Redeemer, Prince of Peace. Bear in mind your very grave responsibility to God and man. On your decision depend the quiet and joy of numberless families, the lives of thousands of young men, the happiness, in a word, of the people, for whom it is your imperative duty to secure this boon.

May the Lord inspire you with decisions comformable to His very holy will. May Heaven grant that in winning the applause of your contemporaries you will also earn from the future generations the great title of pacificators.

And for us, closely united in prayer and penitence with all the faithful souls who yearn for peace, we implore for you the divine spirit, enlightenment, and guidance.

Given at the Vatican Aug. 1, 1917.

BENEDICTUS P. M. XV.

Cardinal Gasparri's Note

The Papal Secretary, Cardinal Gasparri, sent the following note of transmission with the copy of the Pope's appeal addressed to the King of England:

Your Majesty: The Holy Father, anxious to do everything he can in order to put an end to the conflict which for the last three years has ravaged the civilized world, has decided to submit to the leaders of the belligerent peoples concrete peace proposals exposed in a document which I have the honor to attach to this letter. May God grant that the words of his Holiness will this time produce the desired effect for the good of the whole of humanity.

The Holy See, not having diplomatic relations with the French Government or with the Government of Italy or of the United States, I very respectfully beg your Majesty to be good enough to have handed a copy of his Holiness's appeal to

the President of the French Republic, to his Majesty the King of Italy, and to the President of the United States. I also beg to add twelve other copies, which I request that your Majesty be good enough to hand to the leaders of the nations friendly to the Allies, with the exception, however, of Russia, Belgium, and Brazil, to whom the document has been sent direct.

In expressing to your Majesty my sincere thanks for this extreme kindness, I am happy to take the opportunity to offer you the homage of sentiment and very profound respect with which I have the honor to sign myself.

Your Majesty's very humble and devoted servant. GASPARRI.

Sentiment of the Nations

The peace proposal of Pope Benedict was received with diverse comments in different circles and nations. The sentiment expressed in the allied countries indicated the likelihood of a respectful refusal by the Entente. Comment in the press of the Central Powers was generally favorable, notably in that of the Catholic Centre Party, whose leader, Herr Erzberger, had some time ago formulated a similar peace program. In many Entente quarters the Pope's proposal was adversely criticised because it contained no condemnation of German atrocities, the invasion of Belgium, or the submarine warfare. In reply to this charge the Vatican on Aug. 17 issued a supplementary statement thus summarized in a Rome dispatch:

A semi-official statement issued today says the Vatican considers the reproach of a part of the press that the Holy See has not condemned violations of law, such as atrocities committed, is unjust, since Pope Benedict, faithful to his principle of impartiality, in his note had the intention of acting as peacemaker, and not as judge, and also because he lacks the necessary powers to do so. No peacemaker, the statement adds, would have the faintest chance of success if he began by trying to prove which side is right and which is wrong. The Pontiff went as far as possible, the statement continues, to make understood what his feelings are without risking the failure of his proposal on the rocks of Austro-German ill-feeling. Besides, it concludes, the Papal proposals were in solemn condemnation of those responsible for the war methods adopted and the barbarities committed.

Military Events of the Month

From July 18 to August 18, 1917

By Walter Littlefield

ATTENTION has been particularly concentrated during the last thirty-one days on three sectors of the western front, and on one of the eastern—at Ypres, Lens, and the Aisne, and in Bukowina and Moldavia. On the Italian front—in the Trentino and along the Julian and Carso sectors—there have been a succession of bombardments, but whether these foreshadow an Austrian offensive in the former, and an Italian offensive in the latter, or merely the consolidation of positions, is not known. However, by a series of bombardments from their famous Caproni airplanes on the Austrian naval base of Pola and other strategic and fortified positions of the enemy, the Italians appear to have gained the mastery of the air in the Upper Adriatic. News from the British fronts in Palestine and Mesopotamia reveals the fact that the armies there are preparing for assault in force by the enemy.

Although the strategy maintained on the Aisne, in Champagne, is the same as it has been from the beginning, further west, the great German retreat of last Spring has caused the Allies to make several modifications in the method and place of attack. Whereas, in the battle of the Somme the objectives were purely military, they now have a decided economic and moral significance. In the first place, the air service has laid bare the German lines of communication and their industrial and supply bases, and, in the second, it has been demonstrated

DRAWING THE NUMBERS OF AMERICA'S FIRST CONSCRIPTS

Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, at left, blindfolded, starting the great national lottery on July 20 to decide the order in which men registered under the Conscription law should be called up for examination. He is drawing the first number from the bowl

THE FIRST AMERICAN REGULARS ON FRENCH SOIL

Men of the first contingents of the United States Army to serve in Europe just landed from a transport at an unnamed seaport in France

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

that from whatever terrain the enemy may withdraw he leaves behind him a desert waste, whether the material destroyed be of military or industrial or of mere civic or sentimental value. These considerations, therefore, have been found to qualify, if not actually to limit, the recent military operations of Generals Haig and Pétain.

Hence, it may be convenient to separate the military from the non-military phases of the engagements, for the contrast may be summed up in the statement that the military advantage would have to be greater than there seems the remotest hope of gaining to offset the wanton destruction of a town like Lille, which would be likely to attend deliberate German evacuation quite as much as occupation by assault. And Lille is to the northern part of the line in France what Laon, with its blast furnaces and mediaeval buildings, is to the southern part. And both Lille and Laon, as well as the new factories established by the Germans at St. Quentin, are supplied with fuel from the great coalfields of Lens, which before the war produced 15,000,000 tons a year and employed 25,000 hands. Thus we have an explanation of the fact that for the last month the attacks of the Allies have concentrated at Lens rather than at St. Quentin, although the possession of the latter would be of more military value on account of its control of the German line to the southeast, in the Champagne.

The Battle of Flanders

The British salient at Ypres is no more. It had been a military accident which resulted from the great defensive manoeuvres of November, 1914, when Sir John French was almost flanked ere he could form a junction with the Belgians, and the French reinforcements arrived which were to save Dunkirk. It has since been maintained at great tactical expense and merely for political reasons. German guns from the east commanded every direct approach and the town itself was soon a mass of ruins. For the Allies it was the weakest sector on the whole front. For three years the alternative had been the constant preoccupation of the British and French General Staffs: to efface it by either abandonment or expansion. Twice had an attempt to achieve the latter failed.

These attacks failed because they were directed against its centre, and its centre was covered by the German guns on Messines Ridge, lying to the south. With the greatest mine and bombardment preparation in the history of the war the British, on June 7, captured this ridge. This capture made what has been called the Third Battle of Ypres, or the Battle of Flanders, possible. So far it consists of two phases—the first of a single day, July 31, the second begun on Aug. 16. In both attacks French troops co-operated in the northern part of the offensive. In the first an advance was made over a front of fifteen miles—from the River Lys to the Yser, the enemy's positions were penetrated to a depth of two miles in the centre and to one mile on the right centre, the powerfully defended Sanctuary Wood and neighboring farms captured, and the villages of La Basséville, Hollebeke, Bixschoote, Verlorenhoek, Frezenberg, St. Julien, Pilkem, Hooge and Westhoek occupied. Nearly 5,000 prisoners were taken by the attack and in the ineffectual counterattacks of the succeeding days. The first two days of the second assault saw an advance along a nine-mile front to the northeast, with the capture of Langemarck and nearly 2,000 prisoners.

The capture of Pilkem is said to have been a particularly fine performance on the part of the guards, as they reached their last goal without the assistance of a barrage by creeping forward and stalking machine gun posts. In this way they got to Steenbeck River, and threw bridges across without serious opposition. The easiest advance was on the northern side of the salient, where there was an expanse of open ground, although more or less waterlogged, like the rest of the Plain of Flanders. Directly east of the town of Ypres the advance was greatly retarded owing to the unusual character of the obstacles met—patches of wood interlaced with shallow streams and pools of water.

The first phase of the Battle of Flanders demonstrated several things and startled the Germans with at least one

BATTLE LINE AROUND LENS, (AUG. 18, 1917,) WHERE THE CANADIANS HAVE BEEN WAGING A DESPERATE FIGHT FOR POSSESSION OF THIS FRENCH MINING CENTRE

surprise. It established the mastery of the British artillery over the German, both in bombardment and barrage fire, particularly with mid-calibre guns; it hammered into pieces some thirteen divisions of the enemy; and it confirmed, by many noteworthy experiences, the value of "tanks" on rolling or flat surfaces, and the use of the bombad-plane in protecting shell-craters from being occupied by the enemy.

This last is of particular importance. At a certain point the barrage fire which has protected the advance of infantry changes its shells from shrapnel to high explosive, so that when the infantry reach the designated point they find a line of entrenchments formed by shell-craters waiting for their occupancy. It had been the custom of the Germans to anticipate this by occupying the craters themselves and facing the advancing infantry with machine guns. In the Battle of Flanders the curtain dropped by the bombad-planes prevented this.

Although the first and second phases of the Battle of Flanders may be considered in natural sequence of the battles on the Somme and the Ancre, at Vimy Ridge, and at Messines, it would be idle to speculate in advance how the sequel will develop. On no other front, unless it be amid the Alps of the Trentino, do weather conditions play such a dominating rôle in shaping military actions. All the elaborate resources with which modern armies wage war have not abolished their dependence on the weather, whose arbitrary interventions are only the more to be feared now that the complexities of an attack make it impracticable to vary the date for it.

As to the objective of the Battle of Flanders: In an effusive message to Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria the German Kaiser suggested that the Anglo-French attack of July 31 was "intended to conquer the coast of Flanders." This coast, with its submarine bases at Zeebrugge, Ostend, and elsewhere on the shore, and its aerodromes hidden on the downs, certainly forms an inviting objective. On this terrain, too, military strategy and valor have more chance for endeavor than they do amid the concrete-reinforced walled towns and villages further south.

Closing In on Lens

Lens was the elusive objective sought in the Battle of Loos in September and October, 1915, when Sir John French's plan went wrong on account of lack of co-ordination between artillery and infantry. A salient, second in weakness only to that of Ypres, was then left exposed. This Loos salient was commanded from the south by the Germans on the Vimy Ridge, which bore the same relation to it that the Messines Ridge did to the Ypres salient. But Vimy Ridge also had another function, it commanded the great Arras salient to the south and, what is more important, the Arras-Cambrai highway. If eliminated, the southern approaches to Lens would be thrown open as well as the Arras-Cambrai highway.

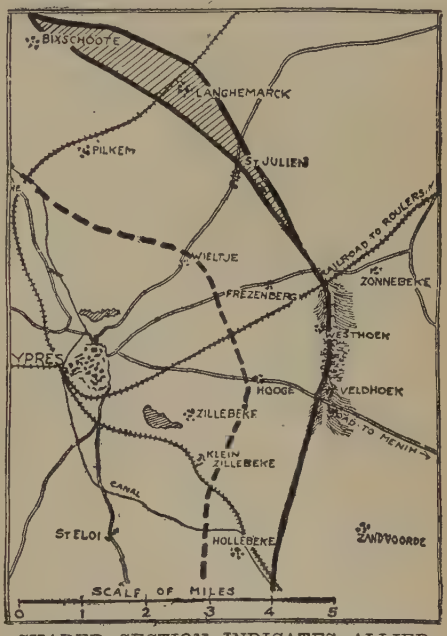
It was eliminated—April 9—and immediately a British advance was made astride the highway—the first leg of the Hindenburg line—and preparations were made to encircle Lens and its 200 square miles of coal area.

Gradually the encircling took the form of a pair of pincers. On July 20 the Canadian troops reached a post in the mine region to the north hardly 1,500 yards from the heart of Lens. Several days earlier it had been revealed from observations made on Vimy Ridge that most of the buildings in the town had been reinforced with concrete, just as St. Quentin is known to have been, and all indications showed that the Germans were intending to hold the centre of the city until their losses became unendurable.

Hill 65 to the west of the city was taken in the middle of June, but Hill 70, to the north, was not to succumb until Aug. 15. Gradually at first and then more rapidly have the jaws of the pincers closed upon the Prussians from the Rhinelands, men of the Fifty-sixth Division, who hold this mining city. They have put up one of the gamest fights of the war—counterattacking sometimes very fiercely, as at La Coulotte, just south of Lens and west of Avion, where the Canadian infantry pushed closer and threatened their main defenses.

On the same day that Hill 70 fell, whose formidable defenses had resisted every assault in the battle of Loos, fell also every defense which dominated the city from the north—Cité Ste. Elizabeth, Cité St. Laurent and the Bois Rasé just north of Hill 70.

On the day following Prince Rupprecht made frantic efforts to capture the lost positions, and ten times the Prussians charged, each time driven back with frightful slaughter and a heavy loss in prisoners. The Seventh Division is said to have been completely wiped out in a sortie, while the Fourth Guard Division fared little better. It was a day of machine gun and volley fire.



SHADED SECTION INDICATES ALLIED GAINS IN THE BATTLE OF FLANDERS UP TO AUG. 18, 1917

Although the capture of Lens would open the way to Douai and flank, from the north, the Siegfried line constructed to protect that depot and Cambrai, yet its importance to the Germans, aside from the strategic obstruction it has presented to the Allies, is chiefly industrial, as has already been indicated. And this importance is commensurate with the defense it has made.

Laon Threatened with Investment

Laon, a beautiful city whose cathedral-topped hill can be seen for miles around,

is held as a sort of architectural hostage by the Germans for the preservation of the blast furnaces they have established there. One would hardly expect them to evacuate it without leaving it a mass of ruins. The Germans also have a sentimental attachment to the place, for here on March 9-10, 1814, the Prussian Blücher beat Napoleon.

But Laon is threatened with investment from two sides—from the northwest and the southeast. The capture of St. Quentin would open the way to the first approach, and as long as the French hold the Aisne front along the Chemin des Dames and Craonne, with its plateaus, the second is a constant source of danger. Not impossible successes simultaneously achieved at both points would probably mean the envelopment of the city before the Germans could make good their retreat or wreck the place.

Now the Chemin des Dames and the Craonne terrain bear much the same relation to Laon that the French line on the edge of the Meuse-Moselle watershed does to the great fortress of Metz. It fell to the Crown Prince to attempt to eliminate the latter in the battle of Verdun. He is now attempting to eliminate the other. So far it is proving as costly in German lives as his Verdun enterprise. Since April 16 he has had seventy-one divisions, or 1,065,000 men, engaged in vain efforts to push the French back from their threatening positions between Soissons and Craonne and along the Aisne.

Heavy German Losses

Having pulled off his coup d'état at Berlin on July 14, a week later he was back on the front and began a new and furious onslaught against Craonne and its defensive plateaus, Vauclerc, Casemates, and Californie. Four days later he diverted his attack, with the same prodigious loss of men, from the Craonne region to west of the Aisne—to a two-mile front from La Bovelle to east of the Hurtebise Farm. And so it has been in this region ever since—furious assaults, a waste of men, and the French standing firm or counterattacking with vital results.

Now, aside from the military aspect of this terrain in its relation to Laon, already dwelt upon, there is also, as an ever-present rule of action in all that the Crown Prince does, the political aspect. And it has been said on high authority that, somehow, somewhere, his Imperial Highness had to secure a striking victory which would affect the malcontents at home, in the Reichstag, and elsewhere. Whether the end which he had in view was purely a military one or not, the net result is that he has lost very large numbers of men without gaining anything in the way of observation posts or a tithe of the area which represented his permanent achievements against Verdun.

From the right bank of the Meuse the French lines still threaten Metz across the plain of the Woevre; still the French from the Chemin des Dames and the Craonne Ridge can see the cathedral of Laon.

Offensive Against Russia

The Teutonic offensive against the southern end of the eastern front, where it drops from Bukowina into Rumania, seems like an attempt to capture a doubtful outpost while the citadel itself lies exposed—the citadel in this case being the road to Petrograd or to Moscow. But it takes men to capture even an exposed citadel, and men neither the Germans nor the Austrians have got. The Bulgars will not lend them any. The Turks cannot.

When between April and June both the Wilhelmstrasse and the Ballplatz were momentarily expecting Prince Leopold's efforts with the Provisional Government of Russia to be crowned with the success of a separate peace 300,000 Germans were sent to the western front and over 100,000 Austrians to the Italian. These men have not come back. Many of them cannot.

Moreover, a successful campaign in Rumania leading into Bessarabia, aside from its political significance, would shorten the great eastern battlefront by 200 miles—a very inviting prospect in Teuton eyes.

By July 11 the personally led spasmodic offensive of Kerensky had capt-

BLACK LINE INDICATES WHERE THE RUSSIANS AND RUMANIANS AT LAST CHECKED THE GERMAN ADVANCE ABOUT AUG. 15, 1917

ured Halicz, the strategic key to Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, and a week later the offensive reached its ultimate, investing Zloczow and Brzezany, forty miles east of Lemberg. By July 21 the Russian mutiny and retreat in Galicia were in full swing. That it has not accumulated more velocity is probably due to the fact that the pursuers are not fully prepared either in numbers or in munitions.

By July 23 the Russian retreat had expanded to a 150-mile front, but there were Russo-Rumanian successes in the Susitza and Putna Valleys, with 2,000 prisoners and 57 guns taken. Then in rapid succession followed the fall of Stanislau and Tarnopol, the enemy crossing the Sereth from Tarnopol to Czortkow, and finally the fall of Czernowitz, and the last Russian soldier was driven out of Bukowina.

The difficulty of getting men and supplies over the mountains to the Austrians desperately fighting among the streams on the right bank of the Sereth in Moldavia gave a respite to all that remains of Rumanian territory. Whether it will be retained depends upon the rehabilitation of the Russian arms. Even so, Rumania has not the value as an ally to the Provisional Government at Petrograd that it had to the Government of the Czar. The present Russian institution does not covet Constantinople.

Germany's Waning Man Power

The most striking revelation that has emerged from the month's fighting has been the waning of Germany's man power, both in numbers and stamina. She is already using her 1918 men on the western front and there are isolated cases of boys of 14 being found among her dead. In November she will call her 1919 men to training. These will furnish 450,000; no more. Her casualties since Aug. 1, 1916, have been nearly a

million, (943,982,) according to her own official lists. Man for man they have shown themselves inferior to the French and English in Flanders. Another important feature, also revealed in the Battle of Flanders, has been the machine-like, complementary co-operation between the French and English and the wonderful co-ordination of artillery fire and its relation to infantry attacks.

The Battle of Flanders

Terrific Barrage Fire

BELGIUM, during the last month, has been the scene of the fiercest fighting on the Western front. For three weeks the bombardment on both sides was tremendous. The German artillery, thickly massed against the most vital sectors of the British front, poured vast quantities of shells into Nieuport, Ypres, Armentières, and other towns. The German long-range guns fired at targets twelve to twenty miles beyond their emplacements. The British reply was even more terrific. For every German shell fired, the British returned two. "A rivalry in destruction greater than any former phase of the war," was one British correspondent's description of the great artillery duel.

The bombardment culminated on the morning of July 31 in a gigantic infantry attack in which both the British and French troops took part. They attacked along a front of nearly twenty miles, from Dixmude in the north to Warneton in the south, on the Franco-Belgian frontier. The preliminary bombardment had leveled the German trenches, at some points wiping them out completely. While the shelling had been going on for days at what appeared to be the highest pitch, it was redoubled on the morning of the attack just before the men went "over the top." The first and second German lines were soon behind the advancing infantry, and in places they crossed the third line of trenches. At some points the Germans put up a desperate resistance in their rear positions, holding up the advance with machine guns. These places were stormed, not without some losses, although both General Haig and General Pétain called attention to the fact that their losses were exceedingly small.

Capture of Menin Tunnel

One of the most striking and spectacular events of the day's fighting occurred at the so-called Menin tunnel, a great underground fortification constructed by the Germans on the Menin road, opposite Hooge. The British preliminary bombardment had forced the Germans to hold the French line thinly here, and the British division which was to attack at dawn lay out all night in shell holes within twenty-five yards of the German line, waiting for the signal to advance. When the time arrived for the charge, and the British gunners had dropped a protecting barrage on the German front trench ahead of the British troops, it was seen that the Germans were fleeing. The British, seeing their prey escaping, went mad and charged directly through their own barrage, fortunately without heavy casualties. The Menin tunnel, which was expected to be occupied by several hundred Germans, was found to be held by only forty-one, the rest having retreated. It was only at the second line that the British met resistance, and here, after sharp hand-to-hand fighting, they forced the Germans again to withdraw.

German Account of Fight

A semi-official survey of the Flanders battle supplied by the German General Staff through the Wolff Bureau mentioned that Bixschoote three times changed hands, the French eventually retaining the village at nightfall, but that the German lines gripped the village north and east. The British, according to the survey, delivered the main thrust before Ypres and succeeded

in capturing Langemarck in addition to other places, but were unable to hold Langemarck and St. Julien in the face of a German counterattack and were repulsed. The report sought to give the impression that only the immediate front-line trench in any case was lost, and carefully avoided any mention of the depth of the Entente gain. The Berliner Tageblatt correspondent wrote:

> The great brutal force of the initial blow has been parried. We survived the gruesome tension occasioned by the uncanny artillery fire, and we are able again to hold our heads high as the battle of living men is resumed. The struggle has now reached the phase of human effort, after unseen mechanical death has been knocking at the door day and night for weeks. The German fighting spirit was fully awakened, and heroes flung themselves from the islands of defense in the conquered district against the advancing masses and seriously weakened the flanks of the oncoming troops. Millions of shells have been spent, and now comes the test of strength and nerves.
>
> The mainspring which impelled the German fighting man was the strong realization that he was here called upon to defend the German U-boat—to serve the mightiest, most promising weapon of his country and bar the path to it with his life. The German troops counterattacked in frightful bayonet and hand grenade combats. It was the mightiest counterthrust, following the mightiest impact, which the world has ever seen.
>
> Nightfall witnessed the happy German achievement. The foe had won German trenches, had gained control of Bixschoote, and had carried off prisoners, but he lay bleeding at the foot of the wall he desired to scale.

Battling in the Rain

Stubborn and almost blind fighting in the pouring rain was kept up throughout the night of Aug. 1 and the following day from the junction of the French and British lines at Langemarck, in Flanders, to the French frontier, along the banks of the River Lys. It was almost entirely an infantry struggle, for neither the air nor artillery branches could work effectively in the thick, torrential weather. General Haig's lines between St. Julien and the Ypres-Roulers railway, northeast of Ypres, were completely re-established in the face of repeated and costly enemy assaults.

The controlling factor in the military situation in Flanders at this time was the incessant downpour of rain, which had now lasted for fifty hours. Over the whole field of attack the only high ground lay where the Germans massed their counterassaults. Elsewhere the country was a marsh, split and interwoven with flooded streams. This unstable quagmire was just beginning to form when the Anglo-French drive was launched. The infantry slipped and stumbled forward. The tanks managed to negotiate the distance in mud up to the hubs of their caterpillar wheels.

Westhoek and Langemarck

By a sharp stroke early on the morning of Aug. 10, east of Ypres, General Haig penetrated the German lines to a depth of several hundred yards, completing the capture of the village of Westhoek, and carrying the remaining positions held by the Germans on the Westhoek ridge.

The following day there was more violent fighting. The right of the British attack in Glencorse Wood was heavily engaged with the enemy concealed in the usual concrete emplacements and defending himself with well-placed machine guns. The Germans massed great power of artillery against the British, and there was apparently no immediate lack of ammunition. It was truly a fearful thing to see, even from a distance, the wide and deep belt of fire flung by the German guns over the countryside. For miles the horizon was seething with the smoke of heavy shells. Anti-aircraft guns sprayed the sky with shrapnel, and from a range of twelve miles or more monstrous shells were exploding. The great unending tragedy of war was along that belt of ground, sweeping around the horizon where innumerable shells were bursting and where in the smoke of them great bodies of men were fighting and dying.

The enemy's barrage fire was great; that of the British was greater. Between Glencorse Wood and Inverness Copse and all about Stirling Castle and Frezenberg he made a hell of fire, and many of the British had to pass through its fury, and not all passed or came back again. But

afterward the enemy's turn came, and masses of his men—thick waves of them sent forward with orders to counterattack—were caught under the fire of British guns and smashed to pieces.

Striking together on a nine-mile front east and northeast of Ypres early on the morning of Aug. 16, British and French troops carried all their objectives except on the right flank. The French, on the left, drove the Germans from the tongue of land between the Yser Canal and the Martjevaart and captured the bridgehead of Dreigrachten. In the centre Haig's troops captured the village of Langemarck, which had been held strongly by the Germans ever since the allied attack early in the month, and pushed half a mile beyond. On the right British troops attempted to seize the high ground almost directly east of Ypres, which lies north of the road to Menin. They swept up and gained the ground, but in face of terrific losses the Germans attacked with great fury, and finally pressed the British back from the terrain they had won.

Reports of British casualties issued during the first two weeks of August gave a total of 21,722 officers and men. They were divided as follows: Killed and died of wounds—Officers, 223; privates and noncommissioned officers, 4,424. Wounded or missing—Officers, 1,821; men, 15,254. Total of killed, wounded, and missing, 21,722.

Wonderful Barrage Fire

The wonderful accuracy of the British barrage fire was described by an artillery observation officer who was wounded at Langemarck:

> I have seen much modern artillery work, but, frankly, I never dreamed there could be such perfection. I was stationed in an advance post where I could see the full effects of our fire on the Langemarck region. While I directed the firing of the guns in the rear I was amazed to see what our gunners could not see. At the jumping-off hour, which was 4:45 o'clock, the British batteries dropped a barrage in front of our infantry for the advance. It was as though a solid curtain of steel had been dropped before our men. It moved forward with the mechanical precision of clockwork. All our guns broke out with such a hurricane of fire that I was stunned with the effect. I tried to say something to a companion standing beside me, but could not make him hear my loudest shouts.
>
> The barrage moved forward with such accuracy that our infantry was able to keep quite close to it without danger, for there was no wavering of the barrage line. Straight on over Langemarck and the surrounding region passed the barrage, with the infantry trailing. The Germans undoubtedly were expecting our attack, for their counterbarrage was dropped back of our lines almost as soon as our advance began. There is absolutely no doubt of the tremendous superiority of our artillery work and the preponderance of our guns. No worse ground for an advance could have been encountered. The Steenbeke River was in flood and the whole region was waterlogged from recent rains. Our infantry was wallowing in mud all the time, and had it not been for the efficacy of our artillery fire the men would have had a hard time with the enemy.
>
> Our troops had destroyed most of the concrete machine gun redoubts which represent the main defenses in this section, but there still remained many underground fortifications which had to be fought through and silenced with bombs or left behind with the Germans still in them. There was a typical example of this at a point southwest of Langemarck known as Aubongite. Here the Germans had constructed a steel and concrete dugout with heavy steel trapdoors on top. It would hold perhaps fifty to seventy-five men with numerous machine guns. The artillery had been unable to shell them out, and when the infantry advanced, the Germans crawled into their hole and closed the steel doors over them. There was no bombing them out, but the Germans themselves were prisoners. They dared not open their doors to fire machine guns for fear of bombs, so we pushed ahead and left the Germans there with a squad of bombers sitting outside ready to throw explosives when the door opened.

This advance brought to a conclusion another phase of the battle of Flanders. The Allies were now able to look back on one of the great achievements of the war. The attack against the Germans east of Ypres, which resulted in such sanguinary fighting, did not accomplish the advance desired, but the great push to the north represented one of the remarkable accomplishments of the year.

This fighting was noteworthy for a radical change in the German defense methods. The continuous lines of wonderfully constructed forward trenches with their deep dugouts, in which lived

and fought great numbers of men, were now fast passing into the discard. The new system was one of scattering advance forces over a great depth. Cunningly constructed strongholds among the myriads of shell holes along the front concealed innumerable small and more or less isolated garrisons of men who formerly fought shoulder to shoulder along great stretches of picturesque ditches, through which communication was not broken for miles. This alteration was brought about by the ever-growing preponderance of British artillery, which buried the German front line trenches under an avalanche of shells and left the defenses nothing but heaped furrows of earth, and rendered the famous dugouts mantraps, in which many thousands lost their lives without a chance of fighting back. The continuous deluge of breaking steel made repair work on the trenches impossible, and as the Germans were gradually pushed back they of necessity were forced to invent another mode of stemming the advancing tide.

A German Word Picture of the British Attack in Flanders

Max Osborn, war correspondent of the Berlin Zeitung am Mittag, wrote from the German Headquarters on the west front, July 30, 1917:

NEVER-ENDING howls and piercing screams are rending the air from the sea to the River Lys, while accessory noises like growls and blows seem to spring from everywhere on the Yser, in front of Dixmude and Langemarck, around Hollebeke and Warneton. The whole of West Flanders is one large, steaming pot, in which death and devastation are brewing. With the sun smiling its brightest at us, terrific, never-ending thunderstorms are raging over the land. Amid noises such as the old earth never heard before, a crop of new battles and new wars between nations is growing to maturity.

What were the battles of the Somme, Arras, the Aisne, and Champagne against this earthquake of Flanders? Millions of capital are blown up in the air and explode in the ground. It is like a Cyclopean concert of unheard-of brutality, to celebrate with becoming fitness the end of the third year of universal madness. The louder the desire of the nations for peace begins to express itself, the wilder the thunder of the guns at England's command to drown any cry of hope. Sometimes one thinks the end of the bloody intoxication is coming, but there are still graduations of description for which there are no words. We thought we had got accustomed to the atrociousness of all this, and at home you may forget the monstrous events. At the front for days our senses and nerves must certainly have suffered from these awful three years. Spirit and feelings seek to escape the intolerable horror, but it is no use. Here, up against the worst form of slaughter, again these nameless noises bring it home to you with overpowering force.

This battle has lasted for days; now it is again that continuous roar that effaces, or, rather, consumes, all individual noises, that makes even fierce explosions close by you indistinguishable. Everything disappears in one loud, rolling, threatening volume of sound. The air carries it a hundred miles distant, and tremblingly they listen, south and north, west and east, where they cannot see the horror of all this.

But if you come nearer, it is like the bowels of the earth exploding. Our soldiers sit in their dugouts, and cannot do anything but trust to luck. Just now the infantry must keep quiet; only the big guns are talking. The waiting infantry is, as it were, locked in prison. The men cannot get out, nor can anybody approach them. The way to them is fraught with fearful danger. All around

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spatter steel splinters, shrapnel bullets, stones and earth. If you are hit you are dead or crippled. What shall one do? One smokes incessantly, until the air in the narrow shaft is heavy enough to cut. That is bad, but somehow it helps one to endure the horrors of the situation.

You live for days in the closest contact with your comrades in a contracted space. You cannot move, and are unable to think clearly. Never did I realize how difficult it can be to lead a human life. There is nameless agony in it.

Suddenly there is a terrible explosion quite near you. The earth is moving. Splinters drop from nowhere. Our works have been hit at an adjacent point, but thank Heaven! there are no wounded. Nobody was stationed there when the projectile struck.

There is still another explosion, this time the other side of us. Nine dugouts have been hit and have collapsed.

Then there is one of those rare lulls in the cannonade, and quite distinctly we make out some of our comrades struggling in the ruins of a wrecked dugout. We rush to their aid, heedless of the shells bursting around us. Another of those deadly beasts strikes almost at our feet, but it does not explode. We don't stop; we rush on; we shout to our friends, who are buried under the earth, stones, and timber, and we set to work digging them out.

"Nobody is seriously hurt," they cry joyously, when we drag them, covered with scratches and contusions, to daylight again. We do not always fare so well as this. Sometimes we dig them from cellars and earthworks as corpses, sometimes fearfully mutilated, or just in time to draw their last breath.

But, after all, our losses are not so large—certainly not compared with the mass of munitions exploded. Our men have become masters in the art of dodging and using cover. They certainly have had experience enough. But still too many sons of German mothers must yield up their young lives mutely without a chance of defending themselves. But they all realize that only the Fatherland counts; that the individual cannot claim special attention here. The heavy twenty-four-centimeter projectiles of the enemy care not where they strike, be it human life, wire entanglements, or trench, and sometimes they hit our nerves though they strike many meters distant.

There is one consolation: Our artillery pays them back with interest, and the hellish noises at our rear are almost music to the ears of our men in our dugouts. Once upon a time infantrymen used to swear at artillery in battles; nowadays you hear nothing of the kind. Our infantry knows that those men behind their guns are having a hell of a time, while the infantryman is comparatively safe in his dugout.

But even the artillery needs our infantryman. He must carry munitions to positions that are inaccessible to horses and carts. The infantryman must watch the approaches to the artillery positions from all sides, and must be at his post when the sign is given for a general advance. Is this the end of terror, or merely the lull before the attack? Fiercely your fist grips gun and hand grenade. The eyes of the men on guard pierce the dense darkness ahead. There rises a green fireball. Is it ours? Is it theirs? Nobody seems to know its meaning, but all of a sudden the English begin to rain steel again. We give them tit for tat. The artillery on each side seems to try to surpass that on the other. What has happened? Nothing particular, but since they were at it, they thought they might as well keep hammering, and that one long roar continues until the sun rises again on a new day as cruel as yesterday. Nobody will ever forget the horror of it.

U-Boat Destruction of Shipping

Record From July 15 to August 12, 1917

THE average number of merchant ships destroyed by submarines and mines apparently remained almost constant in the last month. The aggregate British tonnage lost was almost the same as that in the preceding month, as the following figures, issued officially by the Admiralty, show:

	Over 1,600 Tons.	Under 1,600 Tons.	Fishing Vessels.
Week ended July 22..	23	3	1
Week ended July 29..	18	3	0
Week ended Aug. 5...	21	2	0
Week ended Aug. 12..	14	2	3
Total for four weeks	74	10	4
Total for previous four weeks.....	64	19	26

The increase in the loss of larger ships equalizes, if it does not exceed, that of the smaller vessels and fishing craft.

Premier Lloyd George, speaking in the House of Commons on Aug. 16, said that there was a steady diminution of vessels sunk. The unrestricted submarine campaign, he continued, began in February, and by April England had lost 560,000 tons of shipping in one month. The German official figures claimed that England was losing between 450,000 and 500,000 monthly after allowing for new construction Mr. Lloyd George said his figure of 560,000 tons for April was gross. In June the losses had fallen to 320,000 tons gross, and if the improvement were maintained those for July and August would be 175,000 each. Steps had been taken, he added, for quickening shipbuilding, and a good many ships had been ordered abroad. In 1915 the new tonnage built was 688,000 tons. In 1916 it was 538,000 tons. For the first six months of this year it was 480,000 tons. The tonnage acquired by construction and purchase during the last six months would be 1,420,000. The total for the year would be 1,900,000 tons.

The figures of losses given above do not include French, Italian, Swedish, Norwegian, Dutch, or American ships, a considerable number of which have been sunk since the beginning of February. In regard to American vessels 37 have been destroyed, with a loss of 121 lives, in the three years of war by German or Austrian raiders or submarines. Before the United States entered the war, on April 6, 1917, thirteen ships had been sunk. Since that time twenty-four have been destroyed. The tonnage of the vessels destroyed is estimated at about 110,000 tons, 61,000 of which have been lost since the United States entered the war. Only four American ships were sunk before Germany began her unrestricted submarine warfare. Two of these were destroyed in 1915, and two in 1916. Between the publication by Germany of unrestricted submarine warfare and the acknowledgment of a state of war by the United States nine American vessels were sunk, either by torpedoes or by gunfire, with a loss of forty-seven lives. Since the United States entered the war twenty-four ships flying the United States flag have been lost, and seventy-one lives sacrificed.

It was announced in the House of Commons on Aug. 14 that 9,748 lives were lost on British merchantmen from the opening of the war to June 30, 1917, as a result of enemy action. Of these 3,828 were passengers, the remainder being officers or seamen. A later official declaration, bringing the figures down to Aug. 20, 1917, stated that the losses of British mercantile sailors and officers were 6,637.

The Belgian Prince Outrage

That thirty-eight members of the crew of the British steamship Belgian Prince were drowned in the most deliberate manner by the German submarine which sank the ship was the accusation made by survivors on reaching British shores. One of them was the Chief Engineer, who many times after the steamer was torpedoed was perilously

near drowning. He gave the following narrative of his experience:

> About 9 o'clock on Tuesday evening, (July 31,) when we were 200 miles off land, I saw the wake of an approaching torpedo. The vessel gave a lurch as she was hit, and I was thrown to the deck among the débris. The vessel listed heavily, and all of us took to the boats. The submarine approached and shelled the vessel, and then ordered the small boats alongside the submarine. The skipper was summoned and taken inside. The others were mustered on the deck of the submarine. The Germans removed the lifebelts and the other clothing of all except eight of us, smashed the lifeboats with axes, and then re-entered the submarine and closed the hatches, leaving us on deck. The submarine went about two miles and then submerged. I had a lifebelt. Near me was an apprentice boy of 16, shouting for help. I went to him and held him up until midnight, but he became unconscious and died of exposure. At daylight I saw the Belgian Prince afloat. I was picked up after eleven hours in the water by a patrol boat.

The second engineer, who also was a survivor, succeeded in reaching the Belgian Prince before she blew up. The Germans came on board and looted her, he reported. He was in hiding, but finally jumped into the sea and kept afloat on the wreckage. William Snell, a negro of Jacksonville, Fla., the only American survivor, added the following details:

> We left the Belgian Prince in three boats and had got fifty yards from the ship when the submarine came alongside and asked for our Captain, who was taken aboard and inside the U-boat. The members of the crew were ordered to hold up their hands, and the Germans asked if there were any gunners among us. Although there were two, we said "' No." The Germans next asked if we had any pocket arms. We were then ordered to the deck of the submarine, where we were told by the commander to remove our lifebelts and to lie on the deck. This we did. Then the commander went into the boats, threw the oars into the sea, and had his men remove the provisions. After that the plugs were taken out of holes in the boats, which were then cast adrift. The submarine went to the northeast for twelve miles, the commander taking the lifebelts to the top of the conning tower and throwing them overboard. I hid mine under a raincoat, and as the submarine began to submerge I tied it around my neck and jumped into the sea. The rest of the crew stayed on deck until they were swept off by the sea as the boat dived. It was a terrible sight. One by one they threw up their hands and went down, or, fighting to keep up, they splashed water as they disappeared.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

[PERIOD ENDED AUG. 20, 1917]

CHINA AND SIAM DECLARE WAR

CHINA formally declared war on Germany and Austria, beginning at 10 A. M., Aug. 14, 1917. The official war proclamation, which was signed by President Feng Kuo-chang, reviews China's efforts to induce Germany to modify her submarine policy. It says that respect for international law and protection of the lives and property of Chinese citizens forced China to sever relations with Germany and now compels her to declare war against Germany and Austria, too, as it was not Germany alone, but Austria-Hungary as well, which adopted and pursued this policy without abatement.

The proclamation declares that all treaties, agreements, and protocols between China and the Central Powers have been abrogated. It says China will respect The Hague conventions and the international agreements respecting the humane conduct of the war, and, in conclusion, asserts that China's object in entering the war is to hasten peace. President Feng Kuo-chang made this statement:

> Our people have not yet recovered from the sufferings due to the recent political disturbances. Calamity again befalls us. I, as President of the Republic, have a profound sympathy for our people when I consider their further sufferings. I did not resort to this step until it seemed impossible to delay the momentous decision. I could not bear to think that the dignity of international law should be

impaired through us; that our position in the family of nations should be undermined, or that the restoration of world peace and happiness should be retarded. Therefore, it is hoped that all our people will endeavor, in these hours of hardship, to maintain and strengthen the Chinese Republic, so that we may establish ourselves amid the family of nations and share the happiness and benefits to be derived from that position.

Siam officially declared war against Germany and Austria at 6 o'clock July 22, 1917, and all German and Austrian subjects were interned and German ships seized. Prince of Songkla, brother of the reigning monarch, declared on July 23 that national necessity and moral pressure forced Siam into the war on the side of the Entente. Neutrality on the part of this small but long independent nation in the Far East had become increasingly difficult, and there had been a growing sentiment that freedom and justice for States not strong from a military standpoint were not to be secured through the policy of the Central Powers. Sympathy for Belgium, which began with the invasion of that country, had taken strong hold on the Siamese, and the popular aversion to Teutonic methods, solidified by President Wilson's message asking Congress to declare a state of war, left no doubt as to the duty, as well as the path of expediency, of Siam.

* * *

Our Armed Forces 1,500,000

THE regular army of the United States was brought up to its full war strength of 300,000 men on Aug. 9, 182,000 volunteers having enlisted from April 1 to Aug. 9. During the same four months the volunteering for the navy brought the naval total up to 137,000 men and the Marine Corps to its authorized strength of 30,000, while 45,000 enlisted in the Naval Reserve and the National Naval Volunteers. The National Guard, brought up to a strength of 300,000, was drafted into the Federal service on Aug. 5. This brought the regular army and navy up to 812,000, to which the draft for the National Army added 687,000 on Sept. 1, thus bringing the armed forces of the United States to a total of 1,500,000. It was only four months preceding that the United States was a peaceful and unprepared nation, with an army and navy totaling less than 175,000. In the same period the country floated and oversubscribed a war loan of $2,000,000,000 and made extraordinary strides in preparation and equipment, besides sending a preliminary expeditionary force of sailors, soldiers, engineers, aviators, doctors, hospital units, &c., to France.

* * *

Great Britain After Three Years of War

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE, while at Paris on July 27, in a formal statement to leading French editors, said that Great Britain now had between 5,000,000 and 5,500,000 soldiers enrolled, without counting between 400,000 and 500,000 belonging to the navy, or nearly a million men from the dominions and colonies.

Great Britain had placed at the disposition of her allies, he added, from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 tons of merchant ships. Next year's building program for merchant ships, which already has begun, amounts to 4,000,000 tons, or twice as much as in a good year during peace time. Referring to the campaign against submarines, Mr. Lloyd George said:

> The diminution in shipping losses is incontestible. It is impossible to abandon this subject without paying homage to the aid given by the American Navy, both regarding the organization of convoys and by torpedo boat destroyers, which have rendered an invaluable service.

Mr. Lloyd George said that 5,000,000 men and women now were engaged in war work in the United Kingdom. More women could be employed if the trades unions did not fear the competition of women after the war.

* * *

China's Millennium of Peace

THIS appears to be the first time in the last thousand years, since the reconstruction of the Chinese Empire under the founder of the Sung dynasty, that China has issued a declaration of war, taking the initiative in bringing about an armed conflict.

Beginning with the period about a thousand years ago, China was repeatedly invaded by her militant northern

neighbors, the Mongols and their kindred, but China always fought defensive campaigns and was content with driving the invaders beyond her frontiers, or persuading them to withdraw by the payment of indemnities of money and China silks. This procedure encouraged the Mongols to continue their raids until 1260; when Kublai Khan, perhaps the most remarkable member of a family which produced some of the world's greatest soldiers and conquerors—the descendants of Ghengis Khan—finally invaded and conquered China. His successors, lacking administrative ability, gradually allowed his empire to fall to pieces, until the founder of the Ming dynasty re-established an independent China. But raids from the north continued, the Manchus gradually becoming the dominant aggressors and conquering China in 1644.

The Mings had waged a successful war against Japan during the years when Shakespeare was writing his first plays, but here also the Japanese were the aggressors, invading and overrunning Korea, which was claimed as a vassal kingdom by China. Twenty-two years ago Japan again fought China, once more for the control of Korea, but Japan was the aggressor. In 1900, at the time of the Boxer outbreak, Peking was occupied by foreign troops, but there was no formal declaration of war. Now, after a thousand years, China for the first time takes the initiative by declaring war against Germany and her allies.

* * *

The Pope's Peace Proposal and the Austrian Empire

STUDENTS of contemporary history have already pointed out the close similarity between the peace proposals put forward in the middle of August by Pope Benedict and the peace plans of the Centrist (Catholic) Party in the Reichstag, voiced by Matthias Erzberger, a representative of the Catholic Kingdom of Bavaria. In both cases it was suggested that these proposals embodied the wishes of Austria, and especially of the young Austrian Emperor Charles. It was further suggested that both proposals represented an effort on the part of Austria and of the Catholic States of South Germany to free themselves from the burdens laid on them by Prussia's victories in 1866 and 1870; and that the Vatican, desiring to preserve the integrity of the strongly Catholic Austrian Empire and to strengthen the South German Catholic States, for that reason strongly seconded the effort of the Emperor Charles.

When this possible co-operation between the Vatican, on the one side, and Austria and the South German Catholic States, on the other, has been discussed, it has generally been conjectured that an effort to revive the temporal power of the Pope, as ruler of the Papal States, was included as a part of the contemplated arrangement. It has many times been said that Kaiser Wilhelm had promised this restoration in case of the victory of the Central Empires.

But, even without this restoration of the temporal power, the Vatican's position in the world would be strengthened should Catholic Austria regain something of the power and prestige she lost when defeated by Prussia in 1866, and even more, perhaps, when the King of Prussia assumed the title of Emperor in 1871; and, should a new alignment of the Germanic States be brought about which would detach Bavaria and the other South German Catholic States from Prussia and join them to Austria, this would, of course, still further raise the Vatican's prestige.

* * *

Russia's Greek Church and the Roman Catholics

WHILE the people of Russia are preparing to hold a Constitutional Convention, or Constituent Assembly, to decide on the future government of the 8,000,000 square miles of territory formerly ruled by the Czars, the Russian Church is getting ready to hold a National Church Council, which is expected to re-establish the office of Patriarch of Russia, abolished by Peter the Great; for Peter the Great was unwilling to see a single conspicuous personality at the head of the national church who might become a rival to the Czar. Peter, therefore, substituted for the Russian Patri-

arch a Synod, or College of Bishops, with a civil Procurator as his representative; the Procurator of the Holy Synod having a controlling voice in church appointments.

If the Russian Patriarchate be restored, the Patriarch of Russia will be one (and the most influential) of a group of five Oriental Patriarchs: the Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Russia. Two of these, the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Patriarch of Antioch, claim to outrank in antiquity the Patriarch (now the Pope) of Rome, who, they say, owed his precedence to the fact that Rome was the political capital of the empire.

It was the claim of the Patriarch (Pope) of Rome to exercise authority over the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, which brought about the division between the Eastern and Western Churches; the Eastern Patriarchs were willing to admit the seniority, but not the absolute authority, of the Patriarch (Pope) of Rome. When the Roman See demanded complete obedience, the Eastern Patriarchs declared their complete independence of Rome. This event took place some nine centuries ago.

The division between the Eastern and Western Churches has colored the religious life of Eastern Europe and much of Western Asia ever since. The eastern half of the empire, with Greek as its ecclesiastical tongue, included most of Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula—the whole region later to be invaded by the Mohammedan Turks. Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania were thus within the area of the Eastern Church, and, when Serbian missionaries carried Eastern Christianity northward, to the new realm of Russia, they also carried with them allegiance to Constantinople and the old Serbian tongue, which became, and has ever since been, the ecclesiastical language of Russia, as it is of Bulgaria and Serbia, and as it long was for Rumania also.

There are practically no differences of doctrine in the group of autonomous churches which form the Eastern Orthodox Church, including, besides the four ancient patriarchates, (Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople,) the churches of Russia, Serbia, Rumania, and Bulgaria. Poland, though Slavonic, owes allegiance to the Church of Rome, while, in the regions which were long the subject of contest between Poland and Russia, a compromise was arrived at, some two centuries ago, under which certain populations retained the Slavonic ritual, while acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope of Rome. Their religious organization was called the Union, or "Unia," and they were known as Uniates; but they have recently been called "Greek Catholics," to distinguish them from the Roman Catholics, who, like them, acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, but who, unlike them, used the Latin ritual, on the one hand; and from the Greek Orthodox, belonging to the Eastern Church which used the Greek or Slavonic ritual and included the group of autonomous but united churches, governed by the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, the synods of Russia, Serbia, and Bulgaria, and the Primate of Rumania.

Russia's intervention in the Balkan Peninsula in the nineteenth century to aid in the liberation of the Greeks, Serbians, Rumanians, and Bulgarians from the domination of the Mohammedan Turks was largely due to the fact that these small peoples, like Russia, belonged to the Eastern Orthodox Church.

* * *

The Peoples of Siam

THERE is a curious fitness in the entry of Siam into the world war among the nations that are "making the world safe for democracy," since the native names of Siam, "Thai," and "Muang-Thai," mean "free" and "the kingdom of the free." Siam is about as large as France (about 200,000 square miles) with a population slightly larger than that of Belgium just before the war, some eight millions. Its people, who are of many shades of yellowish brown, appear to have drifted down into this furthest outpost of Asia from the highlands north of Burma and east of Tibet descending the valley of two immense

rivers, the Mekong and the Salwen, that rise on the Tibetan uplands not far from where the Yang Tse-kiang also has its source.

There was a folk tradition among these people that the further south they descended the shorter they would grow; when they reached the southern plains they would be no larger than rabbits; when they came to the sea, they would vanish altogether. But while the northern tribes are much taller than the southern, the prophecy has stopped short of complete fulfillment. The various yellow-brown tribes who make up the Siamese people, found on their arrival, several thousand years ago, a race of black dwarfs, absolutely savage and akin to the Negrito race of the Philippines—one of the oldest races in the world. These small black men they drove back into the mountain jungles, where they still dwell in caves and nests of palm-leaves, so shy and furtive that it is almost impossible to catch sight of them.

Siam received its literary and religious culture from Southern India and Ceylon, after the conversion of Ceylon to Buddhism. In this way Buddhism became the dominant religion of "the kingdom of the free." There are many Mohammedans also, supporting more than 500 mosques in this far-eastern land, yet these are far from being the most easterly Mohammedan settlements, for one is found nearly 2,500 miles further east, in the Aru Islands, immediately over Central Australia.

* * *

The Fight for United Italy

NOT all students of the world-war realize, perhaps, that Italy's part in it is simply the continuation of the struggle to unite the whole Italian nation, the fight for "United Italy," begun in Garibaldi's days. Italy was included in Charlemagne's empire, the union between the Emperor and the Pope dating from 800 A. D., when the Pope crowned Charlemagne. By the Treaty of Verdun, Lothair, Charlemagne's grandson, united under a single crown Italy (to a line south of Rome) and Lotharingia, (from which comes the modern name, Lorraine,) which included both Belgium and Holland. Thenceforth, throughout the whole history of the Empire, much of Italy was held, for long periods, by the Teutonic Emperors, the title of the Empire, from the tenth century, being "The Holy Roman Empire of the German People."

Thus, at the beginning of the Napoleonic period, much of Northern Italy, including Venice and Trieste, was a part of the Austrian Empire. Napoleon forced Austria to loosen her grip on Italy, but made no united Italian kingdom; and, after his fall in 1815, both Venice and Trieste, with Lombardy, were united once more to Austria. Beginning in 1859, Victor Emmanuel and Cavour worked for the union of Italy, using Piedmont, the northwest corner of the peninsula, as a foundation for the building. In that year the victory of Napoleon III. over Austria at Magenta and Solferino drove Austria out of Lombardy, and brought it under Victor Emmanuel's crown.

In March, 1860, the three duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, having driven out their dukes, by an almost unanimous plébescite united themselves to Victor Emmanuel's growing kingdom. Two months later, in May, 1860, Garibaldi sailed from Genoa and captured Sicily and the kingdom of Naples, and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel King of Italy. But the eastern part of the Papal States, ruled by the Pope as temporal sovereign, was excepted. In 1866, Venice was won from Austria, Prussia being then Italy's ally; and finally, in 1870, Italy took possession of Rome, her ancient capital. There remained "unredeemed" Trent and Trieste, for which Italy is now fighting.

* * *

Germany's New Ministry

THE political crisis in Germany has subsided following the appointment of Dr Georg Michaelis as Imperial Chancellor, and of other new Imperial and Prussian Ministers. Dr. Zimmermann has been succeeded as Foreign Secretary by Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, formerly German Ambassador to Turkey. Dr. Karl Helfferich remains as Imperial Vice Chancellor, member of the Ministry of State, and temporary Minister of the

THE NEW ALLIED OFFENSIVE IN BELGIUM

A picture-map showing the scene of the offensive opened by the Allies on July 31, 1917, on a line extending from Dixmude to Armentières

(© *The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial*)

WHERE THE RUSSIANS HAVE RETREATED

The territory abandoned by the Russians is shown in the above picture-map. After an offensive which opened vigorously on July 1 demoralization of the Russian troops set in and wiped out the previous success

(© *The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial*)

Interior. One of the most interesting of the new appointments is that of Dr. Peter Spahn, leader of the Catholic Centre Party in the Reichstag, to be head of the Prussian Ministry of Justice. Adolph von Batocki, the Food Controller, resigned, and was succeeded on Aug. 15 by Herr von Waldow, formerly Lord Lieutenant of Pomerania. None of the changes indicates any advance toward Parliamentary control. The Reichstag adjourned on July 20 to reassemble Sept. 26.

* * *

Conscription in Canada

AFTER an acrimonious debate in Parliament, preceded by grave disorders and threats of civil war by French Canadian Catholics, in which prominent clericals participated, the Canadian Senate on Aug. 8 passed on its third reading the Conscription bill previously passed by the House. It provides for drafting men between the ages of 20 and 32. It is expected that 100,000 men will be raised by the draft. No disorders followed the passage of the measure.

* * *

Premier Alexander Kerensky

IT has several times been asserted that Kerensky, the most conspicuous figure in Russia since the revolution, is "a young Jewish Socialist." But a careful canvass of the Russian official colony in New York appears to make it certain that he is a Russian Slav by birth and ancestry, the son of a schoolmaster in the town of Saratoff on the Volga. Alexander Kerensky early manifested oratorical gifts of a high order, studied law, and was elected a member of the Duma from one of the constituencies in the region between the Volga and the Siberian border. He particularly interested himself in labor questions and defended labor cases in the law courts, so that he soon came to be regarded as one of the leading advocates of labor interests in the Duma.

As labor organizations were forbidden in imperial Russia, the workmen, seeking to protect their interests, were induced to join the Socialist Party in large numbers. It thus happened that the Socialists were the best organized and most numerous body in Petrograd when the revolution took place, and their Council of Workmen's Deputies immediately became prominent, seeking to dictate the domestic and foreign policies of the Provisional Government (formed of Duma leaders) and even interfering disastrously with the discipline of the army. The organization of debating committees in each unit of the army was the work of this council, and was the source of the worst demoralization of the Russian Army. The proposal to confiscate the property of the landowners originated at the same source.

While Kerensky called himself a Socialist, he has, since he became Premier, done everything in his power to reverse the action of the Petrograd Socialists. He has forced a continuation of the war, has first limited and then forbidden the army debating clubs, and has restored the death penalty for insubordination in the army.

* * *

The Political Status of Egypt

THE present political status of Egypt is an example of the innate conservatism—in the sense of conservation—which has marked all England's dealings with Oriental peoples, and notably with the peoples of India. For while, as a result of Turkey's entry into the war and England's command of the sea, British power was extended over Egypt in December, 1914, Egypt becoming in effect an integral part of the British Empire, England nevertheless conserved all details of the existing administration, except that the title of Khédive, hitherto borne by the native ruler, was changed to Sultan. As the former Khédive had thrown in his lot with Turkey and the Central Powers, he was declared deposed, and Hussein Kamil Pasha was put at the head of the Egyptian Government, with the title of Sultan. The present Sultan of Egypt, born in 1854, is the son of Ismail I., who was forced to abdicate under pressure of the British and French Governments in 1879, and is the eighth in descent from Muhammed Ali, appointed Governor in 1805, who threw off Turkish domination six years later,

though a money tribute was still paid to Turkey.

The administration of Egypt is carried out by a native ministry acting under the Sultan, but England exercises, through a Financial Adviser, a decisive influence over the acts of the Egyptian Government. In July, 1913, certain existing councils were replaced by a new Legislative Assembly, which includes the Ministers, sixty-six elected members, and seventeen members nominated by the Government, to represent minorities. The elected members hold office for six years, one third being elected every two years, as in the United States Senate. This Legislative Assembly has a considerable voice in law making and taxation. There are 10,000,000 Mohammedans in Egypt, or 90 per cent. of the population; the Copts, 700,000 in number, who are the descendants of the ancient Egyptians, are the next largest element.

* * *

New Faces for Wounded Men

FACIAL plastic surgery has made great strides recently. A new hospital has been opened in London devoted especially to the work. It is devoted to the building up of the features and restoration of contour from the patient's own tissues. Portions of skin, bone, and cartilage are transferred and manipulated in a manner which a few months ago would have been thought to be impossible.

Demonstrations have been made showing how a portion of a man's own rib can be taken whence he will feel no inconvenience, and used as the foundation of a new jaw. Bits of cartilage can be taken from his chest to reconstruct a nose, and the new creation is of a type to accord with the features of the patient.

Skin from the brow can be turned down, flaps can be drawn from parts of the face that are intact, for these things taken from the living organism can still preserve their own vitality under the process of transference. The method is slow. As much as a whole year, or even two, may be occupied as one after another of the delicate operations are successfully performed. Indeed, the only real difficulty in regard to a perfect cure is that the men are frequently so delighted with the amendments partially wrought that they and their friends say that is quite good enough, and no more need be done. At least, they know none will shrink away from them.

* * *

A French Officer's Tribute to an American Hero

THE first American to be killed under enemy fire on the French front after the entry of the United States into the war was Paul G. Osborn of Montclair, N. J., a Dartmouth student in the class of 1917, who had volunteered as an ambulance driver at the beginning of the war, and who received fatal injuries while transporting wounded French soldiers from amid heavy shell fire to the nearest aid stations, dying on June 22, 1917.

PAUL G. OSBORN

His body lay for a time in the little wooden field chapel at Chalons, covered with a great American flag. According to l'Illustration of Paris, which devoted a page to pictures and text on the subject, the funeral was held at Chalons on June 26, the day when the first United States troops were landing on French soil. The body, borne to the grave on an ambulance truck draped with the flags of both nations, was accompanied by a delegation of French troops in command of General A. Baratier of Fashoda fame, who spoke these eloquent sentences in honor of the young hero:

> In the name of the 134th Division I salute Soldier Osborn, who came at the outbreak of the war to aid us to triumph for right, liberty, and justice. In his person I salute the army of the United States, which is fighting with us. The same ideal inspires and leads us onward. We are fighting to save the liberty of the world.
>
> Soldier Osborn, my thoughts go out to

your parents, who on the other side of the ocean will learn of the grief that has stricken them. I know that words have no power to lessen a mother's sorrow, but I know, too, that the ideal which she inspired in the heart of her son will be able if not to dry her tears at least to transform them, for it is through these tears, the tears of all mothers, of all women, that victory will come—that victory which will assure the peace of the world, which will be theirs more than any others, since they will have paid for it with their hearts. Soldier Osborn, sleep in the midst of your French comrades, fallen gloriously like you. Sleep on, wrapped in the folds of the American flag and under the shadow of the banners of France.

* * *

Supporting Canadian Soldiers' Families

THE United States will establish a system for the maintenance of the dependents of men who join the army and navy based on the Canadian system, whose main features are these:

(1.) Enlisted men (not officers) are required to assign at least one-half of their monthly pay, but not more than twenty days' pay each month.

(2.) The Canadian Government grants to dependents a separation allowance, based on the rank of the soldier, as follows: Privates, $20; Sergeants, $25; warrant officers and Lieutenants, $30; Captains, $40; Majors, $50; Lieutenant Colonels, $60.

(3.) In certain localities in Canada families of enlisted men are protected by life insurance, the premiums on which are paid by the municipality in which the soldier resided at the time he enlisted.

On May 14 in Toronto alone $42,297,000 insurance was outstanding, of which the municipality carried 76.4 per cent.

The fourth source is from patriotic funds, largely made up of voluntary subscriptions. This fund in April, 1917, had reached $22,981.615, of which $16,575,634 had been disbursed. The scale of assistance runs from $5 a month for a wife having no children (in receipt of $20 a month as separation allowance and $15 a month or more as assigned pay) to $30 a month for a wife with seven or more children. A widowed mother receives from the fund a monthly allowance not to exceed $10. If the parents are dependent on the soldier they receive from the fund a monthly allowance not to exceed $20. A wife with three children receives a total of $60 a month from all sources. The pension for total disability or death is $480 a year for privates to $2,700 for Brigadier Generals.

* * *

Russian Women in Battle

PRESS correspondents assert that the battalion of Russian women was actively engaged late in July on the Vilna front, and that five women were killed and wounded in the first battle; it was reported that in a subsequent engagement only fifty-five women in the entire battalion escaped unhurt. The women's battalion left Petrograd for the front in July under command of Mme. Botchkneva, who was herself injured by shell shock. They called themselves the Legion of Death. The women soldiers were garbed in trousers, puttees, and tunics a trifle longer than the usual army coats. They wore the regulation army caps over bobbed hair and carried packs only a trifle lighter than those of the regular Russian soldiers.

They entrained amid the tears of their families, like veterans. The girls were of Russia's best blood, of the strong stock of some of the city's intellectual, financial and social leaders. Most of them were students at universities. Some were wealthy. They were recruited from the higher educational institutions with a few peasants, factory girls, and servants. Some married women, but none with children, were admitted. They range in age from 18 to 25 years and are of exceptional physique. Their hair is worn short. They are armed with the cavalry carbine, which is lighter than the regular army rifle. They were trained by officers of the Kolynsky Regiment.

* * *

Vast British War Credits

THE British Commons granted an additional new vote of credit of $3,250,000,000 in July, which brings the total up to $26,000,000,000, as follows, in English money:

1914-1915.

Aug. 6	£100,000,000
Nov. 15	225,000,000
March 1	37,000,000
	£362,000,000

1915-1916.	
March 1	£250,000,000
June 15	250,000,000
July 20	150,000,000
Sept. 15	250,000,000
Nov. 11	400,000,000
Feb. 21	120,000,000
	£1,420,000,000
1916-1917.	
Feb. 21	£300,000,000
May 23	300,000,000
July 24	450,000,000
Oct. 11	300,000,000
Dec. 14	400,000,000
Feb. 12	200,000,000
March 15	60,000,000
	£2,010,000,000
1917-1918.	
Feb. 16	£350,000,000
May 9	500,000,000
July	650,000,000
Total	£5,292,000,000

At normal exchange this total is $26,460,000,000. Of the preceding sums, somewhat in excess of $5,000,000,000 was advanced to the allies of Great Britain.

* * *

How Britain Buys Supplies

GREAT BRITAIN'S expenditures for army supplies up to June, 1917, embracing only clothing, food, and utensils for the present war, were $3,500,000,000, of which $1,000,000,000 was expended for her allies. The purchases now run for Great Britain alone at the rate of $1,750,000,000 per annum, nearly $5,000,000 a day. Among the purchases during the war are included:

Cloth	105,000,000 yards
Flannel	115,000,000 yards
Knives, forks, and spoons	35,000,000
Bacon	400,000,000 pounds
Cheese	167,000,000 pounds
Jam	260,000,000 tins
Preserved meats	500,000,000 rations
Boots	35,000,000 pairs
Smoke helmets	25,000,000
Horseshoes	40,000,000

The method pursued in buying depends on the relation that the demand has to the general output. If it is in small proportion, competitive bids are invited; if the industry must be enlarged to meet the demand, the price is fixed plus a reasonable profit. In some trades, on which the demands of the department are unusually heavy, it is necessary to regulate production in all stages of manufacture down to the raw material. The latter is either purchased by the department or dealings in it are controlled under the Defense of the Realm Regulations, and its conversion into the finished article is arranged on the basis of fixed prices for each process of manufacture. The chief raw materials controlled in this way are wool and jute, and a similar kind of control is applied to leather, flax, and hemp.

* * *

American Loans to Allies

THE loans by the United States to the Allies up to July 13, 1917, had reached $1,327,500,000, divided as follows:

1917.		France:	
Great Britain and Ireland:		May 8	$100,000,000
		June 2	100,000,000
April 25	$200,000,000	June 26	10,000,000
May 5	25,000,000	July 6	30,000,000
May 7	25,000,000	July 9	70,000,000
May 14	75,000,000	July 23	60,000,000
May 25	75,000,000		
June 9	75,000,000		$370,000,000
June 14	25,000,000		
June 19	35,000,000	Belgium:	
June 26	15,000,000	May 16	$7,500,000
June 30	10,000,000	June 19	7,500,000
July 2	25,000,000	July 23	7,500,000
July 5	100,000,000		
July 20	85,000,000		$22,500,000
	$770,000,000	Russia:	
		July 6	$35,000,000
Italy:		July 13	10,000,000
May 3	$100,000,000		
July 5	20,000,000		$45,000,000
	$120,000,000		

* * *

Germany's Loss of Shipping

IT will be remembered that, on or about Aug. 5, 1914, the powerful German wireless stations all over the world sent out a general alarm to all German ships, announcing that England had declared war against Germany, and ordering the Captains to take refuge at once from the British fleet in the nearest neutral ports. Obeying this order, Germany's large merchant marine almost immediately disappeared from the seven seas, seeking internment in American, Asiatic, and neutral European harbors. One of the features of the war has been the progressive conversion of nearly all these originally neutral powers into active enemies of Germany, with the re-

sultant seizure of the interned German ships, which have then been diverted to the traffic of the Allies, to replace tonnage destroyed by Germany's illegal submarine campaign.

Portugal was the first conspicuous instance of this, a large fleet of German merchant ships which had taken refuge in the Tagus being seized by the Portuguese Government and this seizure leading to a declaration of war against Portugal by the German Government; Siam and China are the latest powers to take this course. With the exception of the few German steamships which may have taken refuge in Scandinavian, Dutch, or Spanish harbors, and the few ships in German ports when war was declared, practically all of Germany's once great merchant marine is now in the service of the Allies, or is being prepared for such service.

* * *

UNDER the new income tax law in France the following are the rates: Business profits, 4½ per cent.; salaries, incomes, &c., 3¾ per cent.; mortgages, loans, deposits, 5 per cent. Revenue tax on total business done by firms is as follows: Between $200,000 and $400,000, 1 per cent.; $400,000 and $2,000,000, 2 per cent.; $2,000,000 and $20,000,000, 3 per cent.; between $20,000,000 and $40,000,000, 4 per cent.; above, 5 per cent. The impost on revenue from rents starts at 5 per cent. and increases to 12 per cent. The margin free of tax allowed residents of Paris is $600. The impost on rents annuls the tax heretofore laid on doors and windows.

* * *

A FORMAL charge of theft was preferred against Prince Eitel Friedrich, second son of the Kaiser, by M. Dubois, proprietor of a château in the neighborhood of Compiègne. There was a formal hearing before the Court of the Oise Department, and testimony was introduced to establish the theft of furniture, valuable ornaments, and decorative and artistic articles by the Prince.

* * *

THE House of Commons after a sharp debate fixed the minimum wage of British farm laborers at $6.25 a week. The Labor Party moved to make it $7.50, but the Government carried its point by a majority of 199.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From July 19 Up to and Including August 19, 1917

UNITED STATES

The drawing for the nation's first draft army took place in Washington July 20.

Congress passed a bill, signed July 24, appropriating $640,000,000 for the aviation service.

Another contingent of troops from the regular army arrived in France.

A controversy between William Denman, Chairman of the Shipping Board, and Major Gen. Goethals, General Manager of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, over the merits of steel and wooden ships resulted in the resignation of Major Gen. Goethals and in the retirement of Mr. Denman, at the request of President Wilson. Edward Hurley was appointed to succeed Mr. Denman and Rear Admiral Washington Lee Capps was named to succeed Major Gen. Goethals. Captain John B. White, a member of the Shipping Board, also resigned. He was succeeded by Bainbridge Colby.

A Norwegian Commission and a Swiss Commission arrived in the United States to discuss the question of food importation as the result of the passage of a bill to limit exports to neutral countries.

The Council of National Defense was reorganized to provide for the formation of a War Industries Board of seven members and a Central Purchasing Commission to take charge of obtaining war supplies for the United States and her allies.

A food control bill was passed by Congress and was signed by President Wilson Aug. 10. Herbert C. Hoover was named Food

Administrator. A $50,000,000 corporation, headed by Mr. Hoover, was formed to control wheat prices and supply.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Official British reports made public July 19 showed that losses by actual sinkings of allied and neutral ships in the first six months of 1917 amounted to 3,507,257 tons, and the total losses from August, 1914, to July, 1917, were 7,706,291 tons.

Germany declared that the monthly average of her losses in submarines was little more than three.

The American bark Camela was sunk by bombs at the entrance of the English Channel after it had been attacked by a German submarine and looted. Twenty-four persons, including eight naval gunners, lost their lives in the sinking of the American steamship Motano. The Standard Oil tanker Campana was sunk and the Captain and four members of the naval gun crew were reported taken prisoners. Other American losses included the schooners John Hays Hammond and John Twohy and the bark Christiane.

England lost twenty-one vessels of more than 1,600 tons in the week ended July 21, eighteen in the week ended July 28, twenty-one in the week ended Aug. 4, and fourteen in the week ended Aug. 11. Thirty-eight members of the crew of the steamship Belgian Prince, including four Americans, were drowned after the attacking U-boat took away their lifebelts and smashed the lifeboats. Forty American muleteers were lost on the steamer Argalia. The cruiser Ariadne was sunk and thirty-eight members of the crew drowned.

French losses averaged about three vessels of more than 1,600 tons each week. Italy lost from four to six small steamers each week of the month.

Sweden's losses from submarines and mines, from the beginning of the war, amounted to 136 vessels with a tonnage of 125,000 and Denmark's amounted to 100 ships. Norway lost thirty-three ships in July. Ten persons were killed in the sinking of the Norwegian steamer Falkland.

Argentina sent a peremptory note to Berlin concerning the sinking of the steamship Toro.

Peru refused Germany's offer to submit the circumstances of the sinking of the Peruvian bark Lorton to a prize court, and demanded payment for damages and an indemnity.

The German Emperor accepted proposals to spare hospital ships.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

July 19—Germans penetrate Russian positions in Northeastern Galicia on a wide front near Zlochow; Russians reoccupy Novica, but withdraw to the eastern end of the village under heavy losses.

July 20—Teutons make successful attacks on the Pieniaki-Harbuzov front, owing to mutiny of extremist Russian regiments, and occupy Russian first-line trenches east of Brzezany.

July 22—Russians continue to retreat in Northern Galicia as mutiny spreads, and yield ground as far south as the Dniester; Babino, on the Lomnica, evacuated.

July 23—Russians pierce German lines north of the Pinsk marshes, in the district of Tsary-Bogushi, but retreat further in Northern Galicia; Germans capture Tarnopol.

July 24—Germans pursue Russians on a 155-mile line from the Baltic to the Black Sea and cross the Sereth River in the region of Mikulice; Russians evacuate Stanislau; regiments on the Dvinsk-Vilna front abandon the enemy's positions after capturing them, as mutiny spreads north.

July 25—Germans occupy Tarnopol, Stanislau, and Nadworna.

July 26—Germans pursue the Russians east of Tarnopol to the Gnizdiorzno and Gnizna Rivers, penetrate positions near Loszniov and on the Sereth, south of Trembowla, and occupy three towns south of Tarnopol; Russians abandon the Carpathian front as far as the Kirlibaba sector.

July 27—Russians retire from Czernowitz; Germans capture Kolomea.

July 29—Russians retreat over the Galician border at Husiatyn; Germans capture Kuty, in the Carpathians.

July 30—Russians stiffen their line and hold heights to the east of the River Zbrocz; Germans advance through the Suchawa Valley toward Seletyn.

Aug. 1—Russians begin offensive in Galicia in the direction of Trembowla, but retreat in the south.

Aug. 3—Austrians capture Czernowitz.

Aug. 4—Austrians cross the Russian frontier northeast of Czernowitz; all of Galicia except a narrow stretch of ground from Brody to Zbaraz wrested from the Russians.

Aug. 5—Russians resume offensive tactics east of Czernowitz and capture a wood near Baian, but retire southwest of that region.

Aug. 6-7—Russians take the offensive in Volhynia and capture two villages; Russians evacuate Proskurov, in Podolia, and Kamenetz-Podolsk, the capital of Podolia.

Aug. 8—Russians resume the offensive in the Chotin region and capture two villages and retake positions near Sereminki, in Volhynia, after being driven out.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN.

July 21—Fighting resumed on the Rumanian front; Austro-Germans attack positions near the confluence of the Rimnik and Sereth Rivers, but are repulsed.

July 25—Rumanians enter Teuton trenches in the region of Bystro Patak.

July 27—Rumanians capture ten villages in their advance toward the upper reaches of the Suchitza River.
July 30—Germans advance east of the Upper Moldavia Valley and attack on both sides of the Fokshani-Ajoud Railway.
July 31—Rumanians take fortified positions on the right bank of the River Putna, northwest of Soveia.
Aug. 2—Teutons advance in Bukowina and take stand before Kimpolung.
Aug. 3—Russians evacuate Kimpolung.
Aug. 5—Teutons occupy Vama.
Aug. 7—Austro-Germans begin offensive against Russo-Rumanian armies in Moldavia and storm Russian positions north of Fokshani.
Aug. 8—Russians fall back between the Fokshani-Marasechti Railroad and the River Sereth.
Aug. 11—Teuton attacks in the valleys of the Sereth and Suchawa, in the region of Terechini and Gadikalba, repulsed; Rumanians retire southwest of Ocna.
Aug. 12—Austro-Germans in Moldavia capture Grozesni and the dominating heights; Russian attack at the mouth of the River Buzeu repulsed.
Aug. 15—Austro-Germans seize the bridgehead at Baltaretu and capture Stracani, northwest of Pantziu.
Aug. 16—Russians and Rumanians forced to cross to the east side of the River Sereth and retire on the Moldavian border.
Aug. 18—Austrians drive Russo-Rumanians from intrenched positions south of Grozesci.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

July 19—Germans make two attacks upon the French lines south of St. Quentin and reach the first French line, but lose most of their gains.
July 20—Germans repulsed on the plateau before Craonne and Vauclerc, and between the Californie Plateau and Casemates Plateau.
July 22-23—Germans launch fierce attacks on the Casemates and Californie Plateaus.
July 24—French retake all ground lost between Casemates and Californie Plateaus; heavy artillery duels in Flanders.
July 26—Germans penetrate French lines from La Bovelle Farm to a point east of Hurtebise.
July 27—French repulse five German attacks on the heights south and west of Moronvilliers; British capture La Bassée Ville.
July 31—French and British smash German lines in Belgium on a twenty-mile front from Dixmude to Warneton, taking ten towns and crossing the Yser in many places; French on the Aisne capture German trenches over a front of nearly a mile.
Aug. 1—Germans in Belgium retake St. Julien from the British and gain a footing at Westhoek.
Aug. 2—British regain Ypres-Roulers railway station and repulse German assaults between the railway and St. Julien.
Aug. 3—British reoccupy St. Julien and improve their positions south of Hollebeke.
Aug. 4—French push forward east of Kortekeer Cabaret and check Germans near Verdun; British expel Germans from trenches near Monchy-le-Preux, re-establishing their lines.
Aug. 5—Canadians push forward southwest of Lens; British advance at St. Julien and repulse attacks at Hollebeke.
Aug. 8—French take German trenches northwest of Bixschoote.
Aug. 9—French advance south of Langemarck.
Aug. 10—British capture Westhoek Ridge; French extend their positions in the Bixschoote region; Germans win ground north of St. Quentin.
Aug. 11-12—British win more ground east of Ypres; French retake lost trenches at Fayet.
Aug. 14—British push German posts across the Steenbeke River and re-establish their lines.
Aug. 15—Canadians take German positions on a two-mile front east and south of Loos, including Hill 70.
Aug. 16—British capture Langemarck and push on a half mile beyond; French drive Germans from a tongue of land between the Yser Canal and the Martjewaart.
Aug. 18—French complete their conquest of German territory south of the St. Sansbeek and Breenbeek Rivers.
Aug. 19—British advance 500 yards east of Langemarck.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

July 20—Italians destroy advanced Austrian post on Monte Plana and repulse a patrol at the Maso Torrent; Austrians bombard Italian positions in the Plezzo Basin, on the Vodice, on the Dosso Faite, and west of Versic.
July 24—Austrians show increased activity in the Trentino and attack advanced Italian posts in the Posina Valley, San Pellegrina Valley, and Overbacher region.
Aug. 10—Italians repulse attacks in the Coalba Valley, at Brenta, and north of Caterina.
Aug. 19—Italians begin offensive on a thirty-seven-mile front from the region of Tolmino to near the head of the Adriatic Sea.

CAMPAIGN IN ASIA MINOR

July 24—Russians bombard Tireboli, on the Black Sea, with torpedo boats and artillery; scouting parties cross the Karshut Darasi and enter Turkish trenches; Turks report dislodging of British troops who had penetrated positions at Chewet-Tepe, on Gaza-Honjunous Road.
Aug. 8—Russians defeat Kurds near Hoshaba, southeast of Van, and near Dizy, west of Urm.

Aug. 14—Turks begin offensive in the region of Mount Salvus, Dag, and Pelimer, in the direction of Kharput.

AERIAL RECORD

On the western front the British raided Zeebrugge, Bruges, Ghistelles, and other Belgian towns and dropped bombs on the German airdrome at Sparappelhoek. Many notable battles were fought. On July 28 the British downed thirty-one German machines, and on July 29 they brought down sixteen machines and drove fourteen out of control. Thirteen British machines were reported missing. In the fighting Aug. 17-18 the Allies brought down thirty-seven machines and the Germans twenty-six.

German airplanes flew over Paris on the nights of July 27 and 28 and dropped bombs in suburban sections. One aviator attacked a hospital near the front, killing four people.

Twenty German airplanes dropped bombs over Felixstowe and Harwich on July 22, killing eleven persons and injuring twenty-six. One German airplane was brought down at sea. In a raid on watering places on the southeast coast of Essex on Aug. 12 twenty-three persons were killed and fifty injured. Two German machines were destroyed.

Sir George Cave, the Home Secretary, announced in Commons on July 30 that since the beginning of hostilities 366 persons had been killed and 1,092 injured in the London metropolitan area.

Germany announced that the Allies lost 213 airplanes and 24 captive balloons in July and admitted the loss of 60 German machines.

Italians raided St. Lucia-Tolmino, damaging the railway works, bombed the arsenal and military works of Pola, and dropped four tons of high explosives on Austrian troop quarters in the Chiapovano Valley.

Austrians raided the maritime arsenal at Venice. The School of St. Mark was damaged.

NAVAL RECORD

Two German ships were sunk off the coast of Holland by British destroyers and two were captured and taken to England.

The Netherlands Government charged that a British submarine violated Holland's neutrality by sinking the Dutch steamship Batavier II. in her territorial waters.

Nineteen passengers, including five Americans, were lost when the British steamer City of Athens was sunk by a mine off Cape Town on Aug. 10.

MISCELLANEOUS

Chancellor Michaelis addressed the German Reichstag on July 20, declaring that Germany contemplated no new peace offer, but was willing to treat with the Allies if they opened negotiations. A resolution for peace without annexations or indemnities was adopted. The British House of Commons rejected a resolution of sympathy with this move.

Pope Benedict sent a letter to the rulers of the belligerent countries urging peace. The text was made public in England on Aug. 15.

The Finnish Diet adopted the Autonomy bill July 19, after rejecting a proposal to submit it to the Russian Provisional Government. The Russian Government declined to acknowledge the validity of the measure, dissolved the Landtag, and declared that it would submit to the Landtag its own laws governing Russo-Finnish relations. On Aug. 16 the Cabinet resigned and the Governor General asked M. Tokio to form a Socialist Ministry. Revolts were put down by Russian troops.

The Canadian Parliament passed a conscription bill.

Siam and China declared war on the Central Powers. Austria-Hungary declared that China's declaration was illegal and unconstitutional.

Germany notified Turkey and Bulgaria that she would assume all the expenses incurred by those countries in the campaign of 1917-1918.

Changes were made in the British Admiralty, Vice Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss succeeding Sir Cecil Burney as Second Sea Lord and Alan Garrett Anderson assuming the Controllership of Naval Construction. George Nicoll Barnes was appointed to succeed Arthur Henderson as Labor member of the War Cabinet.

Serbia protested to the United States against the economic exploitation of the Serbian provinces by the Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian authorities. The capital was moved from Corfu to Saloniki.

On Aug. 6 official announcement was made that four German Imperial Secretaries, including Foreign Secretary Zimmermann and Adolph von Batocki, President of the Food Regulation Board, and five Ministers of the Prussian Cabinet had resigned. Dr. Richard von Kühlmann was appointed Foreign Minister and Herr von Waldon was named food rationer.

Representatives of the allied powers held a conference in Paris July 25-26. They decided to continue the war until their objects were attained and to withdraw their troops from ancient Greece, Thessaly, and Epirus.

Rear Admiral Lacaze, French Minister of Marine, and Baron Denis Cochin, Under Secretary of State for Blockade, resigned from the French Cabinet. Charles Chaumet succeeded Lacaze. An Under Secretaryship of Marine was created and Jacques Louis Dumesnil was appointed to the post. The Chamber of Deputies was prorogued until Sept. 18, following the withdrawal of support from the Government by strong Socialist groups.

The Grand Tactics of Three Years of Warfare

By Thomas G. Frothingham
Member of the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts

IT is now known that, at the outbreak of the war in 1914, the German Great General Staff had its definite plan of campaign, which had been decided upon for years, and which had been carefully worked out in every detail. This was a repetition of the plan of 1870 directed against Paris. It was true in 1914, as in 1870, that the French capital was the heart of France, and its capture, with the huge levy of money that would have been imposed on the city, would have paralyzed France.

The German Staff had mistakenly committed its plans to an invasion of France through Belgium to avoid the theoretical strength of the French frontier fortresses. The Germans at that time did not realize that in the powerful Teutonic artillery they possessed a weapon that made all fortresses of no value. They had believed the French fortresses impregnable, and had deliberately chosen a passage through a neutral nation instead of the attempt to reduce them.

In a previous article* it was shown that the unexpected resistance of the Belgians, which delayed the Germans nearly three weeks, gave the French time to mobilize, to correct the mistaken offensive in Alsace, and to interpose the French armies against the German invaders. The French Commander in Chief, General Joffre, was the ideal man in character and temperment for such a crisis. He fought a cool, wary, retiring fight, all the time gathering his resources for a final stand against the onthrusting Germans.

In England Lord Kitchener had been given absolute military authority, and a British army of regulars, (about 90,000,) under General French, Kitchener's Lieutenant in South Africa, had been sent to France, where it was placed on the left flank of the French armies, (Aug. 21, 1914.)

As the Germans advanced into France General Joffre kept his armies in hand, fighting and falling back successively from the lines of the Semois, (Charleroi,) Meuse, and Aisne, (Aug. 23-28.) At the beginning of these withdrawals the British army on the left flank had overstayed its battle, (Mons, Aug. 23,) and in its retreat had been badly cut up by the German right, but the French armies were not impaired.

Joffre's Stroke at the Marne

General Joffre had withdrawn to the Marne, (Sept. 3,) and General von Kluck, who commanded the German right, knowing the battered condition of the British army on the French left, believed that his own right flank was safe, and drove on to the southeast to join the massed attack on Paris. But there was a new element in the campaign that changed the result. General Joffre had sent in a fresh army from the environs of Paris (Sixth Army) and placed it on the left of the British army, so that the latter was no longer the left flank of the Allies.

This Sixth Army on Sept. 6 pressed north, threatening the German right, as did the Fifth Army which had been on the right of the British. This brilliant manoeuvre decided the battle of the Marne, (Sept. 6-10,) and saved Paris.

The Germans were forced to retreat to the Aisne, where they intrenched in positions previously chosen in case of an emergency. After vain attempts to break this line, (battle of the Aisne, Sept. 12-17,) the Allies intrenched against it.

The regions of Verdun and the other

* The Moltke of 1870, &c., CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, February, 1917.

French frontier fortresses had been also intrenched, as fortresses had already been proved of no value against the heavy Teutonic artillery. Both armies extended their flanks toward the sea, and in an astonishingly short time there was a line of Petersburg intrenchments from Switzerland to the sea, which has since swayed backward and forward for almost three years.

A part of the pre-war calculations of the German Staff had been the confident assumption that there would be so much delay in the mobilization of the Russian Army that no serious move was to be expected from Russia for many months. Instead of this the Russian mobilization was unexpectedly rapid, and in August, 1914, there was an invasion of East Prussia by two Russian armies, which started an exodus of the inhabitants, and made it necessary to send German troops to that front. This, of course, was a help to the Allies in the French campaign.

Battle of Tannenberg

The command of this German army in East Prussia was given to General von Hindenburg, who had been out of favor and in retirement. Hindenburg had been derisively called "The Old Man of the Lakes," because of his insistence on the strategic value of the Masurian Lakes in East Prussia. Against the Russians in actual warfare Hindenburg proved the truth of his contention. Calmly and methodically, as if at army manoeuvres in his favorite region, he halted the advance of the Russian General, Samsonov, in a strong frontal position among the Masurian Lakes, and, striking first one flank, then the other, Hindenburg practically destroyed Samsonov's army. The other Russian army, under General Rennenkampf, which had invested Koenigsberg, at once retreated into Russia.

This battle of Tannenberg (Aug. 26-Sept. 1, 1914) is already considered a classic by military critics, and it made Hindenburg the idol of Germany, as confidence waned in the supposedly infallible General Staff. The defeat itself was not a vital blow to Russia, nor to the Entente Allies. In fact, the diversion of troops and the necessity of retaining an army on the Russian front was well worth the price; but the consequent rise of Hindenburg resulted in great harm to the cause of the Entente Allies.

In the southeast the rapid mobilization of the Russians also disconcerted the Teutonic Allies. The Austrians had prepared in Galicia for an invasion of Russian Poland. Instead of being able to carry out their plans, the Austrians met an onslaught of Russian armies, which invaded Galicia, captured Tarnopol, Halicz, and Lemberg, the capital, (Aug. 27-Sept. 3,) and forced the Austrians to retreat to Cracow, Przemysl, and Jaroslav. So crippling were these defeats to the Austrians that the Serbians were able to defeat the weak Austrian forces that could be spared for use against them, and Serbian territory was kept intact.

On the western front in France and Belgium intrenching tactics changed the whole character of the war. All through the Fall of 1914 and into the Winter there were bloody battles which had no real military effect except to cause great losses on both sides. The one tactical result achieved at this time was the German conquest of the Belgian coast, which the Germans have retained to the present date. This tactical gain was not appreciated at the time, in view of the failure of the Germans to reach Calais; but it has given the Germans a base for submarines and aircraft, which has been of increasing tactical value.

On the eastern fronts the Russian successes continued. In the north repeated German offensives against Warsaw were beaten off, and Russian offensives followed which kept up a continued pressure on the Germans. In Galicia the Russians swept forward. Jaroslav was captured, (Sept. 20, 1914,) Przemysl was besieged, (surrendered March 22, 1915,) and on the Carpathian front the Russians had broken into Austria-Hungary.

Early British Naval Errors

In the meantime Great Britain's navy had proved to be the great factor on the sea, as anticipated by military critics. The concentration of the British fleet in the North Sea dominated the German fleet at once, but in the other areas her naval resources were not so well used.

TERRITORY HELD BY CENTRAL POWERS AT THE BEGINNING OF 1915. BLACK LINES INDICATE THE BATTLE FRONTS, DOTTED LINES NEUTRAL BOUNDARIES

TERRITORY HELD BY CENTRAL POWERS AT END OF THREE YEARS OF WAR. BLACK LINES INDICATE BATTLE FRONTS, DOTTED LINES NEUTRAL BOUNDARIES

Allowing the Goeben and Breslau to get into Constantinople had a serious effect on the Turkish situation, out of all proportion to the value of the ships themselves.

There seems to have been no reason for leaving the squadron in the Pacific without reinforcement, to be destroyed by a concentration of outlying German cruisers (Coronel, Nov. 1, 1914)—neither should the light cruisers (Emden, &c.) have been left footloose on the seas. These last errors had no effect on the grand tactics of the war, but Great Britain's mistake in the failure to declare a legal blockade of Germany at the outset has had a serious and increasing tactical effect on the war.

The perfected case of a legal blockade established by the United States in the civil war was at England's service, but, not realizing the possibilities of the submarine, Great Britain trusted to her command of the sea, and, instead of declaring a blockade, in an Admiralty order, (Nov. 2, 1914,) announced military areas in the North Sea. This was most unfortunate, as it gave Germany the chance to adopt the "war zone" policy, which has been one of the evils of the war.

The harm of this was not apparent early in 1915. Submarines had not developed any alarming efficiency. Great Britain controlled the sea, and, in spite of German occupation of French and Belgian territory, the military situation was then apparently in favor of the Entente Allies. On the western front the plan of the German General Staff had been defeated, and the great German armies of invasion had been brought to a halt. On the eastern front there was a strong pressure on the Teutonic Allies, especially on Austria. In fact, a study of the map will show that the Teutonic Allies were practically besieged in the early Spring of 1915. They were even cut off from their new ally, Turkey. (Turkey at war Oct. 30, 1914.)

Allied Offensives of 1915

The three great nations of the Entente Allies had intrusted their preparations for the coming campaigns of 1915 to three military dictators—for such had General Joffre become in France after his victory of the Marne. Lord Kitchener and the Grand Duke Nicholas, each the typical soldier of his nation, had absolute control in Great Britain and Russia. Herein lay the failure of the Allies, for each of these leaders believed that the height of military efficiency had been reached in the past campaigns. The great development of barrier fire and the excellence of the French "75s" had brought about the misguided belief in the "established superiority in artillery," which lulled the Entente Allies into false confidence.

In reality at this time the Teutonic Allies were making the colossal preparations of artillery and munitions which were destined to change the year of 1915 into a tragedy for the Entente Allies.

The first allied offensive in 1915 was Great Britain's ill-starred attempt on the Dardanelles, which was undertaken with her fleet alone. In spite of all the recriminations of those responsible, it is evident that at the time there was great confidence in the ability of the guns of the fleet to reduce the land defenses. The new 15-inch guns of the Queen Elizabeth class were particularly relied upon.

All the naval bombardments were without tactical result—and several ships were lost, (February-March, 1915.) It was decided to use a landing force, which Great Britain had available in Egypt. This army was brought to the strait in March, but the transports were found to be "improperly loaded."* The troops were then returned, reshipped, and, after a delay of more than another month, a landing was made on the tip of the Gallipoli Peninsula, (April 25-26,) with fearful losses. Although the great fleet was at hand, there was no serious bombardment of the point of landing, and the Turks, who had received so much warning in advance, took full advantage of the situation.

The battered army was retained on the peninsula for months of desultory, useless fighting. In August there was another landing, which was as costly as the first, and the expedition was withdrawn

*General Ian Hamilton.

in the Winter. From first to last it was a blunder, costly in losses, and most costly in its effects upon the war, especially in its influence on the hesitating nations, Bulgaria and Greece.

In the Spring of 1915 this disaster had not yet developed, and there were great hopes of the allied offensives, but on the western front these hopes were soon disappointed. The failures at Neuve Chapelle, Ypres, &c., showed conclusively that the preparations of the Allies for carrying the formidable German intrenchments had been inadequate. Not only did the Allies' best efforts fail to make any real impression on their enemies, but their assaults were not dangerous enough to divert Teuton troops from the eastern front, where a fearful change had taken place in the military situation.

Hindenburg's Drive in Galicia

In these regions, where the position of the Entente Allies was apparently so favorable in the Spring of 1915, with Galicia overrun and the Russians breaking through the Carpathians, Hindenburg, who had been given the command in the East because of his victory at Tannenberg, had been making preparations for a campaign unprecedented in history. The Austrian and German forces had been amalgamated, and the new huge artillery had been massed for an assault on the overconfident Russians —for the Grand Duke and his Generals did not seem to have any suspicion of the impending danger.

Suddenly (April 28, 1915) the storm broke. General von Mackensen, who commanded in Galicia, blasted out the Russian lines with artillery attacks such as had never been seen in war, and in a few days the whole Russian front was in retreat before massed assaults that did not allow the Russians to make a successful stand for months.

May 14 the Russians were driven over the San. Przemysl fell June 2, Lemberg June 22. In the north Libau was taken in May, and Courland was overrun. Then came the irresistible drive on Warsaw, which was taken Aug. 5. Kovno, Novo Georgievsk, Ossowietz, Brest-Litovsk, and Grodno all fell within a month—and all the time the Russian losses in men and guns had been enormous. It was not until Fall that the Russians were able to hold the line from Riga to Eastern Galicia, where they have remained so long with little change.

At the time there was so much daily comment on the "masterly retreat" of the Grand Duke Nicholas that most of our people do not now realize the great military results of this most disastrous campaign in all history. The Russian losses are estimated to have been: Killed and wounded, 1,200,000; prisoners, 900-000. Some 65,000 square miles of territory were lost.

These Russian reverses in 1915, and the failure at the Dardanelles brought Bulgaria into the war on the side of the Teutonic Allies, (October, 1915.) There was a simultaneous invasion of Serbia by Austro-Germans and Bulgarians, and all Serbia was conquered before the Allies could give any help. An Anglo-French army was landed near Saloniki, but its only usefulness was to insure the neutrality of the Greeks, which was very uncertain at the time. By the end of November, 1915, the last of the Serbian troops had been driven into Albania. In January, 1916, Montenegro was also conquered, and Scutari, the capital of Albania, was captured, (Jan. 23, 1916.)

In May, 1915, Italy had declared war on Austria alone, and at once frankly began to fight "nostra guerra" in an attempt to win the Trentino and Trieste. Consequently the tactical value of the Italians to the Entente Allies and their effect on the results of the great war in 1915 must be measured by the number of Austrians they diverted from the Russian campaign. Owing to the difficulties of the country, which made defense easy for Austria, it is probable that no great numbers of Austrian troops were needed until after the fall of Warsaw. Consequently, the effect of the entrance of Italy was not great—and Italy's own campaign of conquest was barren of military results in 1915.

On the western front, after the allied failures in the Spring of 1915, there was only desultory fighting through the Summer. In September the British and

French undertook another offensive in the region of Loos and in the Champagne, but again the Allies failed to win any military results; neither did they succeed in making a diversion that would take away troops from the eastern front and help Russia and Serbia.

Development of Submarines

On the sea in 1915 Germany was shut in so far as concerned any use of her fleet. There had been some raiding, but nothing that had any effect on the war. Throughout the year Germany was developing a tactical use of submarines, and, taking advantage of the pernicious war zone areas, was breaking away from international law with the U-boats; but at the end of 1915, although there had been much ruthless destruction of life, it cannot be said that the submarines had become a factor in the grand tactics of the war.

A comparison on the map will show that the military situation at the beginning of 1916 was much less favorable for the Entente Allies than early in 1915. On the western front the intrenched lines faced one another as before, but in the East all was changed. On their northern front the Russians had been driven out of Russian Poland and far back into Russia. In the south they had been swept back in Galicia until they only held a narrow strip on the eastern frontier.

The entrance of Bulgaria and the conquest of Serbia had given the Teutonic Allies a strip of territory which connected them with Turkey—and gave them the control of the "bridge" to the East. The Teutons were no longer hemmed in; they had raised the siege.

At the beginning of 1916 the disappointment of the Allies in their military hopes and the realization that their preparations in the first Winter had been inadequate, had brought changes in the administration of the Allies. The three military dictators were no longer in control. Joffre was not paramount in France, though still Commander in Chief. In England, Lloyd George had become Minister of Munitions, Lord Derby had charge of the recruiting, and Sir William Robertson was Chief of Staff. The Russian Grand Duke Nicholas had been sent to command in the Caucasus.

The Attack at Verdun

At this time in England and France powerful artillery and vast amounts of munitions were being hurried to completion for use in the campaigns of 1916—but before these were ready in sufficient quantities France received a costly lesson as to the need of heavy guns to cope with the German artillery. Suddenly in February, 1916, north of Verdun, on a sector over ten miles long, the French were blasted out of their trenches by a concentration of heavy artillery, just as the Russians had been in the Spring of 1915. Although it was known that there was some movement on foot, the French Staff had been unable to tell where an attack was to be made.* That the Germans were able to make this concentration of hundreds of thousands of men and hundreds of guns without being observed by the airplanes is a blow to faith in scouting from the air, but such is the fact.

For three weeks after the first assault (Feb. 21, 1916) there was a fearful sacrifice of the best blood of France. Verdun itself, as has been explained, was no longer a fortress, but a system of trenches, and of no more real value than any other system of trenches. But the name Verdun meant the prestige of France in all Europe, and it was decided to hold the place at any cost.

Enormous losses were heroically endured. Every available gun was rushed to this region, and at last, by using naval guns, many of them actually taken from the warships, an equality in artillery was secured. In the latter part of March it became an even battle, and later the advantage was with the French. It is evident from the official accounts that in the first stages the French losses greatly exceeded those of the Germans, as the German gains were made by artillery, and then consolidated; but in the later phases the German losses were probably greater. This battle was a fearful drain on the man-power of France, but the

*Official, March 18, 1916.

German prolongation of the action for months without result caused great dissatisfaction in Germany, and brought about the appointment of Hindenburg to supreme command of the German armies.

Spring and Summer of 1916

On the eastern fronts in the Spring of 1916 there was naturally no early allied offensive of any moment. The Russian armies had great losses to repair, and the allied army at Saloniki was held inactive by the attitude of Greece. In Asia Minor, however, the Grand Duke Nicholas's campaign was winning important results. Erzerum was taken Feb. 14, Trebizond April 18. On the Tigris the totally inadequate British force which had been sent from India against Bagdad was compelled to surrender, (Kut-el-Amara, April 28, 1916,) but this was unimportant except as it affected British prestige in the East. In the Spring of 1916, on the Italian front, the Austrians, relieved from the pressure of the Russians, invaded northern Italy and were steadily making progress, when a renewed Russian offensive (June, 1916) made it necessary to recall Austrian troops, and this saved the situation for the Italians.

The Russians had recuperated in an astonishing degree, and in June, 1916, under General Brusiloff, took the offensive, quickly overran Bukowina, and became dangerous in Galicia, again threatening Lemberg. So strong was the pressure on Austria-Hungary through the Summer of 1916 that the Rumanians, who had been waiting with a mobilized army for a chance to win spoil in the war, thought that Austria was sufficiently weakened to enable the Rumanian Army to seize Transylvania. In this belief Rumania declared war, Aug. 27, 1916, and at once invaded the coveted province, without making any attempt to act in unison with the Entente Allies.

Never was there a more complete failure. Hindenburg had made unsuspected preparations for just such action on the part of Rumania. Two armies under Mackensen and Falkenhayn were ready—they swept the Rumanians out of Transylvania, invaded Dobrudja, and, united under Mackensen, conquered Rumania without a check. (Bucharest captured, Dec. 6, 1916.) The Teutons had gained rich wheat fields and oil lands at small cost, and only Moldavia was left in the hands of the Rumanians.

Battle of the Somme

On the western front the Entente Allies had begun their great offensive of the year on July 1, 1916. This is known as the battle of the Somme, and it lasted intermittently until November. As has been said, the Allies had much strengthened their artillery. At first there was great encouragement at the gains made, but after a time it became evident that, while they were taking a certain number of trenches, these trenches were being yielded only at a prohibitive price in losses. For months the British losses alone were far above 100,000 a month, and the battle gradually slowed down to raiding tactics. As was the case in 1915, the pressure of the allied assaults had not been sufficient to affect the situation in the east and prevent the conquest of Rumania.

The Italians, relieved by the withdrawals of Austrian troops to Galicia in June, 1916, won their one victory of the war by the capture of Gorizia, Aug. 9, 1916, but they have been unable to make any progress in the difficult mountainous country from that time to the present date. However, there is an Italian army of perhaps 200,000 men in Albania, which helps the allied situation in the Balkans, although it has aroused the jealousy of Greece. In this region, in spite of the fact that King Constantine has abdicated and Greece is nominally pro-ally, the Greek situation has been so uncertain that General Sarrail's Balkan army has remained inactive.

Battle of Jutland

On the sea in 1916 the German High Sea Fleet came out and fought the British Grand Fleet, so timing its battle that the German fleet first struck Vice Admiral Beatty's advance force, which was out of touch with Admiral Jellicoe's main fleet. After badly damaging this detached force, the German fleet managed to engage the superior British fleet under conditions of mist and falling darkness,

with threatened torpedo attacks, which caused the British fleet to draw off from the battlefield—to return to it the next morning. In consequence, the German fleet was enabled to return to port with the prestige of having inflicted heavier losses on the British, and of having remained on the battlefield. This great naval battle (Jutland, May 31, 1916) had no effect on England's control of the sea, but it had a great moral effect in Germany.

Throughout 1916 Germany developed increased tactical use of the submarines, and Feb. 1, 1917, began unrestricted submarine warfare in the greatly enlarged war zones, which included all the waters about her enemies. Since then large numbers of Teuton U-boats have caused a serious loss of shipping, and this successful tactical result has made the submarine campaign as much a part of the grand tactics of the war as any movements of the armies. In fact, the submarine is now the most dangerous weapon possessed by the Teutonic Allies.

Dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war in 1916, especially with the Somme offensive, had brought about a political change in England, and the energetic Lloyd George was made head of the new War Council, (Dec. 6, 1916.) Increased preparations in great guns and munitions were made by Great Britain and France, and Russia was equipped as never before.

Events of 1917 Summarized

In the beginning of 1917 an adequate British expedition was approaching Bagdad, (taken March 11, 1917,) and Russian forces were moving to co-operate in Asia Minor and Persia. There appeared to be hope of cutting through the Teuton "bridge" to the east, but suddenly the Russian revolution broke out (Czar abdicated March 15, 1917) and all the Russian armies were paralyzed for any offensive value.

For four months the Russian armies did practically nothing but debate. In July, 1917, there was a feverish offensive, urged on by the Russian democratic leader, Kerensky, and the Russians made gains in Galicia, probably helped by the surprise and by withdrawals of Teutonic troops. But when Austro-German forces were brought up against them, the Russian troops again became demoralized, and many of them refused to fight, marching away in Galacia without firing a shot. This is the situation at the time of writing. However, there is one favorable element in this Russian situation which must be kept in mind: Evidently the Teutonic allies are still compelled to keep large forces on the Russian fronts.

On the western front, in the Spring of 1917, a great allied offensive, using the new strength of artillery, was launched against the Arras salient, which extended from north of Arras beyond Soissons. Here an extraordinary situation developed. Hindenburg had anticipated the attack of the Allies on this sector, and he had withdrawn to more favorable positions behind the exposed salient, (March, 1917.)

Leaving small detachments in his trenches to keep up appearances, Hindenburg had moved back his men, his guns, and all his material safely to his new positions. That he was able to do this on a front of over fifty miles, unsuspected and unmolested, with the air full of allied airplanes, is comment enough on the limitations of scouting from the air. An attack in force by the Allies while this movement was going on would have been dangerous for the Germans.

At first this withdrawal was not understood, but in the battle of Arras (April 9-May) which followed, it was found that Hindenburg had improved his own positions and given the Allies a devastated and shell-scarred terrain to fight over. There were gains for the Allies at first, but, as before, the battle waned into raids, and there has been no aggressive fighting in this region for weeks. Again the only tactical result of great effort has been the number of Germans who have been put out of action.

A terrific blast of over 1,000,000 pounds of high explosives which had been placed in mines under a salient at Messines, south of Ypres, wrecked everything in the German trenches (June 7, 1917) and gave the British possession; but no

GENERAL SIR WILLIAM R. ROBERTSON

Chief of the British Imperial General Staff, who directs the organization and operations of the army

GENERAL L. G. KORNILOFF

Commander of the Russian Army which, after beginning a brilliant offensive, has been forced to retreat. Korniloff is the son of a Siberian Cossack and is described as one of the most scholarly and daring of modern Generals

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood)

tactical gain has followed, and this is cited merely to show the proportions to which mining operations have grown. Since then north of Ypres the Germans, by a concentration of artillery unnoticed by the airplanes, destroyed British forces across the Yser Canal and captured their position. This British loss was of some tactical importance, as it strengthened the German hold on the Belgian coast, which is now realized to be a dangerous German base. At the time of writing, a new British offensive has begun in Flanders.

In spite of all the resources devoted to them in the three years of warfare, aircraft have not become a part of the grand tactics of the war. The Zeppelins have not been of any military value, and airplanes have not yet been devised that can carry their fuel and sufficient weight of explosives for serious bombardments. Even for the short flights over the Channel the raids have been mere haphazard dropping of bombs, and have not won any military results; and for scouting and direction of artillery the present airplanes have great limitations.

True Military Situation

From the foregoing, it is evident that the advantage would be with the Teutonic allies if it were possible to weigh the military results of this war in the usual scales. But such standards of other days do not apply to this epoch-making cataclysm. Entirely different estimates must be made to arrive at the true military situation. To military critics the one outstanding fact is that this war is being fought with enormous losses in men and material out of all proportion to the military results attained.

Changes to intrenching tactics have greatly increased the tasks of the armies and multiplied their losses. The giant proportions of the artillery and of material of all kinds in these campaigns have become a fearful drain, such as has never before been imagined. Simply to consider the tons of costly munitions thrown away in an everyday bombardment is astonishing, and expenditure on the same enormous scale must be made in all the other material. The constant appalling losses of men* and the incalculable wastage of material have become the dominant factor in the grand tactics of the war, and all other military results are dwarfed in comparison.

In all the wars in the past, the military results have been self-evident in victories and in gain of territory. In this war, to judge from any such evidence would be to arrive at a false estimate of the actual military situation, which is not contained in any list of victories or in any advantages that can be seen on the map. The real military results have gone far beyond all this, and the only true estimate of the present tactical situation is to realize that the real results of the grand tactics of three years of war are two groups of haggard nations, equally depleted in men and resources—and equally war weary!

* A conservative estimate of those killed in three years is 7,000,000.

Estimates of War Casualties

OFFICIAL statistics of the killed, wounded, and missing are not regularly published by any one of the nations, though compilations made from official lists as published each month by some of the belligerents convey a fairly accurate idea of the losses. These lists, however, do not specify the particular periods covered.

The German official casualty lists, reported during June, 1917, are as follows:

Killed and died of wounds	28,819
Died of sickness	3,215
Prisoners	1,835
Missing	36,772
Severely wounded	21,315
Wounded	5,354
Slightly wounded	56,160
Wounded remaining with units	13,077
Total	166,547

The above casualties, added to those

reported in previous months, (including the corrections reported in June, 1917,) bring the totals reported in the German official lists since the beginning of the war to:

Killed and died of wounds	1,032,800
Died of sickness	72,960
Prisoners	316,506
Missing	275,460
Severely wounded	590,883
Wounded	315,239
Slightly wounded	1,655,685
Wounded remaining with units	263,774
Total	4,523,307

The above figures include all German nationalities — Prussians, Bavarians, Saxons, and Württembergers. They do not include naval casualties or casualties of colonial troops.

Since these figures were put into type the German casualty totals for July, 1917, have been published, adding an aggregate of 89,863 to the total in the foregoing table.

The British casualties, as officially reported for July, 1917, prove the extreme severity of the fighting in the series of offensives launched by Field Marshal Haig. In that month alone the casualties totaled 71,348, of whom 2,490 were officers and 68,858 men; killed, died of wounds, and missing were 723 officers and 16,276 men; only 2 officers were made prisoners of war, and only 96 men. The ghastly figures for the five months of March, April, May, June, and July, 1917, tell a tale of ferocious fighting, and are as follows, respectively:

	Officers.	Men.
March	1,765	28,709
April	4,381	31,619
May	5,991	107,075
June	3,601	84,667
July	2,490	68,858
Total	18,228	252,928

This makes a grand total of 271,256 British casualties for the five months.

In July, 1915, estimates by the Red Cross were as follows for the first year of the war:

	First 6 Mos.	First 12 Mos.
Dead	482,000	1,000,000
Severely wounded	97,000	200,000
Slightly wounded	760,000	1,500,000
Prisoners	233,000	485,000

In March, 1917, the official compilations at Washington placed the number of German dead at 893,000, wounded at 450,000, captured and missing at 245,000.

The untrustworthiness of all present estimates is clear from the above. The number of German prisoners and missing estimated in the first year is put at 485,000, whereas near the end of the third year the number officially reported by Germany is 591,966.

On Dec. 6, 1915, the following tables were compiled, showing the losses during the first fifteen months of the war:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners and Missing.
Great Britain	115,000	351,000	710,000
France	270,000	840,000	180,000
Russia	450,000	1,400,000	375,000
Italy	72,000	224,000	48,000
Belgium	27,000	84,000	18,000
Serbia	27,000	84,000	18,000
Montenegro	4,500	14,000	3,000
Germany	485,370	1,510,040	323,580
Austria	319,140	992,880	265,950
Turkey	45,000	140,000	30,000
Bulgaria	36,000	112,000	24,000

In March, 1917, compilations made at Washington were tabulated as follows, covering the period from the beginning of the war to February, 1917:

	Dead.	Wounded.	Prisoners and Missing.
Russia	1,500,000	784,200	800,000
France	870,000	540,800	400,000
Great Britain	205,400	102,500	107,500
Rumania	100,000	150,000	250,000
Italy	105,000	49,000	56,000
Belgium	50,000	22,000	40,000
Serbia	60,000	28,000	.....
Germany	893,200	450,000	245,000
Austria	523,000	355,000	591,000
Turkey	127,000	110,000	70,000
Bulgaria	7,500	7,000	6,000

Estimates at the end of the third year, published July 28, 1917, are tabulated as follows:

	Killed.	Seriously Wounded.	Capt'd or Missing.	Total.
England	*298,988	177,224	182,452	659,664
France	1,580,000	921,328	696,548	3,197,876
Russia	2,062,064	1,223,476	1,243,096	4,528,636
Italy	130,356	60,840	68,292	259,488
Belgium	62,064	27,324	149,644	239,032
Serbia	74,484	34,776	.....	109,260
Totals	4,263,956	2,444,968	2,341,032	9,049,956

*Includes Canadian and Australian but not Indian troops.

	Killed.	Seriously Wounded.	Capt'd or Missing.	Total.
Germany	1,908,800	958,612	704,128	3,571,540
Austria	849,368	540,673	833,644	481,096
Turkey	157,644	236,548	86,904	481,096
Bulgaria	9,324	8,676	7,452	25,452
Total	2,925,136	1,744,509	1,632,128	6,301,776
Grand tls.	7,188,092	4,189,477	3,973,169	15,351,732

Eighty per cent. of the Entente allied wounded return to the armies; Germany claims that 85 per cent. of her wounded return as combatants.

According to an Associated Press estimate made May 15, 1917, the Central Powers held the following prisoners at that time:

Held by Germany	1,690,731	(17,474 officers)
By Austria	1,092,055	
By Bulgaria	67,582	
By Turkey	23,903	
Total	2,874,271	(27,620 officers)

This total is made up as follows:

	Total.	In Germany.
Russian prisoners	2,080,699	1,212,007
French	368,607	367,124
Serbian	154,630	25,879
Italian	98,017	.....
Rumanian	79,033	10,157
British	45,241	33,129
Belgian	42,437	42,435
Montenegrin	5,607	.....

The total number of prisoners taken by the Allies up to May, 1917, was estimated at 1,284,050, divided as follows:

	In England.	In France.	In Russia.	In Italy.
German prisoners	85,000	259,050	250,000	....
Austrian	....	....	550,000	80,000

In addition, 40,000 Austrians and Bulgarians captured by Serbia are now in Italy, and 20,000 Turkish prisoners are in Egypt.

Arrival of the Japanese Mission

Other Visiting Envoys

A JAPANESE Commission, headed by Viscount K. Ishii, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, arrived at a Pacific port on Aug. 13, 1917, where its members were met by an official delegation from Washington consisting of Breckenridge Long, Third Assistant Secretary of State, and Gavin McNab, an attorney, with representatives of the army and navy. A United States battleship circled the Japanese vessel during its approach to the port, and masses of troops at "present arms" lined the streets through which the mission passed, while the Japanese anthem was played. A reception in the City Hall began a series of entertainments lasting three days, during which every appropriate honor and courtesy was vouchsafed the visitors.

At a dinner given to the mission in the evening of Aug. 14 Viscount Ishii said:

We are here to say that in this tremendous struggle for those rights and liberties America and Japan are bound together; that when the victory of the allied forces is secure, America and Japan should so live that your sons and our sons will have a certainty of good neighborhood; so live that no word or deed of either can be looked upon with suspicion; that venomous gossip, hired slander, sinister intrigue and influence, of which we have both been the victims, can in future only serve to bring us closer together for mutual protection and for the common welfare.

The importance of this co-operation was brought home to us particularly as we voyaged safely and pleasantly across the Pacific Ocean. We must indeed have assurance of good order in our neighborhood. We cannot, either of us, take risks. It becomes the first duty of Japan and America to guard the Pacific and to insure safe, continuous intercourse between Asia and the United States, to see to it that the ships of the ferocious pirates whose crimes upon the high seas can never be palliated find no shelter in the waters of our seas.

It is for us together to continue to enforce respect for law and humanity upon the Pacific, from which the German menace was removed at the commencement of the war. Had this not been so, had the barbarian of Europe not been rooted from his Oriental bases, the shuddering horrors of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean would today be a grim reality on the Pacific. In the protection of our sea-going merchandise and men,

in safeguarding the pleasures of intercourse, you may count on us as we must count on you.

In the dawning of this new day of stress and strain let us forget the little molehills that have been exaggerated into mountains to bar our good relations. Let us see together with a clearer vision the pitfalls dug by a cunning enemy in our path, let us together fix our eyes upon the star of principle which shall lead us together most surely to a participation in the triumph of the right, to a certain victory in the greatest and, let us hope, the last great war in human history.

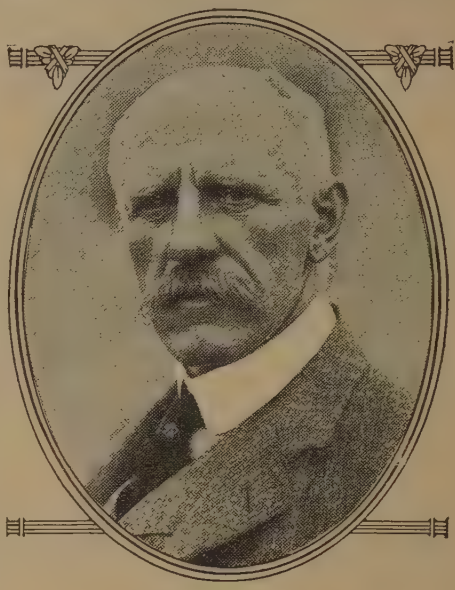
The cordiality of the Pacific Coast's reception of the mission impressed the visitors deeply. "Your action," said their spokesman, when departing for Washington, "clears away many a doubt and misunderstanding on the part of the people of both countries as to our mutual aims and aspirations. Your generous attitude makes it possible for every fair-minded man to believe that there are no pending questions between America and Japan which, approached in this spirit, are not susceptible of honorable and fair adjustment."

Nansen's Norwegian Mission

All the neutral nations of Europe were greatly perturbed by President Wilson's declaration of July 9, placing under Government control the volume of foodstuffs and other wartime material which may be sent to other countries. As put into operation, this order has resulted in a virtual embargo on foods, forage, and fats bound for neutral lands adjoining Germany. At the present writing more than eighty Dutch vessels laden with such cargoes have been waiting for a month in New York Harbor and adjoining waters for a ruling that would give them clearance papers.

Norway was among the first of the European neutrals to send missions to this country to negotiate for a relaxation of the embargo, which, they declared, threatened them with starvation. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, the arctic explorer, headed the Norwegian Mission, which reached Washington at the beginning of August, and held a long conference with the State Department on Aug. 8.

To press representatives Dr. Nansen stated that at the beginning of the war Norway had 3,000,000 tons of merchant shipping, and that one-third of it had fallen victim to Germany's submarines. Most of the ships so lost, he said, were



DR. FRIDTJOF NANSEN

serving the Allies when destroyed. Dr. Nansen stated his case as follows:

The fact that our imports from the United States have increased during the war does not mean that our total imports have increased. Exportation of fats, grain, and sugar is wholly prohibited; no licenses are issued for them. What we want first of all are foodstuffs, because Norway does not produce enough to live on. Our chief needs are carbohydrates, which are found in wheat, sugar, and fats; if they are cut off it will mean starvation. We had an instance of that one hundred years ago, during the Napoleonic wars, and we don't want to experience it again.

Our exports to Germany now consist of fish, principally. We wish to remain neutral, and it would be unneutral to cut off all supplies to one side and permit them to continue to go to the other side. Meats, fats, milk, butter, everything in the way of Norwegian foodstuffs, except fish, has been cut off from Germany, and fish is exported to Germany in accordance with an agreement with Great Britain. We have maintained that we could not cut off fish to Germany because that would mean war with Germany; whatever is now exported to Germany is really with the consent of the British Government. My hope is to come to some agreement with the United States on the lines we have with Great Britain.

A Swedish mission for the same purpose, headed by Hermann Lagerkrantz, former Swedish Minister to the United States, visited Washington in July. A similar mission from Switzerland, consisting of National Counselor John Suz, Colonel Staenpfi, and Professor William Rappard, arrived on Aug. 15, in company with Dr. Hans Sulzer, the new Swiss Minister to the United States to succeed Dr. Paul Ritter. At the same time an official mission of the same nature was sailing from Holland. Its chief spokesman, Joost von Vollenhoven, declared: "If we fail to persuade the American Government to permit a continuance of the supply of grain it will mean misery and economic ruin for Holland."

Serbia's Plan of Reorganization

Following is a summary of an official statement issued in July, 1917, by the Serbian Press Bureau on the Island of Corfu:

AT a conference of members of the former Coalition Cabinet, the present Cabinet, and the representatives of the Jugoslav Committee, views were exchanged with the co-operation of the President of the Skupshtina on all questions relating to the life of the Serbians, Croats, and Slovaks in their future united state. Complete unanimity on every question that arose prevailed. Divided among several States our country is cut up in Austria-Hungary alone into eleven provincial adminstrations with thirteen legislative bodies. The war forced by German militarism upon Russia, France, and Great Britain has been transformed into a fight for the liberty of the world and for the triumph of right over force. To noble France, which proclaimed the liberty of nations, and to Great Britain, the home of liberty, there has been joined the great American Republic and the new, free, and democratic Russia in proclaiming as the principal object of the war the triumph of liberty and democracy, and, as the basis of a new international system, the freedom of nations to govern themselves.

The authorized representatives of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes declare that the desire of our people is to free itself from all foreign oppression and to constitute itself into a free, national, and independent State, based on the principle that every people is free to govern itself, and are agreed in considering that this State should be founded on the following modern and democratic principles:

1. The State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, who are also known by the names of Southern Slavs and Jugoslavs, will be a free and independent monarchy, with an indivisible territory and unity of power. This State will be a constitutional, democratic, and Parliamentary monarchy, with the Karageorgevitch dynasty, which has always shared the ideals and feelings of the nation in placing above everything else the national liberty and will at its head.

2. The name of this State will be the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and the title of the sovereign will be King of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

3. This State will only have one coat of arms, one flag, and one crown.

4. The four different flags of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes will have equal rights, and may be hoisted freely on all occasions. The same will obtain for the four different coats of arms.

5. The three national denominations, the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, are equal before the law in all the territory of the kingdom, and each may freely use it on all occasions in public life and before all authorities.

6. The two Cyrillic and Latin alphabets also have the same rights, and every one may freely use them in all the territory of the kingdom. The royal and local self-governing authorities have the right and ought to employ the two alphabets according to the desire of the citizens.

7. All religions are recognized, and may be free and publicly practiced. The Orthodox Roman Catholic and Mussulman religions, which are most professed in our country, will be equal, and will enjoy the same rights in relation to the State. In view of these principles, the Legislature will be careful to preserve the religious peace in conformity with the spirit and tradition of our entire nation.

8. The Gregorian calendar will be adopted as soon as possible.

9. The territory of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes will comprise all the territory where our nation lives in compact masses and without discontinuity, and where it could not be mutilated without injuring the vital interests of the community. Our nation does not ask

for anything which belongs to others, and only claims that which belongs to it. It desires to free itself and establish its unity. That is why it conscientiously and firmly rejects every partial solution of the problem of its freedom from the Austro-Hungarian domination.

10. The Adriatic Sea, in the interests of liberty and equal rights of all nations, is to be free and open to all and each.

11. All citizens throughout the territory of the kingdom are equal and enjoy the same rights in regard to the State and the law.

12. The election of Deputies to the national representation will take place under universal suffrage, which is to be equal, direct, and secret. The same will apply to the elections in the communes and other administrative institutions. A vote will be taken in each commune.

13. The Constitution to be established after the conclusion of peace by the Constituent Assembly elected by universal, direct, and secret suffrage will serve as a basis for the life of the State. It will be the origin and ultimate end of all the powers and all rights by which the whole national life will be regulated. The Constitution will give the people the opportunity of exercising its particular energies in local autonomies, regulated by natural, social, and economic conditions. The Constitution must be adopted in its entirety by a numerical majority of the Constituent Assembly, and all other laws passed by the Constituent Assembly will not come into force until they have been sanctioned by the King.

Thus the united nation of Serbs, Croatians, and Slovenes will form a State of twelve million inhabitants. This State will be a guarantee of their national independence and of their general national progress and civilization, and a powerful rampart against the pressure of the Germans, and an inseparable ally of all civilized peoples and States. Having proclaimed the principle of right and liberty and of international justice, it will form a worthy part of the new society of nations.

Signed at Corfu, July 20, 1917, by the President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbia, Nikola Pashitch, and the President of the Jugoslav Committee, Dr. Anto Trumbic.

O Valiant Hearts

By JOHN S. ARKWRIGHT

[A new hymn sung at the intercession service in Westminster Abbey, London, on the third anniversary of the war.]

O valiant Hearts, who to your glory came
Through dust of conflict and through battle-flame;
Tranquil you lie, your knightly virtue proved,
Your memory hallowed in the Land you loved.

Proudly you gathered, rank on rank to war,
As who had heard God's message from afar;
All you had hoped for, all you had, you gave
To save Mankind—yourselves you scorned to save.

Splendid you passed, the great surrender made,
Into the light that nevermore shall fade;
Deep your contentment in that blest abode,
Who wait the last clear trumpet-call of God.

Long years ago, as earth lay dark and still,
Rose a loud cry upon a lonely hill,
While in the frailty of our human clay
Christ, our Redeemer, passed the self-same way.

Still stands His Cross from that dread hour to this
Like some bright star above the dark abyss;
Still, through the veil, the Victor's pitying eyes
Look down to bless our lesser Calvaries.

Russia Passes Through Deep Waters

Kerensky's New Leadership

THE Russian revolution encountered its most perilous period toward the end of July, 1917, and for a time conservative judgment in the United States and England entertained grave fears of civil war or anarchy; but there was remarkable restraint on the part of the masses when affairs seemed at their worst, and out of the depths of the national spirit there arose a new revolution to save the situation and maintain order. Within a fortnight after the crisis the forces of law and order were firmly in the ascendency and the revolution seemed more strongly intrenched by the middle of August than at any previous time.

When matters were at their worst late in July, the country everywhere the scene of riotous disturbances, the army in a state of demoralization, anarchists, radicals, and monarchists seeming to be working hand in hand to precipitate a reign of terror, the real Russian conservatives who accomplished the original revolution practically without bloodshed, again took control and effected a complete reorganization of the Provisional Government.

Kerensky Saves the Situation

On July 20 it was announced that the Premier, Prince Lvoff, had resigned, and that Alexander F. Kerensky had been appointed Premier, but would also temporarily retain his portfolio as Minister of War and Munitions. A new Government was quickly formed. Kerensky was made practical dictator, and his Government received the complete indorsement of the Joint Congress of Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils and of the All-Russia Council of Peasant Delegates, conferring upon the new Premier and his Cabinet unlimited authority.

The effect was electrical. Orders were given to fire on deserters and runaways at the front, and warrants were issued for the arrest of revolutionary agitators wherever they might be. Rear Admiral Verdervski, commander of the Baltic fleet, was seized for communicating a secret Government telegram to sailors' committees. Lieutenant Dashkevitch and another executive committeeman of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council also were arrested, the former on the charge of inciting the Peterhof troops to remove the Provisional Government.

The decision of the councils to resort to the extreme measure of conferring supreme and unrestricted power on the Government was reached after a session that lasted throughout the night of July 22, and was embodied in the following resolution, which was passed by 252 to 57:

> Recognizing that the country is menaced by a military débâcle on the front and by anarchy at home, it is resolved:
>
> First—That the country and the revolution are endangered;
>
> Second—That the Provisional Government is proclaimed the Government of National Safety;
>
> Third—That unlimited powers are accorded the Government for re-establishing the organization and discipline of the army for a fight to the finish against the enemies of public order and for the realization of the whole program embodied in the Governmental program just announced.

A Ringing Proclamation

The Executive Councils of the All-Russia Workmen's and Soldiers' and Peasants' organizations issued the following proclamation on the 23d:

> Fellow-soldiers: One of our armies has wavered, its regiments have fled before the enemy. Part of our front has been broken. Emperor William's hordes, which have moved forward, are bringing with them death and destruction.
>
> Who is responsible for this humiliation? The responsibility rests with those who have spread discord in the army and shaken its discipline, with those who at a time of danger disobeyed the military commands and wasted time in fruitless discussions and disputes.
>
> Many of those who left the line and sought safety in running away paid with their lives for having disobeyed orders. The enemy's fire mowed them down. If

this costly lesson has taught you nothing, then there will be no salvation for Russia.

Enough of words. The time has come to act without hesitation. We have acknowledged the Provisional Government. With the Government lies the salvation of the revolution. We have acknowledged its unlimited authority and its unlimited power. Its commands must be law. All those who disobey the commands of the Provisional Government in battle will be regarded as traitors. Toward traitors and cowards no mercy will be shown.

Fellow-soldiers: You want a durable peace. You want your land, your freedom. Then you must know that only by a stubborn struggle will you win peace for Russia and all nations. Yielding before the troops of the German Emperor, you lost both your land and your freedom. The conquering, imperialistic Germans will force you again and again to fight for your interests.

Fellow-soldiers at the front: Let there be no traitors or cowards among you. Let not one of you retreat a single step before the foe. Only one way is open for you—the way forward.

Fellow-soldiers in the rear: Be ready to advance to the front for the support of your brothers, abandoned and betrayed, fleeing from their positions in the regiments. Gather all your strength for the struggle for a durable peace, for your land and your freedom. Without wavering, without fear, without disastrous discussions, carry out all military commands. At the time of battle disobedience and wavering are worse than treachery. Your ruin lies in them, the ruin of Russia.

Fellow-soldiers: You are being watched by those who work for Russia and by the whole world. The ruin of the Russian revolution spells ruin for all. Summon up all your manhood, your perseverance and sense of discipline and save the fatherland.

Provisional Government's Action

The Provisional Government also issued a proclamation on July 22 charging that the disorders were precipitated to bring about a counter revolution by the enemies of the country. Proceeding, the proclamation said:

The Government firmly believes that the crisis will lead to recovery, not death. Strong in that belief, the Government is ready to act with the energy and resolution the exceptional circumstances demand. The Government regards as its first and capital task the application of its whole strength to the struggle against the foreign foe and to the defense of the new Governmental régime against every anarchical and counter-revolutionary attempt, without hesitating to take the most rigorous measures in its power. At the same time the Government reiterates that not a drop of blood of a Russian soldier shall be shed for any foreign end, as already proclaimed to the whole world. * * *

The Government considers it indispensable immediately to proceed with a series of measures putting the principles announced on May 19 into operation, and adheres to the steps already taken to convene a constituent assembly on Sept. 30. The speediest introduction of autonomy for municipalities and Zemstvos, based on direct, equal, secret, universal suffrage, and the extension of this principle to the entire country is the Government's chief problem in internal policy.

Military Disaster

The political crisis produced deeper demoralization in the army, which disregarded discipline and refused to recognize military rule. A general retreat followed. The Germans and Austrians steadily advanced through Galicia and crossed the frontier before the Russian armies could be forced to make a stand. The death penalty for treason or mutiny was restored in the army on July 25, when Kerensky threatened to resign unless this was done. The Government on July 25 authorized the Minister of the Interior to suspend the publication of periodicals that incite to insubordination or disobedience to orders given by the military authorities.

On the 25th the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates and the Peasants' Congress issued another proclamation, declaring:

Lack of discipline and open treachery at the front are facilitating Field Marshal von Hindenburg's new offensive. The serious defeats inflicted on our army are opening the way to the enemy for increasing the general panic and preparing the soil in which the poisonous seeds of counter-revolution may come into full bloom. Already an attack is being organized by the strong bourgeoisie; already the jackals and hyenas of the old régime are howling. * * *

We turn to you, our representatives, with a passionate appeal. * * * Support the revolutionary authority; try to secure the full submission of workingmen, soldiers, and peasants to all the decisions of democracy's majority. Inspire them; awaken enthusiasm in them. Exert your entire will, your entire energy. Rally round our All-Russian centres and we will show the country and

the world that the nation which created the greatest revolution in the world can not and shall not perish.

By July 28 the situation had become more hopeful. On that day General Nicholas Ruszky, formerly Commander in Chief of the northern armies of Russia, and General Gurko, ex-commander on the Russian southwestern front, were summoned to Petrograd. The retirement of General Ruszky from command of the armies of the north and of General Gurko from a group in the south had involved the same principle, but from different points of view—interference with the Provisional Government by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.

Pro-German Agitators Censured

As further evidence of the return of reason the Executive Committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates adopted by an overwhelming majority (300 to 11) a resolution censuring Lenine and his associate, Zinovieff, and demanding that the Radical leaders be tried. The resolution contains the following recommendations:

First—The whole revolutionary democracy desires that the group of Maximalists accused of having organized disorders or incited revolts or of having received money from German sources should be tried publicly. In consequence, the Executive Committee considers it absolutely inadmissible that Lenine and Zinovieff should escape justice, and demands that the Maximalist faction immediately and categorically express its censure of the conduct of its leaders.

Second—In view of the exceptional situation, the committees of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates demand from all their members and from all factions of which they are composed, as well as from all members of local councils, the putting into absolute practice of all decisions adopted by the majority of the central organizations.

It was disclosed on July 31 that the crisis in Russia earlier in the month had been the work of radicals like Lenine working under German direction and financed by Germans. A whole day before the news of the crisis in Petrograd reached the army Lenine's agents were acquainted with it through traitors in the wireless service. They spread a report among the troops that the Maximalists were in control of the Government and that the war was at an end, hence the army became demoralized and the German advance was practically unopposed.

On Aug. 2 it was announced that General Alexis A. Brusiloff, Commander in Chief of the Russian Armies, had resigned. General L. G. Korniloff, Commander in Chief of the Russian armies on the southwestern front, was appointed Generalissimo. General Tcheremissoff, commander of the Eighth Army, was appointed to succeed General Korniloff on the southwestern front.

Cabinet Reorganization

The Cabinet was disrupted on Aug. 3 by charges made against M. Tchernoff, the Socialist Minister of Agriculture, whose resignation was demanded by Kerensky and his fellow-Ministers. Kerensky then undertook the difficult task of organizing a coalition Cabinet, and was at length successful. The new Cabinet was announced Aug. 7. Only three of the original Ministers survived: Kerensky, who was originally Minister of Justice; Terestchenko, Minister of Finance, and Nekrasoff, First Minister of Communications. In addition these four Ministers were included from the first Kerensky Cabinet of July 24: Tchernoff resumed his portfolio of Agriculture; Pieschehonoff, that of Supplies; Yefremoff, that of Justice, and Skobeleff, that of Labor.

Four of the most prominent Parliamentary Socialists—Kerensky, Skobeleff, Tchernoff, and Pieschehonoff—were retained, while extreme radicals, whether Socialists or not, were dropped. Tseretelli, who was the famous obstructionist leader of the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, in the Department of Posts and Telegraphs, gave way to M. Nikitine, a Social Democrat.

A feature of the new Cabinet was the appearance of representatives of the "bourgeoisie" class, who so long held aloof and who appeared as Constitutional Democrats—M. Oldenburg of the Academy of Sciences, M. Astroff, Mayor of Moscow; M. Kartasheff, who succeeded Nicholas Lvoff as Prosecutor of the Holy Synod, and Golovine, who succeeded Godneff as Controller of State.

There were four Parliamentary Socialists and one Social Democrat facing four representatives of the new Constitutional Democracy, which also had the support of the non-Socialists who came over from the late Cabinet—Terestchenko, Nekrasoff, Yefremoff, and Prekopovitch—who swing the balance of power.

Conditions began to show improvement from this time forth. On Aug. 11 the Government showed confidence by announcing that commissions would be appointed in connection with the establishment of iron discipline in the army. The Government also prohibited the further holding of all meetings or congresses which they regard as dangerous from a military viewpoint or as menacing the security of the State.

Colonel Kolotkoff's Report

Causes of the military collapse were set forth Aug. 10, in a report by Colonel Kolotkoff to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, who placed the responsibility on the former policemen, gendarmes, and spies of Emperor Nicholas at the front.

Until the end of June, says Colonel Kolotkoff, the army on the west front was in excellent fighting trim technically, and was beyond criticism as regards supplies. There was an admirable plan to advance, which would probably have led to the reconquest of Vilna, but the police, gendarmes, and spies of the autocracy started a counter-revolutionary campaign, the first aim of which was the dissolution of the army.

Large numbers managed to get elected to company committees, and started a propaganda against war, inciting soldiers against officers and the Provisional Government's commissaries. Later they distilled vodka, and on the advance dosed soldiers therewith. Criminal convicts, who were sent to the army as were deserters, demoralized the soldiers by their example.

The Germans took advantage of these conditions and flooded the Russian trenches with spies in Russian uniforms, finding this easy because many Russian soldiers at the front do not carry documents of identity. Many of these Germans spoke Russian so well that they sat at the officers' mess without exciting suspicion. The spies organized fraternization. Soldiers born in provinces occupied by the enemy were allowed to visit their homes, and after a short absence returned to the trenches completely Germanized in sentiment.

The result was that as the attempt was started to recover Vilna many soldiers refused to participate in the attack. How good was Russia's chance, says Colonel Kolotkoff, is proved by the fact that weakened Germans often ran away, and the strange spectacle of Russians flying from fleeing Germans was sometimes seen. The Germans realized the situation first, and having an iron discipline were able to turn the Russian collapse to advantage.

Return of the Root Mission

The Root Mission returned from Russia early in August, and reported to Washington Aug. 12. On that day, at a public reception given by the citizens of New York, Senator Root, head of the mission, expressed supreme confidence in the stability of the revolution. He spoke as follows:

> The extraordinary ease with which the Czar's Government was removed was due not merely to the fact that it was an autocracy, but also to the fact that it did not govern efficiently; it was not up to the job; it had allowed Russia to drift into a position where there was vast confusion and they were on the verge of bankruptcy, and the Government had become, practically, merely a Government of suppression, a Government of negatives that ceased to lead the people, so that the Czar and the bureaucracy were slipped off as easily as a crab sheds its hard shell when the proper time comes.
>
> Now, into that state of affairs there came intervention by that malevolent power which is intermeddling with the affairs of every nation upon earth, stirring up discord, stimulating, feeding, financing all the forces of evil—doing it here among us now—that power that finds its account in alliance with all evil passions, all the sordid impulses of humanity in every nation in the world, entered into Russia. Thousands of agents poured over the border immediately upon the revolution.
>
> Notwithstanding all this, in a country with no Central Government that had power to enforce its decrees, in a country with no police, a country in which the sanction and moral obligation of the

laws had disappeared with the disappearance of the Czar, there reigned order to a higher degree than has existed in the United States of America during this period.

People's Wonderful Stability

In the first enthusiasm for freedom in the liberation of political prisoners a great many ordinary criminal prisoners were also released, and they went about and committed some depredations, which, of course, all found their way into the newspapers, but even with that the general average of peace and order, of respect for property and life in Russia was higher than could reasonably be expected from any 180,000,000 people in the world under any Government.

Now, that extraordinary phenomenon called for a study, a careful study, not merely from the newspapers or from talking with Government officials, but by countless serious interviews and conversations with men of all grades and stripes and callings and conditions of life, and those studies satisfied all the members of this mission that the Russian people possessed to a very high degree qualities that are necessary for successful self-government. They have self-control equaled in few countries of the world. They have persistency of purpose; they have a most kindly and ingrained respect—not only respect, regard for the rights of others. They will not willingly do an injustice to any one, and that sense of justice carries with it a broad character. They have a noble idealism which is developed and exhibited in the minds that are enlarged by education, and they have a strong sense of the mission of liberty in the world, and they have an extraordinary capacity for concerted action.

If their character is unequal to the task, all the aid of all the great countries in the world cannot give them their freedom. Freedom must find its foundation, its sure foundation, within the people themselves, and we think the Russians have that sure foundation. * * *

No one can tell what the outcome will be, but this is certain, that Russia, tired of the war, worn and harried by war; Russia, which has lost 7,000,000 of her sons, every village in mourning, every family bereaved, Russia has again taken up the heavy burden; she has restored the discipline of her army; she has put away the bright vision of peace and rest, and returned yet again to the sacrifice and the suffering of war in order that she might continue free.

Former Emperor Nicholas and his family were removed Aug. 15 from the palace at Tsarskoe Selo to Tobolsk, Siberia. The official announcement, not issued until the 19th, was as follows:

> Owing to reasons of State, the Government decided to transfer to a new residence the ex-Emperor and ex-Empress, who are detained under guard. The place selected was Tobolsk, where they were taken after requisite measures to insure their safety. With them went of their own free will their children and certain of their entourage.

Former Czar an Exile

Nicholas was very depressed in appearance, but the former Empress, Alexandra, who was seen walking for the first time in months, seemed pleased at the prospect of a change in surroundings.

An hour after the train arrived Nicholas appeared on the steps of the palace, dressed in a Colonel's uniform, with a khaki blouse and with no decorations. Without lifting his eyes from the ground he entered an automobile, accompanied by Prince Dolgoroukoff and Count Benckendorff, former Court Marshal, who thus far have shared the captivity of the fallen ruler. They were followed by the former Empress Alexandra, who was accompanied by Countess Naryshken, her close friend and former Lady of the Court; all the four Grand Duchesses, with their maids of honor, and finally by Alexis, the former heir to the throne, at whose side was the gigantic sailor, "Derevenko," the protector of Alexis since his birth, and his constant companion and playmate.

Tobolsk is a remote town of 20,000 inhabitants in Western Siberia, far from the railroad, and visited only by steamers which ply the Irtish River. In former times it was an administrative centre for exiles banished to Siberia by the Russian rulers. The climate is extremely severe in Winter. Tobolsk recently achieved a dubious publicity in revolutionary Russia as the birthplace of Gregory Rasputin, the mystic monk, who wielded a remarkable influence over the ex-Emperor's family up to the time of the priest's assassination in Petrograd last December.

The Finnish Diet, under the influence of Swedish members, on July 19 adopted a bill refusing longer to recognize any rights of Russia in Finnish affairs. The

Provisional Government of Russia on July 25 refused to acknowledge the validity of this measure. On Aug. 4 the Finnish Senate by a vote of 7 to 6 adopted a resolution declaring the action in proclaiming independence a mistake, and asserting that the Provisional Government was the legitimate organ of control. This action, however, was not approved by the Deputies of the Landtag, and serious disorders arose, resulting in clashes between the Russian authorities and the independents, in which a number of Finns were killed and wounded.

The Ukraine National Assembly, which has declared for autonomy, includes in the request the following States to be incorporated into the new Government: Kiev, Poltava, Podolia, Volhynia, Tchernikov, Khargov, Ekaterinaslav, Kherson, Taurida, and Bessarabia.

The Russian Government is disposed to grant autonomy to all these districts except Bessarabia, where the Ukraine population is only 19 per cent., and a plébiscite will be held in that territory to determine the will of the majority.

Paris Conference on Balkan Affairs

A CONFERENCE of allied diplomats and military leaders held at Paris to examine into the situation in the Balkan Peninsula adjourned its last sitting on July 26, 1917. Before separating, the members unanimously passed the following resolution:

> The allied powers, more closely allied and more closely united than ever before in defense of the rights of nations, especially those of the Balkan Peninsula, are determined only to lay down arms when they have reached the goal which in their eyes is more important than all others, that is, to render impossible any return in the future of acts of criminal aggression such as those for which the autocracy of the Central Empires has been responsible.

The conference reached an agreement concerning the Greek territories at present in military occupation. Great Britain, France, and Italy agreed to cease simultaneously, as soon as possible, the military occupation they were obliged to undertake of territory in Old Greece, Thessaly, and Epirus. The occupation of the triangle formed by the Santi Quaranta road, the frontier, and Epirus will be continued provisionally, in view of the maintenance of order, pending an arrangement between Italy and Greece regarding the re-establishment of civil administration under the authority of a Greek Commissioner.

Great Britain, France, and Italy will retain for the period of the war the naval and military base at Corfu, which will remain under Greek sovereignty.

Representatives of all the allied countries had been invited to this conference. The decisions adopted were unanimously confirmed, and a conference of the Ministers of Departments concerned met shortly afterward in London to arrange measures for their execution.

The Socialists in the War

Their Pacifist Activities

DURING the last month the Socialists of various countries have caused a great deal of discussion on account of their attempt to hold an international conference at which terms of peace were to be formulated. As the Socialists include active pacifist elements in all countries and have become a focus of whatever strength there is in any general movement for peace, it is important to review their activities since the beginning of the war, and to grasp their point of view. Although the action of the British, French, Italian, and American Governments in refusing passports to delegates has virtually broken up the proposed Stockholm Conference, certain elements of socialism continue their agitation for such a conference, and are profiting by whatever discontent and weariness the war is producing.

Before the outbreak of the war at the beginning of August, 1914, the European Socialists had organized a revived "International," which borrowed the name and principles of an organization several decades earlier, and the purpose of which was to make war impossible by organizing general strikes in the different countries of Europe. It is of historic interest that this scheme of universal strikes was largely developed by Aristide Briand, France's great war Premier, in his earlier Socialist days.

When the war began the Parliamentary strength of the Socialists in Europe was as follows: In the German Reichstag there were about 100 Socialist members, of a total of 397; but the Socialists represented 4,250,399 votes out of 12,260,731 who actually voted; that is, considerably more than one-third, while they had only about a fourth of the Reichstag membership. But as under the German Constitution the Reichstag has no voice in the question of war or peace, these Socialist members had no opportunity at all to declare themselves on the question of the invasion of Belgium and France.

In the French Chamber of Deputies, of a total of 602 members there were, at the beginning of the war, 102 organized Socialists and 30 independent Socialists. In the Russian Duma, elected in 1912, with a total of 383 members, there were 12 Social Democrats and 11 Labor members, but the Socialist Party was strong in the manufacturing centres. In the Italian Chamber of Deputies, elected in 1913, with 508 members, there were 80 Socialists. There were also a few Socialists in the British House of Commons.

When German armies invaded France the Socialist members of the French Chamber of Deputies frankly deserted the International and supported the Ministry, of which M. René Viviani, who afterward visited the United States, was then the head. Socialist Ministers like M. Albert Thomas, Minister of Munitions, were among the ablest members of the successive French War Ministries under Viviani, Briand, and Ribot.

Views of Various Leaders

In Germany Dr. Karl Liebknecht, at one time leader of the powerful Socialist Party, was the only member of the Socialist faction to vote against the war credits demanded by the Imperial Chancellor, Dr. Bethmann Hollweg. In the Tagwacht, published at Berne, in German Switzerland, Dr. Liebknecht wrote: "It is painful to write at a time when "the radiant hope of former days, the "Social International, lies smashed amid "its thousand expectations; when even "many Socialists of the belligerent coun-"tries of this most rapacious war will-"ingly put on the yoke of imperialism." Dr. Liebknecht was severely rebuked by the German Socialist Party for violating the policies of their Reichstag caucus. He aroused the enmity of the Imperial Government by declaring that "this war was

begun by a lie and is carried on by lies"; and he was finally prosecuted, condemned, and sentenced to a long prison term on a charge of treason.

The Russian Socialist organ, Sovremenny Mir (the Contemporary World,) declared that "the present war is caused "by the vital interests of capitalist na- "tions; it is the inevitable way of solv- "ing international conflicts in a bour- "geois society. Russia's participation "in this war is necessitated by the vital "interests of the country, the impera- "tive demands of its capitalistic develop- "ment, and its social economic prog- "ress."

An International Congress of Socialists was planned to meet at The Hague, Holland, in July, 1915; but M. Vandervelde, the Belgian Socialist leader, refused pointblank to take part in it, as this would have involved meeting German Socialists. The French Socialists also refused to attend.

On July 27, 1916, the National Committee of the American Socialist Party began the preparation of a party platform, to be adopted by a mail referendum vote, and containing the following among other planks:

> That all laws for the increase of the army and navy be repealed.
>
> That power be taken from the President to lead the nation into war * * * that no war be declared or waged without a referendum vote of the people, except for the purpose of repelling invasion.
>
> That the Monroe Doctrine be abandoned.

On July 31, 1916, an International Socialist Conference of six neutral nations —the United States, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Argentina, Holland—was held, at which the Dutch Socialist leader, Pieter Jelles Troelstra, presided. Resolutions were passed demanding the re-establishment of the independence of Belgium and Poland and a democratic federal union of the Balkan States; an economic war after the war was condemned, and protests were recorded against the sentences of Dr. Liebknecht and others.

On Aug. 7, 1916, the National Council of French Socialists, assembled at Paris, voted by 1,824 to 1,075 votes to sever international relations with the German Socialists.

Socialist Split in Germany

On Jan. 13, 1916, the German Socialist caucus censured Dr. Liebknecht for his opposition to the war policy of the Imperial German Government. On March 24, 1916, eighteen of the Socialist members of the Reichstag broke away from their comrades and founded an independent Socialist group, with the title of the Social Democratic Labor Union. Under the leadership of Philip Scheidemann, eighty-nine Socialist members of the Reichstag continued to support the Imperial war policy and to vote war credits.

On Oct. 11, 1916, speaking in the Reichstag, Scheidemann said: "We de- "clare openly and clearly that the na- "tion wants peace. * * *" Hugo Haase, leader of the dissenting minority of eighteen Socialists, said: "Millions "are looking to the Reichstag for a "glimmer of peace. * * * Our dream "of domination in this war will never "be realized. An agreement must be "sought without hesitation in order to "save the people from the worst. * * *"

These speeches were followed by Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg's "peace gestures" on Nov. 9 and Nov. 30, 1916.

On March 1, 1917, the British Socialists, refusing an invitation to a Socialist conference, voted that "the weakness "of the German Social Democratic Party, "whose leaders, despite pledges made in "Paris and Brussels, vigorously support- "ed the Junker and capitalist army of "aggressive militarism, destroyed at a "blow all the mutual international con- "fidence between the Socialists of all "nations."

The Russian Revolution

On March 15, 1917, Nicholas II. signed an act of abdication for himself and his son, the Grand Duke Alexis, and named his brother Michael as his successor. The Grand Duke Michael refused to accept this nomination until it should be evident that such was the will of the Russian people.

A Provisional Government, under the Presidency of Prince George E. Lvoff, was then formed of leaders of the Lib-

eral and Socialist Parties in the Duma, Paul Milukoff, Michael Rodzianko, Alexander Gutchkoff and Alexander Kerensky being the most prominent.

The Provisional Government, however, found itself opposed at every step by the Socialist Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, with Nicholas Tscheidze, a native of Georgia in the Caucasus, at its head. This council claimed to represent revolutionary Russia and, as such, to dictate all policies of the Provisional Government. It issued two orders to the army, calling on each unit (company, battalion, regiment, brigade, division and corps) to form a deliberative council to decide all questions and to answer for the discipline of that unit. Army units were also invited to elect their own officers, but it was later said that this should apply only to the regiments in Petrograd and Moscow that had helped to bring about the revolution. Gutchkoff, the Minister of War, accepted the measure thus dictated by the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, embodied it in a Ministerial order and distributed it to all sections of the Russian Army.

This order at once destroyed the authority of the officers and dislocated the discipline of the Russian armies. It caused an immediate and forceful protest from the highest and best-known Generals, with General Brusiloff at their head, with the result that Gutchkoff was forced to resign, Alexander Kerensky taking his place as War Minister and declaring that he intended to introduce iron discipline once more into the army.

The continual pressure of the Socialist Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, with violent demonstrations organized by Socialists in the streets of Petrograd, made the work of the Provisional Government almost impossible, with the result that first Paul Milukoff, and later Prince Lvoff, Rodzianko, and all the Duma leaders were forced out of the Provisional Government, which became almost completely Socialistic.

Immediately after the revolution the Provisional Government issued orders liberating all political exiles in Siberia and inviting all those who had left Russia for political reasons under the imperial rule to return. Bands of exiles at once began to stream toward Petrograd from Siberia, from the United States, and from Switzerland. The Imperial German Government did everything to facilitate the return of certain of these Russian exiles who had been living at Berne and elsewhere in German Switzerland, providing them with passports, and expediting their passage through Germany, although they were citizens of a country then at war with Germany. Two conspicuous members of this German-Swiss group were Nikolai Lenin and Chernoff, later a member of the Ministry.

The arrival of certain of these Russian Socialists, whose return had thus been facilitated by Germany, was the signal for violent disturbances and anarchistic outbreaks at Petrograd and elsewhere. The garrison of Schluesselburg, and later the garrison of the great naval base at Kronstadt, in the Neva River below Petrograd, declared themselves indpendent republics and refused, for some time, to recognize the authority of the Provisional Government.

Nikolai Lenin organized demonstrations of armed anarchists and Socialists in the streets of Petrograd, denounced the Provisional Government, threatened, and even attempted, to kidnap members of the Ministry, and did everything that was possible to bring Russia to ruin and confusion.

When he was at the height of his power, he delivered before the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates a violent address, urging Russia to conclude a separate peace with Germany, "without annexation or indemnity." This was on June 22. When this harangue was concluded, M. Veirensky—according to a special cable from Ambassador Francis, representative of the United States at Petrograd—announced that he would repeat Lenin's speech, and proceeded to read a document almost identical with it. When M. Veirensky had concluded, he announced that he had been reading an intercepted radiogram from Germany, signed by Prince Leopold of Bavaria, German commander on the Russian front. A few days later Gen-

eral Brusiloff announced, through an officer of his staff, that he had conclusive evidence that Lenin was the agent in Russia of the German General Staff. Other members of the Socialist group who returned through Germany were implicated; it was announced that one of them had to his credit a sum of 2,000,000 rubles, to be used as a German corruption fund. It was further said that large sums of gold had been withdrawn from the German Reichsbank, to be used for corruption work in Russia. There were further anarchist and Socialist extremist plots in Petrograd, leading to street fighting, during which Lenin disappeared, fleeing, it was said, to Finland and thence, through Sweden, back to Germany.

Disastrous Military Results

On July 1 the Russian Army began an offensive in Galicia, under the personal leadership of General Korniloff. At first he carried everything before him, capturing Halicz and sweeping forward close to Dolina in the Carpathian foothills. Then, under very slight Austro-German pressure, the Russian armies immediately to the north and south of Korniloff's army broke and ran. This action, which was directly traced to the orders subversive of discipline, emanating from the Socialist Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, began a disastrous retreat which, by the first week in August, had practically lost the whole of Galicia, threatened Moldavia, and gravely menaced Russian Bessarabia and even the great seaport of Odessa.

The Socialist Council had already driven every conspicuous member of the Duma Provisional Government to resign. It had further undertaken to bring pressure on all the Entente Powers to revise their war aims in conformity with the Socialist formula, "peace without annexation or indemnity," which had been indorsed by the German commander, Prince Leopold of Bavaria, and which had been cordially indorsed by Field Marshal Hindenburg in another radiogram to the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates.*

* See THE NEW YORK TIMES, June 8, 1917.

The Stockholm Conference

The German majority Socialists in the Reichstag, 89 in number, under the leadership of Philip Scheidemann, had, as we saw, accepted the imperial war program of the Chancellor, which was attacked by the minority group under the leadership of Hugo Haase. Shortly after the split, which took place nine days after the abdication of Nicholas II., it was openly said that Scheidemann was cordially co-operating with the Chancellor in his effort to bring about the peace which was desired by Germany, the peace supported by the Chancellor in his Reichstag speeches of Nov. 9 and Nov. 30, 1916.

A plan for an International Conference of Socialists, to meet at Stockholm, to discuss the basis of peace, came to the front in the following months, and was warmly accepted by the Petrograd Socialist Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. The proposed Stockholm Conference at once became an international storm centre. On the one hand, it was said by Socialists that to refuse to take part in this conference would be to offend the Socialist Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates at Petrograd and, perhaps, might drive the Council and the new Russia into the arms of Germany. On the other hand, it was said that this conference, at which the German Government would be represented by Philip Scheidemann, was nothing but a German stratagem to bring about "a German peace."

The Stockholm Conference was several times postponed. English Socialists and Labor groups elected delegates, but the British Seamen's Union absolutely refused to navigate any ship that carried them, so that they were unable to sail.

Opinion in France was divided. There was a decided unwillingness to meet German Socialists at Stockholm; but there was an almost equal reluctance to allow the Russian Socialists to meet their German "comrades" with no Entente Socialists present to counsel and safeguard them.

The State Department of the United States more than once refused to issue

passports to delegates chosen by the Socialist Party of the United States.

American Socialist Party

Meeting at St. Louis on April 14, delegates of the Socialist Party of the United States addressed this open letter to "the Socialists of the Belligerent Countries":

Comrades: Now that the people of the United States have been forced by their ruling class into this world cataclysm, as you have been heretofore by your own rulers, we, the Socialists of the United States, feel it our right and duty to address you on this most momentous subject.

We wish to say at the outset that the workers of this country have no enmity toward the workers of Germany, and that we, the Socialists of the United States, feel that the great affliction now shared in common by the workers of the United States and Germany should, and we hope that it will, strengthen that consciousness of a common brotherhood between them which will ultimately bring about peace between these two countries, and a general world peace with it.

We also wish to convey to you our firm determination, and we pledge ourselves to do our duty and make the sacrifice which may be necessary, to force our masters to conclude a speedy peace, and we hope and expect that, whatever may have been the policies which some of you may have followed in the past, you will henceforth adopt rigorous measures to force your masters to the same course of action.

We therefore call upon you to join hands with us so that all of us may use all the means at our disposal in a common effort to bring about a general peace which will be just and lasting, without indemnities, and without any forcible annexations of territory by any of the belligerents, whether avowed or sought to be hidden by some less offensive term that may be invented for the purpose; so that no nation may be deprived of any part of its liberty or made in any way dependent, politically or economically, upon any other nation; and that no change of territory shall take place without the consent of its inhabitants, freely and unmistakably expressed.

Down with war! Down with misery and hunger and mass murder, must be the war cry of the proletariat. Long live peace! Long live the brotherhood of nations and the solidarity of the proletariat!

British Labor and Stockholm

On Aug. 11 a conference of the British Labor Party was held at Westminster, to vote on the question of sending delegates to the postponed Socialist Conference at Stockholm.

James Ramsay Macdonald, Socialist Member of Parliament, made a vigorous plea to the delegates to "bury the past, "go to Stockholm, lay your case before "the conference, hear the other side dis- "cuss matters generally, and return with "the basis of peace in your pockets."

Arthur Henderson, Minister without portfolio, urged the sending of delegates to Stockholm for consultation, but not to discuss peace terms.

G. N. Barnes, Minister of Pensions, spoke against attending a conference at which delegates from enemy countries would be present, saying that the United States, Belgium, France, and Italy were not sending delegates. George Henry Roberts, Labor Member of Parliament, made a strong fighting speech against delegates going to Stockholm. When a vote was taken, it was found that votes representing 1,046,000 members had been cast in favor of sending delegates to Stockholm, to a consultative conference, with 550,000 votes against this.

On Aug. 11 it was also announced that Alexander Kerensky, Premier of Russia, had declared that the sending of Russian delegates to the Stockholm Conference was against the best interests of Russia. Arthur Henderson was strongly criticised for concealing this fact from the members of the Labor Conference, which had voted to send delegates to Stockholm largely because this was believed to be the desire of Russia. Arthur Henderson's resignation from the British War Cabinet was demanded.

On Aug. 13 Andrew Bonar Law, the Government spokesman in the House of Commons, announced that the Government had decided not to grant permission to the British delegates to go to the Stockholm Conference. He added that the same decision had been made by the United States, France, and Italy.

American Federation of Labor

Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, on Aug. 3 cabled as follows to W. A. Appleton, Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions, and M. Jouhaux, Secretary of the French Fédération Générale du

Travail, in answer to their inquiry as to whether American labor intended to be represented at the Stockholm Conference:

Jouhaux having asked my opinion upon a conference of labor representatives of all countries, I am replying as follows:

In responding to your request for my opinion of an invitation to a conference of labor organizations of all countries, without hesitation I answer that such a conference cannot at this time or in the near future be productive of good, and as far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned it will not send representatives. New and more favorable results must develop before a conference of labor of all countries can advantageously be held.

Mr. Gompers on Aug. 13 attacked the Workmen's Council, a branch of the People's Council of America, which declared it represented American labor in an effort to foster a peace movement. He wrote:

It has been the constant claim of the People's Council that it represented labor. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is true that there are some few local unions affiliated with the People's Council, but when it is considered that there are about 15,000 local unions in America it will be seen that even a half hundred that may be affiliated with the People's Council is an insignificant number.

The American labor movement as a body is loyal to America and steadfast in its determination to help secure victory for this country and the cause of democracy. In pursuing this course it must be recognized that it is necessary for the labor movement to take steps from time to time to preserve working standards. This, as a matter of fact, is necessary to the most effective conduct of the war. It has nothing to do with those anti-American, pro-Kaiserist activities of which the People's Council is the promoter, and is, in fact, exactly in opposition to them.

It is our purpose to try, by educational methods, to bring about a more American spirit in the labor movement, so that what is now the clear expression of the vast majority may become the conviction of all. Where we find ignorance, we shall educate; where we find something worse, we shall have to deal as the situation demands. But we are going to leave no stone unturned to put a stop to anti-American activities among workers.

The American Federation of Labor is the organized labor movement of America. There is no other. Its position is clear. It is loyal. It was so expressed in the manifesto issued at the Washington Conference of March 12, and there has been no change since. No other organization can express the wishes of the American labor movement, and the pretenses of the so-called People's Council in that direction are nothing short of ridiculous.

The People's Council is an organization that is for the most part evidently alien in membership—so far as it has membership—led by men who have never been known as labor men, though some of them have made frantic claims to having been labor men for various reasons. Money evidently is plentiful, and the work of undoing America proceeds merrily. American labor must denounce any such movement, and any such foreign propaganda. I suggest that the methods of the organization are entirely German in character and that undoubtedly the Kaiser is greatly cheered by the reports he gets of the People's Council activities. We shall do our best to put an end to operations of that kind.

The French Socialists

The French Socialist Party decided on Aug. 12 to send delegates to Stockholm. Two days later it was announced that the French Government would refuse to issue passports to such delegates. The official declaration of the party, in announcing its action, was as follows:

The (Socialist) party does not go to Stockholm in search of a peace of compromise which would leave the fate of the peoples in suspense and at the mercy of fresh wars. It goes to declare that respect for the peoples' right, respect for treaties, and an engagement henceforth to submit every possible conflict to the justice of nations, can alone constitute an acceptable peace.

It goes to ask Socialists—all Socialists—whether they condemn the Governments responsible for violations committed at the outbreak of the war, and if, after pronouncing such condemnations, the Socialists—all Socialists—will take action against the Governments in order to shorten the war by saving the honor and lives of the people.

It goes to demand that the Governments which still refuse should be obliged by Socialist action to make known their war aims and whether they are prepared to make reparations in accordance with the rights of the peoples, and to declare publicly if they still intend using the war map as a means of reaching peace.

It goes to demand whether the Socialists who persist in giving moral and material aid to the guilty Governments can still remain members of the Internationale, and whether the Internationale will not recognize as its own only those who, by denouncing those responsible, show thereby that they are resolute to accomplish acts which will give life to the Internationale,

while at the same time they will conduct the peoples toward a beneficent peace.

The Stockholm Conference, which had been called for Aug. 15, could no longer claim international representation when the leading Entente Governments refused passports to the delegates, and thenceforth ceased to occupy public attention.

Peace Program of Belgian Socialists

M. Vandervelde's Manifesto

The attempts of the International Socialists to hold a peace convention at Stockholm in the early Summer of 1917 proved abortive, though the movement at length received the sanction of the Petrograd Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, which issued a call embodying the catch-phrase, "No indemnities, no annexations." The one noteworthy result of this action—up to the middle of August—is found in the striking document issued July 5 by the Belgian delegates, M. Vandervelde and M. de Brouckère, through the medium of the Dutch-Scandianavian Committee at Stockholm. It is a manifesto addressed primarily to the Russian leaders, and tells exactly what Belgian Socialists think on the subject of "No indemnities, no annexations." It is here placed on record in a condensed English translation as one of the historic utterances of the war.

THE war appears to us to be less a war between peoples than a struggle, probably decisive, between two political principles. It is in this sense that it has been justly called civil war within the society of nations. The Russian revolution and the entry of the United States have had the effect of ranging on one side all the free nations, that is to say, those who have already effected their democratic revolution, and, on the other hand—almost entirely isolated—the last three semi-feudal, semi-absolute powers—namely, the Empire of the German Emperor, that of the Sovereign of Austria-Hungary, and that of the Grand Turk.

In the deliberate execution of a long-cherished project, these powers have let loose war on the most villainous pretexts and for the most wretched of causes. Imperialism has been able to carry out its plan, thanks to a popular passivity which would have been inconceivable in any other country. Attack and invasion have placed upon us the burden of the most crushing of tyrannies—the German military tyranny, whose object, as defined by Bismarck, is to leave a people only their eyes with which to weep.

Belgian socialism has not for one moment believed that it ought to bow before external oppression when our villages were burned, our women insulted, and our dearly acquired liberties brutally oppressed. It has not admitted that it was "a simple bourgeois quarrel, which ought to leave the proletariat indifferent." If it had abandoned the struggle under the pretense that the soldiers of William II. were too numerous and his guns too powerful, it would have been dishonored in its own eyes. It has never reckoned cowardice among revolutionary virtues.

Defense against aggressive imperialism implies for us something more than the mere repulse of the invader. The destruction of German imperialism might have been the business of the Germans alone, if their imperialism had stayed at home. But it crossed our frontiers, and we want to break the power of our tyrant. Our desire is as legitimate as that of the Russians, who have broken the power of their tyrant; and the fact that our tyrant is enthroned at Berlin is not sufficient reason for changing our opinion.

We cannot conceive any possible lasting peace if Hohenzollern and Hapsburg retain their powers. The greatest present danger is that of seeing free countries accept a precarious peace. We could not lend ourselves to this without betraying our deepest convictions as Socialists.

We adhere to the Petrograd formula of "no annexations and no indemnities." But refusal of "annexations" does not imply maintenance of the territorial status quo. If, in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, Alsace-Lor-

raine were restored to France we should not consider it an "annexation," but a "disannexation." In the same way the unification of Poland and the completion of Italian and Serbian unity, as desired by the peoples concerned, would not be "annexations." Near Stavelot there are Walloon villages which appear to desire once more to become Belgian. The peace treaty might accept their aspirations. This, too, would apply to Luxemburg, with its 200,000 inhabitants, if it should consider that a return to Belgium, from whom it was separated in 1839, would be to its advantage.

While we repudiate the exaction of "indemnities" such as Bismarck in 1871 levied on France and such as Germany is continually imposing on occupied Belgium, we could not recognize a peace that sanctioned the exactions of the invader. For Belgium this question is vital.

The Germans have by menaces, compulsion, and violence exacted from our towns many millions of pounds in cash. Since the occupation they have levied monthly for the needs of the army a contribution of $10,000,000, and for some time past have raised the sum to $12,000,000. They have levied several hundred millions in foodstuffs, in kind, and in raw materials and machinery. In the interest of military operations they have done countless deeds of destruction, and, in many cases, simply in order to terrorize the population and to gain future economic advantage by suppressing an embarrassing competitor.

The Belgian Nation will have to indemnify the victims of these acts of violence, and this charge upon it must be added to all those we have just enumerated. Would it not be the height of iniquity to make the victim bear this burden at the risk of seeing him succumb under the weight of peace? Does not justice demand reparation from those guilty of outrage in so far as the outrage may be reparable?

On Aug. 4, 1914, the German Chancellor acknowledged in the Reichstag that Germany was violating the rights of Belgium and owed her reparation. We are firmly convinced that the Russian democracy will not be less solicitous than was the representative of the Kaiser of the clear rights of an oppressed nation.

As for the "right of nations to dispose of their own destinies," it would be as tyrannous to keep by force in Austria-Hungary populations like those of Bohemia, Transylvania, or Bosnia, which aspire to other national destinies, as it would be to attach Belgium by force to the German Empire. Indeed, we could hardly describe Germany as free, in this sense, so long as the semi-absolutism of the Hohenzollerns endures. We consider that a democratic Constitution for Germany is not only a right to which the Germans are entitled, but that it is also a condition upon the fulfillment of which other nations are entitled to make their adhesion to a general peace depend. A treaty guaranteed only by an Emperor who is accustomed to hold his word cheap would be merely another scrap of paper.

We do not, of course, refuse to meet the Germans; but what we decline is to associate ourselves with German Socialist supporters of the imperialism of the Emperor William and of the Emperor Charles. We should not object to concerted action with those in the Central Empires who oppose a policy of aggression and of conquest, and who in effect pursue the same end as we ourselves. We should not decline to meet the German majority Socialists if they renounced the error of their present ways, and took an open and manly part against their Emperors. But, pending such action on their part, we should regard a meeting with them as not only useless but dangerous to the international democratic cause —dangerous, since it would tend to accredit the illusion that a just and lasting peace is possible before aggressive imperialism has been destroyed; and because the maintenance of false hopes of an impending equitable solution relaxes effort and strengthens the current that is carrying the weak-willed toward a peace at any price.

This is why, following the example of the French and British representatives, we urged that admission to the proposed conference should be conditional upon frank adhesion to an anti-imperialist program.

German Socialism and World War

By Richard Dobson

GERMAN Social Democracy began with Ferdinand Lassalle, who, in 1844, went to Paris, and there came under the influence of French socialism. In 1848 he worked on the staff of Karl Marx's Neue Rhenische Zeitung. He took an active part in revolutionary social agitation, and during the reactionary period devoted his time and tenacity to scientific social research.

German socialism in the middle of the nineteenth century was an academic theory, which appealed largely to college-bred, middle-class people, with quite a large sprinkling of workingmen. Lassalle converted this academic theory of socialism into practical social democracy. His brilliancy as an orator, coupled with his acumen and learning, enabled him to make a series of propagandic tours that proved to be personal as well as national triumphs.

Lassalle organized the Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein, or General Labor Union of Germany, of which he was the first President. The aims of the union were to secure manhood suffrage for the election of members of the popular branch of the Federal Parliament. Seven years later Lassallener and Eisenacher, social warring factions, came to a common peace, and thus became the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

The Socialists of France, of Russia, of Italy, and of Great Britain ascribe to the Social Democracy of Germany much of the blame for the war that is now devastating Europe and paralyzing the world. They were astonished and bewildered at the action of Germany's great democratic party in that ominous month of August, 1914. Only eight days before the war broke out the German Socialists denounced Austria as a world disturber when she sent her impossible ultimatum to Serbia. And then this same German Socialist Party, after eight days had passed, voted unanimously in favor of the German war credit through its 110 members in the Reichstag! The reason given by these Deputies was that they were supporting the defense of Germany against a conspiracy of the nations of Europe, instigated and abetted by Great Britain. There was not a word of complaint from the German Social Democracy when the Imperial Chancellor, at the same Reichstag sitting, announced that the German Army had already invaded Belgium, a somewhat singular beginning for a country on the defensive and fighting for its existence.

In a secret conference of the German Social Democrats held the day before the regular sitting of the Reichstag, fourteen members had voted against supporting the war credit. Herr Haase, one of the fourteen, had actually been chosen to be their spokesman before the assembled Reichstag. Later Herr Haase confessed that party discipline forced him to betray his conscience.

Split on War Credit

On Dec. 2, 1914, the Socialist members opposed to the second war credit had increased from fourteen to seventeen. On this occasion Dr. Liebknecht voted against the war credit. In March, 1915, thirty-two Socialist members of the Reichstag voted against the so-called War of Defense. In the Neue Zeit, Karl Kautzky was busy expounding the right of the minority to independent action. The following declaration was made by Herr Geyer in the Reichstag on Dec. 21, 1915:

> For myself, and in behalf of nineteen colleagues, I have to declare that the military dictatorship which ruthlessly suppresses all endeavors for peace and seeks to sacrifice every free expression of opinion makes it impossible for us to discuss our attitude on the war credit outside of this House. Just as we oppose the conquest plans of other Governments, so we are determined to oppose the ominous scheme of our own annexation politicians, who are also a hindrance to the opening of peace negotiations. The Imperial Chancellor was requested by the Social Democratic Party to make a peace offer,

as the Central Powers were in a most favorable military situation and could have taken the first steps toward peace. The Chancellor, however, bluntly refused, and this horrible war goes on. Every day brings new and unutterable sorrow. A policy which does not exert all its powers to end this nameless misery, a policy which in its entire activity is utterly opposed to the interests of the masses, cannot command our support any longer. Our desire to give the evident longing for peace in all countries a mighty impulse, our own will for peace and our antagonism to all plans of conquest, do not permit us to vote for the war credit. We vote against it.

On the very day that Herr Geyer made this declaration of the Socialist minority, the Socialist Party as a whole condemned the separate action, and on Jan. 8, 1916, the party in a full council passed a vote of censure on the dissidents.

The Socialist press, comprising seventy-seven daily newspapers, besides a number of monthly and fortnightly publications, was divided into two camps. One supported the policy of the majority Socialists, and the other favored the minority, which demanded a return to the prewar policy: "Diesem System Keinen Mann und Keinen Groschen"—"We will not vote a man or a farthing for this system." The Socialist majority, however, whose aims and ideas practically agreed with the German Government, enjoyed a considerable advantage over their minority brethren.

Radical Utterances

In the early months of 1916, anonymous pamphlets were circulated throughout the empire under such titles as "End the Winter Campaign," "Europe's Proletarians," "Annexation Madness," "The Policy of Dogs." A passage from the latter reads as follows:

David Landsberg and socialism have surpassed the public prosecutor and put the Police President to shame. Woe to us Socialists if these fellows had administered Bismarck's anti-Socialist law. They would have sent the Socialist members of the Reichstag and the editors of the newspapers to penal servitude. They would have hanged August Bebel and Liebknecht the elder on the public gallows.

He is a dog who licks the boots which have kicked him for several decades. He is a dog who wags his tail with the muzzle of military law over his face. He is a dog who abjures the entire past of his party and everything which has been sacred to it for a generation, and spits upon it all, at the order of the Government. Therefore, David Landsberg and their set are dogs, and when the day of reckoning comes, the German working classes will give them the kick they deserve.

On March 24, 1916, a crisis came in the history of Social Democracy in the Reichstag. A vote was asked for by the Imperial Chancellor to cover the Government war expenditures in April, May, and June. The vote was supported by the Socialist majority and negatived by the minority. In special session the majority Socialists voted to exclude the minority from any further common action with the party. The resolution passed by a vote of 58 to 33.

Liebknecht's Daring Speech

Dr. Liebknecht's exclusion from the party was a separate matter. In fact, he and Herr Ruhle had acted as independents since December, 1914. On April 8, 1916, Dr. Liebknecht succeeded in getting the floor of the Reichstag, and this is the substance of what he said:

Gentlemen, the principal work of the State Secretary, whose salary we are asked to vote, was his activity for the war loan during the last year. I intend to devote a little criticism to these activities. The new loan has brought 1,400,000,000 marks less than the preceding one, but still a grand total of 10,000,000,000. What methods were employed to obtain this success? Gentlemen, last Autumn the Imperial Exchequer issued some propaganda pamphlets which placed the methods by which the English Government was financing the war in a very unfavorable light. Any one who read these pamphlets critically saw at once that the charges made against the English Government covered exactly the same methods employed by the German Government, a fact which, of course, was not allowed to be stated in public or in the press. [Excitement in the Reichstag.]

In regard to our loans, it has been said that our system is one of inbreeding—that the practice of obtaining loans on a former loan in order to invest the capital thus obtained in another new war loan is a sort of "perpetuum-mobile." In a certain sense the loans may be compared to a merry-go-round. To a large extent it means simply the centralization of public wealth in the Exchequer. [Great disturbance, followed by cries of "Treason!"]

I have the right to criticise. The truth must be spoken and you shall not hinder me. [Long continued uproar. The President of the Reichstag intervened, and Dr. Liebknecht continued:] Gentlemen, you represent capital. I am a Socialist-Democrat and repre-

sent International Proletarians. [Great uproar and pandemonium.]

During the uproar Dr. Müller of Meiningen went to the tribune and snatched Dr. Liebknecht's notes from his hands and threw them on the floor. Dr. Liebknecht undertook to pick up his notes, and when he returned to the tribune to continue his speech the President ruled him out of order because he had, according to German procedure, forfeited his rights to continue by leaving the tribune.

Shortly after this exciting affair Dr. Liebknecht was sentenced to prison for four years and one month on various charges, including high treason and resistance to authorities. Later Herr Konrad Hanische, in his work, "German Social Democracy In and After the World War," said: "It is utterly impossible to obtain a clear picture of the Social Democratic Party on account of the strangling influence of martial law, and, further, a large number of the members are with the colors." According to Herr Hanische, the Social Democratic minority faction finds its greatest support in Berlin, on the lower Rhine, in Northern Bavaria, Thuringia, and Saxony. The majority faction finds its chief strength in Hanover, Westphalia, and Hamburg.

Majority's War Creed

At a private session held in Berlin by the Social Democracy in September, 1916, the following resolutions were carried by a vote of 251 to 5, the Social Democratic minority not voting or taking any part in the procedure:

First—It is a duty to defend one's country. The present war is a war of defense.

Second—The Socialists are determined to continue the struggle till the enemy is prepared to make a peace which guarantees Germany's political independence, territorial integrity, and free economic development.

Third—We condemn unreservedly the action of those who say the war is one of German aggression. Such persons only strengthen the hands of the enemy.

Fourth—The ideal of a permanent world peace is still the guiding star of our policy.

Fifth—We shall work for the revival of the International Socialist League after the war.

Since that action nothing occurred to reconcile the two socialistic factions until the beginning of 1917. Herr Scheidemann and Herr Ebert in December, 1916, visited the Dutch Socialists, and it was suspected by the minority faction of the German Social Democratic Party that they were in collusion with the Imperial Chancellor. The German peace proposition submitted to President Wilson, and through him to the Entente Allies, increased that suspicion.

The Pan German Deutsche Tageszeitung stated that Herr Scheidemann pleaded in a speech at Hamburg for a world peace based on the status quo ante, each nation paying its own costs. The German minority Socialists criticised Germany's peace note on the ground that no terms were stated, and another Socialist Party organ declared the whole German peace note proposition to be an unmitigated swindle. On Dec. 22, 1916, four mass meetings arranged by Social Democrats in Leipsic were suppressed by the police.

Herr Scheidemann's Defense

In defending the action of the majority faction and its support of the Government's war policy, Herr Scheidemann says:

The German Reichstag has not the constitutional right to vote for or against a war. The decision for peace or war is in the hands of the Kaiser. By refusing to vote the war credit we could not have undone the declaration of war or hindered the progress of military events. * * * The war is a struggle for the world's feeding grounds. Three of the leading factors in the war have been: First, the future of Constantinople and the Near East; second, England's despotism of the world's markets, and, third, the severance from European markets of Serbia by Austria. * * * We knew what a Russian victory would mean for the German people, and especially for the German workingmen's movement. It was our sacred duty to prevent it by all means in our power, and coming generations will appreciate these services to world history by the German Nation. If we could not prevent the war, then it was our duty to do everything to prevent defeat.

Dr. Lensch, referring to the Socialist Party declaration at the outbreak of the world war, says: "We have always said we would not leave the Fatherland in the lurch in the hour of danger. German Social Democrats will remember

that for forty years they have constantly voted against every credit for military purposes, excepting the special taxes imposed on the richer classes in 1913 for the increase of the German Army." Dr. Lensch admits that the German Social Democratic Party's action in supporting the war was illogical in view of its history, but morally right in all other respects.

August Bebel, a Socialist leader in the Reichstag, at the beginning of the war said:

> The Social Democrats recognize that, under present conditions, the nation cannot be left helpless; therefore they demand that every man capable of bearing arms shall have the right to carry a weapon, and in case the Fatherland is attacked it shall be his duty to defend it. The party demands that all males from the age of ten shall receive military training. No Social Democrat doubts that the German, irrespective of rank, shall do his full duty in war.
>
> The majority Socialists, in defense of their attitude to the war and military service, claim that their opposition to militarism before the war was mostly intended as a criticism of the existing system. They, the German Democratic Socialists, are in favor of every man being a soldier, but they oppose Germany's army system, the ill-treatment of the common soldier, and the methods of taxation by which the army expenditure is met.

The Minority's Attitude

The minority Socialists, on the other hand, consider the pre-war opposition to militarism as a genuine, whole-hearted rejection of war and everything connected with it. One of the minority Socialists says:

> The German military State is to me nothing but a State which oppresses its subjects from the cradle to the grave. Our sons are sworn at and maltreated in the gay uniform, and on the slightest show of resentment condemned to imprisonment; in a word, slowly tortured to death. In fact, we often saw that our soldiers were unworthily treated, and that the iron discipline and the popinjay trappings of the army made militarism unpopular.
>
> This all lies in the nature of the thing, and cannot be rooted out; but many soldiers learned in the army the discipline and orderliness which were missing from their home life.

Concerning international socialism and its relation to German socialism, Dr. Lensch thus queries: "What did the International Socialists in other lands do in 1914 to prevent their own countries from going to war with Germany?" Dr. Lensch charges the French Socialists with believing false reports of German atrocities, especially as perpetrated in Belgium, and as reported by Jules Guesde and Marcel Sembat. He is still more incensed against the English Socialists, of whom he says: "They are worse than the French, for they identified themselves with the ruling classes in England and took over to themselves their catchphrases in order to hammer them into the heads of the masses; they carried on a regular agitation in favor of the war, conducting it with the intensity of an election campaign. * * * Any slander, any stupidity was good enough for the English Socialists with which to besmirch the German Government."

Nearly all the German socialistic writers of the minority or Liebknecht faction are in favor of an individual nationalism giving every other section of the human family the right to develop its own national idea. Dr. E. David, however, in "Social Democracy in the World War," says: "The existence of a nation cannot be regarded as an end in itself. There are aims beyond its limits which every nation must have and serve." Another member of the majority camp says: "In this war we have become conscious of the fact that the German 'State' idea has justified itself, from both the organizing and military point of view, in spite of its beauty spots and its political infirmities. We have become aware of the enormous forces embodied in the State. Because its activities often displease us we had become accustomed to look upon the State, together with the whole of its social institutions, as being inwardly decayed and rotten. The war has thoroughly cured us of the error."

Collectivism in Germany

Dr. Lensch, one of the leading apostles of German socialism, declares that Germany stands for collectivism, while England stands for individualism, adding:

> All German Socialists plump their line by the former. While great leaders of armies have come to the front, no towering political leader has as yet appeared on either side. It is as if the spirit of history wished to make evident that this is the end of individualism.

At a time when armies are counted by millions, and whole nations wage war; when the battle is fought not only by the man in uniform, but by the wives and children at home, the importance of the individual diminishes before the totality and its organization.

It is along the lines of mass warfare that the German revolution is developing in the present world war, thus distinguishing itself from the French revolution and the great English rebellion. The fundamental idea of both of the latter movements was individualism, and it was no mere chance that striking individualities stood in the forefront, Napoleon in the one and Oliver Cromwell in the other. At the head of the German revolution stands Bethmann Hollweg, and it is only necessary to name these three names in a breath to realize the changed conditions. Yet, although Napoleon failed to shake England's world supremacy, Bethmann Hollweg has accomplished that end. Wherein lies the difference? The French Emperor was not in a position to fight England from the plane of a higher social system. France's system was at that time of the same type as England's, that is, based on individualism. Modern Germany, on the other hand, represents a higher and more progressive principle; that of social organization, and although the system is still in its infancy, it has proved itself so vastly superior to obsolete individualism that England's war power has been shaken to its foundations.

The importance of the individual is diminishing, in proportion as that of social organization increases. The individual principle attained its highest ideal in England and France, where, in fact, it broke up the community into so many atoms. Now, it is the historical task of the working classes to change the trend of history in the opposite direction, for the atomized system threatens them with economic misery and political helplessness.

It is fitting, too, that this change should become most apparent in Germany, the misery of whose economic past had crippled the country, prohibiting the complete victory of individualism as in England. Our State was compelled by toil and trouble to make good the blessings which England enjoyed through the mere force of circumstances. But it was exactly that economic poverty which developed in Germany the principle which supplies it now with vitalizing powers capable of waging a world war against the greatest land and sea powers which our planet has ever seen—that is, the principle of organization. What was looked upon as a curse has become our greatest blessing. The social system based upon the individual stands today on its last legs. A new epoch, and with it a new social ideal, has dawned. Germany is the herald of the new day.

In the above is revealed the real force which has united all Germany in the present war, making patrician and plebeian as one. The super-German idea and the super-German temper, even among Socialists, have lent themselves to the Pan German leaders' scheme of conquest.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—At the time when the Reichstag granted the latest German war credit both wings of the Socialist Party voted against the bill, indicating growing dissatisfaction with the Government's war policy.

[German Cartoon]

—From Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.

Another "hospital ship" that will have to be torpedoed.

The Appalling Waste of the War

By Hall Caine

(Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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WHEN the war began, the great soldier who took the death of a sailor in the stormy waters of the northern seas was reported to have said it would last three years. It has already lasted so long, and is still going on. When will it end, and what is to come of it?

"If Adam," said Luther, "could have seen in a vision what horrible instruments his children were to invent to torture and to destroy each other he would have died of grief." Coming four centuries later, we may go further than that. If Adam could have foreseen what we are now seeing he would have prayed for death that he might never propagate his species.

Three years ago today (July 28) one of the oldest and feeblest of men, being crowned in the name of God and exercising the vicarship of Christ in his country, signed with his trembling hand the proclamation which plunged the world into this war. History will concern itself with the cause of his act, but the motive assigned for it was that a member of his family, a worthy but quite commonplace Austrian gentleman, as I have reason to know and say, had been foully done to death. For that crime millions have since died, millions been wounded, and millions on millions have been brought down to the depths. One wonders what mad game the world has been playing.

Bloodshed is indeed the staple of history, and history is the story of how often and with what merciless brutality the children of men have slain each other. But if we could detach ourselves from all thought of the impulses with which we are prosecuting this war, all questions of the righteousness of our cause, and conceive of God walking not in the garden but in the desert of this war-worn world to make a reckoning of the good and bad in the doings of the last three years, what audit it would seem to be, what lesson such as history never before supplied for people who have been saying that war has a nobility and grandeur of its own, that it is productive of more than evil, and is a beneficial influence in the betterment of mankind!

The Loss to Civilization

Think first of the injury the war has inflicted on the ordinary conditions of civilized existence. During forty-odd years preceding Aug. 2, 1914, the chief activities of Europe in science, law, legislation, literature, art, and general industry were directed toward protecting and purifying human life, making it more clean and sweet and secure. There never has been a great war that has not lowered the standard of existence, but during the last three years, by the new necessities of modern warfare, from five to twenty-five millions of human creatures have been living a great part of their lives in holes in the ground, exposed to uncleanness and disease that belong to the condition of savage man.

Think next of the loss the war has inflicted on the world's wealth—not wealth that is represented by title deeds or pass books or gold and silver coins in the strong-rooms of banks, but only the wealth that is necessary to the well-being of the race, the natural wealth that comes from the soil at the call of the sun and rain and changing seasons and the plow in the hands of man. There has never been a great war that has not diminished the sum of this natural wealth, but the present war, by the very number of nations engaged in it, has probably come nearer than any previous one to starving a large part of the human family. Will the world recover from this three years' loss of its natural wealth? Nature works no overtime, the

thousand sunrises since August, 1914, can never come again.

Fruits of Labor Destroyed

Then think of the loss to the world in human labor. Every great war has, in some measure, paralyzed industrial enterprise, but the necessities of modern warfare have gone near to killing it by submerging nearly all industrial enterprise in one sole work of producing these munitions of war which have now to be supplied in illimitable quantities. The ordinary progress of civilization in Europe has for the last three years been brought well-nigh to a standstill. This, too, is a loss that is irretrievable. It has yet to be seen if the energies of the world can ever make up for it. But the waste of human labor is the least part of the world's injury.

If the output of all the munition factories in the world since August, 1914, had been sunk to the bottom of the sea that would have been waste enough; but think of the uses their products have been put to. As man does not live by bread alone, his first duty after the necessities of food and clothing have been satisfied is to surround himself with those things of beauty and sanctity which link his life with the past and carry it on to the future. But the business of war is to batter down and burn up all such sacred and historic monuments, and never before has it done its work so ruthlessly. Peace builds cities; war destroys them. The big guns and high explosives of modern warfare, thundering and pounding on the habitations of man, have left vast tracts of Europe more bare and barren than the fiery desert. Large parts of Belgium, Northern France, Serbia, and Galicia, lately so full of life and fruitfulness, now look as if the rake of hell had gone over them. Where there were homes and inns and churches in which people lived and loved and laughed from generation to generation, there is only a wilderness of empty space whereon no stone stands upon another. Nothing like this has happened before in all the mad history of war; neither earthquake nor eruption ever wrought such ruin. It is irreparable; no indemnity can restore what has been wrecked. Northern Europe may be rebuilt, but then it will be another Europe. The past that was alive in it is dead.

The Misery of the War

Then think of the misery which scenes like these involve. Misery is the camp follower of all wars. There never has been a great war without its train of suffering. But the suffering of the last three years seems to have had no parallel in the human story. Whole nations have been plunged into it, and the greatest suffering has been that of the small and the powerless.

Man that is born of woman must needs feel the ties of blood and brotherhood. Hence he gathers his children together into groups that have the same faith and the same customs and speak the same dear tongue. That in the mysterious workings of Providence is the origin of national spirit and love of motherland. It is totally undisturbed by any thought of whether she is big or little, strong or weak. My country is my mother, and, therefore, I love her and think her the fairest spot the sun shines upon. But when war comes in the armor of great nations, it has usually no use for such emotions. Faith, custom, language, and kindred count for nothing against momentary military advantage or even the lust of a little earth. That was what happened three years ago when Austria marched over Serbia and Germany over Belgium, driving the native-born people with their women and little children from their smoking homes and scattering them over the world. For this, too, there can be no possible reparation. Misery cannot be paid for. Belgium will regain her sovereignty and material amends will be made to her, but when peace is proclaimed the Belgians will go back, not to a country, but to a cemetery. Every step of their homeward way will be, as the Prime Minister finely said, a station of the cross to the scene of Calvary, and if their resurrection is to come, as God grant it may, it will be peace, not war, that will bring it.

Then think of the injury the world has sustained during the last three years from loss of population. For the propa-

gation of the race and the happiness and general well-being of the human family nature wants her youngest, strongest, bravest, and most resourceful. But these are precisely what war demands for its work of bloodshed and destruction, despoiling the world of the flower of its manhood. It condemns some to enforced celibacy, some to lifelong injury, and many to death. Every great war has committed this mad crime against the world and its Creator, but surely no war before the present one has done it so deliberately, so self-consciously, so shamelessly, and on so great a scale. For this, too, no reparation is possible. Gold and silver cannot pay for the loss of flesh and blood; no accession of territory can atone to us for the lives of our dead that lie under their wooden crosses along the sea in Flanders. The everlasting surf of proud if scorching tears that washes that consecrated coast will not be stayed by indemnities and annexations. When peace comes after all this sacrifice of life she must bring more than the conquering sword in her hand, or the victory will be in vain.

Then think of the wrong this war has done to the moral sense of mankind. Every war, whatever its necessity or justification, is an outrage on humanity, but war in our time as never before in man's history is crime. In the past ages there has been much to excuse it. Differences of language, conflicts of faith and divisions of space, not to speak of more sinister evils, have been sufficient to create an atmosphere of mistrust and suspicion in which wars have been bred, but modern education, travel, commerce, literature, and, above all, science, with its mysterious and angelic power, as in the telegraph, of bringing people in a moment into the same place, ought to have broken down the barriers that separated the nations by showing them that they were members one of another, with the same joys and sorrows, the same weakness in the presence of man's relentless enemy, the elements, and the same dependence on the Merciful Father who is over all. They have not done so. War has come with its insensate brutalities and in a day all the barbed wire fences of ignorance and prejudice have been set up afresh, charged with redoubled currents of hatred and malice and lust of blood.

Had one-tenth of all the lives destroyed by this three years' war been swallowed up by flood or earthquake, by another and more frightful Messina, Galveston, or San Francisco, what a wave of human brotherhood would have swept over the nations, making the whole world kin! But man, not nature, has been the author of this tragedy. So the people in Germany rejoice over the sinking of the Lusitania and illuminate the streets of Berlin after the slaughter of little children in London. What a moral catastrophe! Can humanity ever recover from it after the bitterness of the last three years? Is any reconciliation of peoples possible? If not, is real peace conceivable? When the end comes, will it only be a cessation of activities?

Shall we of the allied countries ever be able to take the hand of a German again? In looking to the future of the civilized nations must we always think and feel as if one hundred millions of our fellow-creatures did not exist? Some of us who are not visionaries used to dream of a day when humanity would step out of darkness and put on the armor of light. Is that to be another of our dead joys and buried hopes on the road of life?

A Glimpse at the Future

And then think finally of the wrong this three years' war has done to religion. For two thousand years faith has been working for the Christianization of the world. It has been a long and almost hopeless labor in the past with so many temporalities to contend against, so many pagan impulses to overcome. If there is one thing certain about Jesus Christ it is that chief among his purposes was that of bringing war to an end, of substituting for the force of arms the force of righteousness. Painfully through the ages has religion toiled after that great ideal, although again and again it has been compelled to see the vicars of Christ girding themselves with the sword in spite of the rebuke of Gethsemane.

But in these later days we were tell-

ing ourselves that in spite of all the machinations of military despotism the gospel of peace was sweeping through the world. We held conferences to celebrate its victorious advance, and great German theologians like Harnack came to England to preach the doctrine of universal pacification. Down to the first days of August, 1914, we were praying in our churches with a fervor and conviction never felt before that God would give us peace in our time, that He would grant to all nations a spirit of unity and concord, that He would save us from violent and untimely deaths, and above all that His Kingdom might come on earth, even as it is in heaven.

And then—what then? At the first blast of war the gospel of peace was gone, nations were hardening their hearts, clergy, under holy orders from the Prince of Peace, were shouldering rifles and going out to kill. The Harnacks of Germany, with a blasphemy never known before in written or spoken words, were calling on God to strengthen their arms that they might kill more and more Englishmen. And then there came three years of rapine, murder, slaughter, rape, and every horror known to hell. What a shock if the dead were to awake after their long dream of heaven that was to right the wrongs and heal the wounds of their lives on earth to find there was no heaven and no healing. Could the shock be greater? Were our dreams a delusion? The law of love which proceeded from the Cross, was it inconsistent with the laws of life? Did it fail us at the last moment? Is the Christianization of the world further off than ever? Are there two Christianities—one for the individual man and the other for the State? Will God's Kingdom ever come? Is it useless and foolish to hope for the commonwealth of humanity, the League of Nations, for the protection of the world's peace?

Is peace impossible, and will the war last as long as man?

Thank God, there is reason to think that the darkest hour is the hour before dawn, and out of the very blackness of the present I see hope for the future, such a hope as the world has never known before. Man's days are as a span, yet I think some of us will live to see not only peace but the end of war.

Secretary Lansing on Our War Aims

The United States, for the Sake of Its Own Liberty, Must Fight Until German Autocracy Is Broken

Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, delivered a noteworthy address to 1,600 *candidates for commissions as reserve officers at Madison Barracks, Sacket Harbor, N. Y., on July* 29, 1917. *After a few introductory sentences, he plunged into his theme, saying:*

WE are living in the most momentous time in all history, in a time when the lives and destinies of nations are in the balance, when the civilization which has taken centuries to build may crumble before the terrible storm which is sweeping over Europe. We are not only living in this critical period, but we, as a nation, have become a participant in the struggle. Having cast our lot on the side of the powers allied against the Imperial German Government, we will put behind our decision the full power and the resources of the Republic. We intend to win in this mighty conflict, and we will win because our cause is the cause of justice and of right and of humanity.

I wonder how many of us comprehend what the outcome of this war means to mankind, or, to bring it nearer to each one of us, what it means to our country. I sometimes think that there prevail very erroneous impressions as to the reasons why we entered the war, not the immediate reasons, but the deep underlying reasons which affect the life and future

of the United States and of all other liberty-loving nations throughout the world.

Of course, the immediate cause of our war against Germany was the announced purpose of the German Government to break its promises as to indiscriminate submarine warfare and the subsequent renewal of that ruthless method of destruction with increased vigor and brutality.

While this cause was in itself sufficient to force us to enter the war if we would preserve our self-respect, the German Government's deliberate breach of faith and its utter disregard of right and life had a far deeper meaning, a meaning which had been growing more evident as the war had progressed and which needed but this act of perfidy to bring it home to all thinking Americans. The evil character of the German Government is laid bare before the world. We know now that that Government is inspired with ambitions which menace human liberty and that to gain its end it does not hesitate to break faith, to violate the most sacred rights, or to perpetrate intolerable acts of inhumanity.

Proof of German Perfidy

It needed but the words reported to have been uttered by the German Chancellor to complete the picture of the character of his Government when he announced that the only reason why the intensified submarine campaign was delayed until February last was that sufficient submarines could not be built before that time to make the attacks on commerce efficient. Do you realize that this means, if it means anything, that the promises to refrain from brutal submarine warfare which Germany had made to the United States were never intended to be kept, that they were only made in order to gain time in which to build more submarines, and that when the time came to act the German promises were unhesitatingly torn to pieces like other "scraps of paper"?

It is this disclosure of the character of the Imperial German Government which is the underlying cause of our entry into the war. We had doubted, or at least many Americans had doubted, the evil purposes of the rulers of Germany. Doubt remained no longer. In the light of events we could read the past and see that for a quarter of a century the absorbing ambition of the military oligarchy, which was the master of the German Empire, was for world dominion. Every agency in the fields of commerce, industry, science, and diplomacy had been directed by the German Government to this supreme end. Philosophers and preachers taught that the destiny of Germany was to rule the world, thus preparing the mind of the German people for the time when the mighty engine which the German Government had constructed should crush all opposition and the German Emperor should rule supreme.

For nearly three years we have watched the conduct of the Imperial Government, and we have learned more and more of the character of that Government and of its aims. We came very slowly to a realizing sense that not only was the freedom of the European nations at stake but that liberty throughout the world was threatened by the powerful autocracy which was seeking to gratify its vast ambition.

Not impulsively, but with deliberation, the American people reached the only decision which was possible from the standpoint of their own national safety. Congress declared that a state of war existed between the United States and the Imperial Government of Germany, and this country united with the other liberal nations of the earth to crush the power which sought to erect on the ruins of democracy a world empire greater than that of Greece or Rome or the Caliphs.

Quotes President's Slogan

The President has said, with the wonderful ability which he has to express aptly a great thought in a single phrase, that "the world must be made safe for democracy." In that thought there is more than the establishment of liberty and self-government for all nations; there is in it the hope of an enduring peace.

I do not know in the annals of history an instance where a people, with truly

democratic institutions, have permitted their Government to wage a war of aggression, a war of conquest. Faithful to their treaties, sympathetic with others seeking self-development, real democracies, whether monarchical or republican in their forms of government, desire peace with their neighbors and with all mankind.

Were every people on earth able to express their will there would be no wars of aggression, and, if there were no wars of aggression, then there would be no wars, and lasting peace would come to this earth. The only way that a people can express their will is through democratic institutions. Therefore, when the world is made safe for democracy, when that great principle prevails, universal peace will be an accomplished fact.

No nation or people will benefit more than the United States when that time comes. But it has not yet come. A great people, ruled in thought and word as well as in deed by the most sinister Government of modern times, are straining every nerve to supplant democracy by the autocracy which they have been taught to worship.

When will the German people awaken to the truth? When will they arise in their might and cast off the yoke and become their own masters? I fear that it will not be until the physical might of the united democracies of the world has destroyed forever the evil ambitions of the military rulers of Germany and liberty triumphs over its arch enemy.

And yet, in spite of these truths which have been brought to light in these last three years, I wonder how many Americans feel that our democracy is in peril; that our liberty needs protection; that the United States is in real danger from the malignant forces which are seeking to impose their will upon the world, as they have upon Germany and her deceived allies.

Let us understand once for all that this is no war to establish an abstract principle of right. It is a war in which the future of the United States is at stake. If any one among you has the idea that we are fighting others' battles and not our own, the sooner he gets away from that idea the better it will be for him, the better it will be for all of us.

Germany Menaces America

Imagine Germany victor in Europe because the United States remained neutral. Who, then, think you, would be the next victim of those who are seeking to be masters of the whole earth? Would not this country, with its enormous wealth, arouse the cupidity of an impoverished, though triumphant, Germany? Would not this democracy be the only obstacle between the autocratic rulers of Germany and their supreme ambition? Do you think that they would withhold their hand from so rich a prize?

Let me, then, ask you, would it be easier or wiser for this country single-handed to resist a German Empire flushed with victory and with great armies and navies at its command than to unite with the brave enemies of that empire in ending now and for all time this menace to our future?

Primarily, then, every man who crosses the ocean to fight on foreign soil against the armies of the German Emperor goes forth to fight for his country and for the preservation of those things for which our forefathers were willing to die. To those who thus offer themselves we owe the same debt that we owe to those men who in the past fought on American soil in the cause of liberty. No, not the same debt, but a greater one. It calls for more patriotism, more self-denial, and a truer vision to wage war on distant shores than to repel an invader or defend one's home.

I know that some among you may consider the idea that Germany would attack us if she won this war to be improbable; but let him who doubts remember that the improbable, yes, the impossible, has been happening in this war from the beginning. If you had been told prior to August, 1914, that the German Government would disregard its solemn treaties and send its armies into Belgium, would wantonly burn Louvain, would murder defenseless people, would extort ransoms from conquered cities, would carry away men and women into slavery,

would, like Vandals of old, destroy some of history's most cherished monuments, and would with malicious purpose lay waste the fairest fields of France and Belgium, you would have indignantly denied the possibility. You would have exclaimed that Germans, lovers of art and learning, would never permit such foul deeds. Today you know that the unbelievable has happened, that all these crimes have been committed, not under the impulse of passion, but under official orders.

Atrocities and Iron Crosses

Again, if you had been told before the war that German submarine commanders would sink peaceful vessels of commerce and send to sudden death men, women, and little children, you would have declared such scientific brutality to be impossible. Or, if you had been told that German aviators would fly over thickly populated cities scattering missiles of death and destruction, with no other purpose than to terrorize the innocent inhabitants, you would have denounced the very thought as unworthy of belief and as a calumny upon German honor. Yet, God help us, these things have come to pass, and Iron Crosses have rewarded the perpetrators.

But there is more, far more, which might be added to this record of unbelievable things which the German Government has done. I only need to mention the attempt of the Foreign Office at Berlin to bribe Mexico to make war upon us by promising her American territory. It was only one of many intrigues which the German Government was carrying on in many lands. Spies and conspirators were sent throughout the world. Civil discord was encouraged to weaken the potential strength of nations which might be obstacles to the lust of Germany's rulers for world mastery. Those of German blood who owed allegiance to other countries were appealed to to support the Fatherland, which beloved name masked the military clique at Berlin.

Some day I hope that the whole tale may be told. It will be an astounding tale, indeed. But enough has been told so that there no longer remains the shadow of a doubt as to the character of Germany's rulers, of their amazing ambition for world empire and of their intense hatred for democracy.

The day has gone by when we can measure possibilities by past experiences or when we believe that any physical obstacle is so great or any moral influence is so potent as to cause the German autocracy to abandon its mad purpose of world conquest.

It was the policy of those who plotted and made ready for the time to accomplish the desire of the German rulers to lull into false security the great nations which they intended to subdue, so that when the storm broke they would be unprepared. How well they succeeded you know. But democracy no longer sleeps. It is fully awake to the menace which threatens it. The American people, trustful and friendly, were reluctant to believe that imperialism again threatened the peace and liberty of the world. Conviction came to them at last, and with it prompt action. The American Nation arrayed itself with the other great democracies of the earth against the genius of evil which broods over the destinies of Central Europe.

America's High Resolve

No thought of material gain and no thought of material loss impelled this action. Inspired by the highest motives, American manhood prepared to risk all for the right. I am proud of my country. I am proud of my countrymen. I am proud of our national character. With lofty purpose, with patriotic fervor, with intense earnestness, the American democracy has drawn the sword, which it will not sheathe until the baneful forces of absolutism go down defeated and broken.

Who can longer doubt—and there have been many who have doubted in these critical days—the power of that eternal spirit of freedom which lives in every true American heart?

My friends, I am firmly convinced that the independence of no nation is sure, that the liberty of no individual is sure, until the military despotism, which holds the German people in the hollow of its

KING GEORGE AND HIS FIGHTING ADMIRAL

A photograph taken of King George and Admiral Sir David Beatty, Commander-in-Chief of the British battle fleet, during the King's visit to the fleet in June, 1917

(Photo International Film Service)

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR ERIC GEDDES

The new First Lord of the British Admiralty, in succession to Sir Edward Carson. Sir Eric Geddes was previously Controller of the Navy. As a Minister he has had to be elected to Parliament

(*Photo Press Illustrating Service*)

hand, has been made impotent and harmless forever. Appeals to justice, to moral obligation, to honor, no longer avail with such a power. There is but one way to restore peace to the world, and that is by overcoming the physical might of German imperialism by force of arms.

For its own safety, as well as for the cause of human liberty, this great Republic is marshaling its armies and preparing with all its vigor to aid in ridding Germany, as well as the world, of the most ambitious and most unprincipled autocracy which has arisen to stay the wheels of progress and imperil Christian civilization.

It is to this great cause you, who are present here tonight, like thousands of other loyal Americans, have dedicated yourselves. Upon each one of you much depends. You are going forth into foreign lands, not only as guardians of the flag of your country and of the liberties of your countrymen, but as guardians of the national honor of the United States. American character will be judged by your conduct, American spirit by your deeds. As you maintain yourselves courageously and honorably, so will you bring glory to the flag which we all love as the emblem of our national unity and independence.

Reward of the Soldier

It is in the toil and danger of so great an adventure as you are soon to experience that a man's true character will become manifest. He will be brought face to face with the realities. The little things which once engrossed his thought and called forth his energies will be forgotten in the stern events of his new life. The sternness of it all will not deprive him of the satisfaction which comes from doing his best. As he found gratification and joy in the peaceful pursuits of the old life, so will he find a deeper gratification and a greater joy in serving his country loyally and doing his part in molding the future.

And when your task is completed, when the grim days of battle are over, and you return once more to the quiet life of your profession or occupation, which you have so generously abandoned at your country's call, you will find in the gratitude of your countrymen an ample reward for the great sacrifice which you have made.

If enthusiasm and ardor can make success sure, then we, Americans, have no cause for anxiety, no reason to doubt the outcome of the conflict. But enthusiasm and ardor are not all; they must be founded on a profound conviction of the righteousness of your cause and on an implicit faith that the God of Battles will strengthen the arm of him who fights for the right.

In the time of stress and peril, when a man stands face to face with death in its most terrible forms, God will not desert him who puts his trust in Him. It is at such a time that the eternal verities will be disclosed. It is then, when you realize that existence is more than this life and that over our destinies watches an all-powerful and compassionate God, you will stand amidst the storm of battle unflinching and unafraid.

There is no higher praise that can be bestowed upon a soldier of the Republic than to say that he served his country faithfully and trusted in his God. Such I earnestly hope will be the praise to which each of you will be entitled when peace returns to this suffering earth and mankind rejoices that the world is made safe for democracy.

War for American Honor and Lives

Senator Borah on Our War Aims

Senator Borah of Idaho delivered a remarkable speech in the Senate on July 26, 1917, during the debate on river and harbor appropriations, in which he warned Congress and the nation against useless expenditures, at the same time stating just what were the issues for which Americans were about to offer their blood and treasure on the battlefields of Europe. All the essential parts of the speech are given below.

The debate having brought Mr. Borah to the point where he warned the Senate that the millions of waste in the River and Harbor bill might be a cause of disaster, he continued:

ENGLAND has up to the present time issued war bonds to the amount of $18,740,000,000. France has issued $10,532,000,000 of bonds, Germany has issued $13,400,000,000 of bonds, Russia has issued $7,896,000,000 of bonds, Italy has issued $2,520,000,000 of bonds, Austria has issued $3,659,000,000 of bonds, and the United States will add to it this year in the way of bonds in all probability to the amount of at least $10,000,000,000. You have, Mr. President, the stupendous, almost incomprehensible burden of $66,747,000,000 in the way of bonded indebtedness upon the countries named that are engaged in this war. Calculate the annual interest on this and you get some conception of this burden. * * *

In view of the fact that the countries with which we are now allied are raising apparently every dollar that they can, but must necessarily vote these large issues of bonds, and in view of the fact that we have already incurred obligations or provided for expenditures approaching $17,000,000,000, as a matter of patriotism, in the simple discharge of the most simple duty which devolves upon us we ought to insist that every item of appropriations which passes through this body shall have stamped upon it "necessity"; that no item which cannot be said to be absolutely necessary to the successful carrying on of the war ought to pass, and that to pass it would be an act in disregard of the imminent urgency which confronts this country.

Mr. President, there never has been a time in this struggle, from the first day of August, 1914, until this present hour, when the outlook was so serious and menacing to the Allies as it is at this time. There has never been an instant

WILLIAM E. BORAH
SENATOR FROM IDAHO

so calculated to call forth patriotic effort, to enlist the unselfish zeal of those who have to do with the guiding of their country's affairs as this present time. Russia has for all practical purposes at this hour, for the present at least, passed out of the conflict. Her internal difficulties have made it practically impossible for her to be of effect upon the fighting line. That vast body of people, upon whom all interested in this war upon the side of the Allies depended so

much and from whom they expected so much has by reason of the situation at home practically left the battle front.

New Crisis Due to Russia

What does that mean to the people of the United States? Could a more serious message come over the wires at any time, one involving more nearly the lives of millions of our boys, than the fact that Russia is breaking down? If there is efficacy in prayer in such things as these, the American people may well offer up a silent prayer at this hour for the guidance and the preservation and the success of Kerensky. If this gallant leader, standing now at the head of his disorganized forces, meets either the assassin's bullet or failure in other ways, it means a leaven which will disorganize and demoralize the situation beyond any power that language can portray. It means, Mr. President, that in all probability a million American boys in addition will find graves upon European soil.

No more serious situation, Sir, could confront warring nations than that which confronts the Allies at this hour. In the minds of some it may not be considered wise to say so, but the situation is here, and I am one of those who believe that we should speak truthfully and plainly to those who must pay our taxes and fight our battles. The hour of sacrifice has arrived, and, being here, will the Senate of the United States linger and parley, Sir, over money to go into Fish Creek, Tombigbee Creek, or some other inconsequential and worthless waterways? Will the American Senate delay for a single hour to cut away all unnecessary and idle things which impede progress or add unnecessary burdens and meet this situation as it is necessary for us to meet it in order to solve the problem? Shall we rise to the invitations of this solemn and awful hour or shall we still trifle with selfish and immaterial matters as the storm comes on?

But that is not all, Mr. President. Not only has Russia for the present time passed out of this war, but the submarine problem, which, it was hoped a few weeks ago, might by this time be well upon its way to a successful solution, instead of being favorable to the Allies is distinctly favorable to the Teuton powers. I read in the reliable papers this morning that, instead of the amount of tonnage sunk decreasing, it is increasing day by day, and thus, while the Russian forces are breaking away from the fighting line, the submarines of the Teuton powers are spreading havoc upon the seas, and France is being fought almost to her knees, though displaying again and again courage and heroism such as have never been excelled in the history of the world.

[Here Mr. Borah reviewed the work of German submarines, estimating the sinkings at 9,000,000 tons a year, and continued]:

America's Peace Terms

This is not a propitious time, generally speaking, to discuss peace or to propose peace if we intend to have that peace which is permanent and which endures. With an enemy that is apparently marching on to victory, we shall hardly be listened to upon their part; we cannot discuss peace with them; * * * but I think this much ought to be said, lest I be misunderstood: I am not so sure but that the time has come when the American people should have presented to them more definitely and specifically the terms and conditions upon which we are fighting the war and the terms and conditions upon which we would cease to fight it. I believe that there ought to be laid before our people a more specific program as to what we propose to attain, as to what we propose to accomplish, and as to the terms and conditions upon which the war, so far as America is concerned, can end. I think we ought to say in as clear terms as possible just what America demands as a prerequisite of peace.

I say this, not, Sir, with the view of dealing with Germany or with the expectation that she would accept from us at this time any proposal which we might submit, but I say it in behalf of our own people and of permitting them to know definitely and specifically the things for which they are expected to fight and the things which shall constitute the end of their task. We cannot carry on this war,

in my judgment, without a thoroughly aroused and sustained public opinion in favor of the war, which does not at this time exist; and one of the reasons, in my opinion, why it does not exist is because of the nebulous and uncertain terms and conditions upon which we are supposed to be in the war, and the utter want of knowledge as to what conditions will take us out of the war. No one seems to know what will constitute the end. America ought to hold the reins of peace every hour and at all times.

The Real American Issue

Mr. President, Viviani, in that remarkable address bidding farewell to the American people, told us that the great mistake the German Government made was in not knowing the French and English people; that they sent their Ambassadors to France and England to study government and to practice the arts of diplomacy, but they misunderstood or did not read at all the noble qualities of the masses. Let us not as a Government make that same fatal mistake with reference to our own people. Let us keep in mind that the ways of Government and the paths of diplomacy overshadowed by no sacrifice are often far from the sad and dusty lanes down which the people march to war. Government and diplomacy may be interested in the future of Constantinople and the Bagdad Railway, but out yonder in the open, where every move toward war means sorrow and sacrifice, where families are to be separated and broken, where husband and brother and son are to be offered upon the altar, that altar must be our country—you must speak to them of things of home and of the flag, you must give them an American issue for which to die.

After we have declared war and taken the steps upon the part of the Government which necessarily follow, we come then to deal with another world entirely. We leave the field of form and formality and find ourselves in the world of the concrete, of the real, where hearts throb and grieve and men are preparing to suffer and die. From this forward you must deal with the man on the street, in the field, and in the factory; the man of simple and fixed but noble national instincts; the man, bless God! in whose moral and intellectual fibre are ingrained the teachings and traditions and aspirations of a century of national life—a national life separate, distinct, exceptional, and sublime.

Fighting for Our Own Rights

You will not change these things over night. The American citizen must live his character; you cannot transplant in a few weeks the habits and ideas, the methods and ways, of other people. We have our allies, and with them a common purpose; but America is still America, with her own institutions, her individuality, the moral and intellectual conceptions of her own people; she is still a sun and not a satellite.

Sir, if our own institutions are not at stake, if the security of our own country is not involved, if we as a people and as a nation are not fighting for our own rights and the honor and lives of our own people, our declaration of war was a bold and impudent betrayal of a whole people, and its further continuance a conspiracy against every home in the land. * * *

A few weeks ago Russia made a declaration in favor of peace based upon no indemnities and no annexations. It found no response from any one of her allies. In my humble judgment, the United States could not have taken a more important and effective step than to have indorsed the proposition which Russia at that time put out to the world. Some noted exceptions, some of which, I have no doubt, Russia herself would have accepted, could have been noted, but the principle maintained. It is my opinion that if the United States had taken a bold stand at that time in favor of that principle Russia would be in 100 per cent. better condition as a fighting force today than she is. But the impression immediately obtained that certain influences prevented the United States from defining its position, waiting upon other powers which were directing the course of this war. And there is abroad in this land now the belief that we must fight

on and on until captured colonies and certain territory are adjusted. Sir, I warn you now, do not let that idea become fastened in the minds of our people.

Because Americans Were Murdered

Mr. President, I can only speak for myself and for myself alone. But speaking for myself, I did not vote for war out of sympathy for France, much as I sympathize with and greatly as I admire that brave and chivalrous people. I voted for war because our own rights had been trampled under foot, because our own people had been murdered, and because we were warned that the slaughter was to be renewed. I could see nothing under those conditions in the future but continued wrongs, dishonor, and complete national degradation. I did not vote for war that we might spread democracy over Europe, though, in common with all my countrymen, I presume, I would be glad to see every King and every Emperor and every Prince exiled from among men and the last vestige of dynastic power swept into the refuse of history.

I voted for war to preserve and make safe our own blessed Republic, to give honor and dignity and security to this democracy of ours, and to keep it if we could as our fathers transmitted it, whole and triumphant. I felt that self-respect was the very breath of life of a democracy, that while other Governments might continue on in humiliation, and even in degradation, without self-respect a democracy could not long endure. I felt that a free Republic living alone and existing only in the affection and the devotion of the citizen could not long survive the day when that Republic should refuse to defend the rights and protect the lives of its citizens. So I voted for war because the most vital thing in our national life was and is involved, and for no other reason on earth would I have cast that vote and aided in plunging our nation into the midst of this world conflict.

As I view it, from that hour this was no longer a European war to settle and adjust European affairs, to rehabilitate European nations, but an American war, to be carried on, prolonged, or ended according to American interests, and to be adjusted upon American principles, and to settle, once and we hope for all time, that while slow to wrath we are swift to avenge those wrongs which challenge national honor and imperil the security of our own people.

"America Will Make No Difference"

Dr. Kahl, a Professor of Law at the University of Berlin, delivered a lecture in July on "The Turning Point of the World War." He was reported as saying:

> The turning point of the war has arrived—that is to say, the climax is passed, and the scales are fixed in our favor. We can say deliberately that the German victory is waving to us. Our enemies are many. Our latest enemies have been forced to come in as economic satellites of our main enemies. It is only the old enemies that seriously count in calculations about the result and end of the compaign; among them is Wilson, who was always playing false. Such a nature as his is repulsive to the German character. At the turning point of the world war, however, the fact that we are at war with America will make no difference—not even if the much-trumpeted 200,000 men come over the sea. With just conviction and hope we can cry to the peace hypocrite on the warpath, "Too late!"

The Battle of the Chancelleries

British Premier's Attack on New German Chancellor's First Speech Opens a Many-Sided Debate

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE, speaking at a patriotic demonstration in Queen's Hall, London, on Belgium's Independence Day, July 21, 1917, characterized the recent speech of the German Chancellor, Dr. Michaelis, as a sham, facing both ways, and declared that he did not wish the Germans to "harbor any delusions that they are going to put Great Britain out of this fight until liberty has been re-established throughout the world." The German speech in question was delivered in the Reichstag on July 19, and its essential portions will be found in the August issue of this magazine. Toward the end of his speech Mr. Lloyd George said that the Germans were making the same mistake in underestimating America's efforts in the war as they had made about Great Britain in the beginning:

> They said that we wouldn't fight, and if we would we couldn't. We had no army and we couldn't raise one, and they needn't worry about Britain. I think they have discovered their mistake about us, and now they are just going through the same process with America.
>
> I want to put this to them: If Great Britain, not a very large country, while she is maintaining and equipping and even building up equipment for an army of millions afield and in reserve in full fighting array, while she is maintaining the largest navy in the world, can organize in the third year of an exhausting war to turn out millions of tons of new shipping, is America, with twice the population of this country, with endless natural resources, going to be beaten merely because she puts forth no effort? The man who talks like that knows not America; otherwise he would not say it.

Brighter Days for Belgium

The other essential portions of Mr. Lloyd George's speech are as follows:

> Three years—even of agony—are not long in the life of a nation, and the deliverance of Belgium is assuredly coming, and when it comes that deliverance must be complete. France owes it, Britain owes it, Europe owes it, the civilization of the world owes it to Belgium that her deliverance shall be complete.
>
> What have we got in the way? There is a new Chancellor. The Junker has thrown the old Chancellor into the waste-paper basket with his scrap of paper and they are lying there side by side. You will not have to wait long before Junkerdom will follow. What hope is there in his speech of peace—I mean an honorable peace, which is the only possible peace? It is a dexterous speech. A facing-all-ways speech. There are phrases for those who earnestly desire peace—many. But they are phrases which the military powers of Germany will understand—phrases about making the frontier of Germany secure. That is the phrase which annexed Alsace-Lorraine; that is the phrase which has drenched Europe with blood from 1914; that is the phrase which, if they dare, will annex Belgium; and that is the phrase which will once more precipitate Europe into a welter of blood within a generation unless that phrase is wiped out of the statesmanship of Europe.

Herr Michaelis's Phrases

> There are phrases for men of democratic mind in that speech—many. He was calling men from the Reichstag to co-operate with the Government; they were even to get office, men of all parties and men of democratic sentiment. But there were phrases to satisfy the Junkers—to other men nothing. There was to be no parting with imperialistic rights. Ah! They will call men from the Reichstag to office, but they will be not Ministers, but clerks. It is the speech of a man waiting on the military situation, and let the Allies—Russia, Britain, France, Italy, all of them—bear that in mind. It is a speech that can be made better by improving the military situation. If the Germans win in the west, if they destroy the Russian Army in the east, if their friends the Turks drive Britain out of Mesopotamia, if the U-boats sink more merchant ships, then that speech, believe me, means annexation all round and military autocracy more firmly established than ever. But, on the other hand, should the German Army be driven back in the west, be beaten in the east, and should their friends the Turks fail in Bagdad, and the submarines be a failure on the high seas, that speech is all right. We must all help to make that a good speech. There are possibilities in it of excellence. Let us help Dr. Michaelis;

let us give our assistance to the new Chancellor to make his first speech a real success. But for the moment it means that the military party has won.

Guarantees of Peace

I want to repeat in another form a statement which I made before. What manner of Government they choose to rule over them is entirely the business of the German people themselves; but what manner of Government we can trust to make peace with is our business. Democracy is in itself a guarantee of peace, and if you cannot get it in Germany then we must secure other guarantees as a substitute. The German Chancellor's speech shows, in my judgment, that those who are in charge of affairs in Germany have for the moment elected for war.

There is no hope for Belgium in that speech. It is not even mentioned. The phraseology is full of menace to Belgium. All that about making their frontiers secure—which took Metz and Strasburg away, and will take Liége and the control over Antwerp again—that is not a phrase of good omen for Belgium. All that about the necessity of seeing that the economic interests of Germany are secure means that, even if they restore Belgium, their restoration will be a sham. The determination of the Allies is this, that Belgium must be restored as a free and an independent people. Belgium must be a people and not a protectorate. We must not have a Belgian scabbard for the Prussian sword. The sceptre must be Belgian, the sword must be Belgian, the scabbard must be Belgian, the soul must be Belgian.

I read that speech, as it was my duty to read it once, twice, thrice, to seek anything in it which would give hope for an end of this bloodshed, and I see a sham independence for Belgium, a sham democracy for Germany, a sham peace for Europe; and I say Europe has not sacrificed millions of her gallant sons to set up on soil consecrated by their blood a mere sanctuary for shams.

Vanishing German Illusions

The German Chancellor tries to stimulate the courage of his people by doping them with illusions. Germany will find that her new hopes are just such illusions as the others that have been dispelled. Paris in six weeks—that is gone. The circumvention of our blockade by opening up the route to Bagdad and to the reserves of the East—that is gone. The Zeppelin raids—where are they? And now it is the Turks and the U-boats, both equally barbarous and good company, the one for the other. The U-boats are to put England out of business. Owing to the submarine attacks, according to the German Chancellor, we cannot last much longer. I am sorry to disillusion him at the outset of his career. But truth compels me to do it. Gradually, but surely, we are increasing our production and decreasing our losses in ships.

We are a slow people; we are not very quick at the outset, but we are difficult to beat when we begin; and certainly I think Germany has underrated our intelligence, our industry, and our determination. * * *

There has been a change, a more significant change than that of the substitution of Dr. Michaelis for Bethmann Hollweg, and that is the change which has been announced just a few hours ago. That brilliant young Russian statesman, the outstanding figure of the Russian revolution, the man whose inspiration has regenerated and revived Russian military forces, has succeeded to the leadership of the Russian democracy. In the great coming struggle in the east and in the west, every German soldier must know in his heart that if he falls he will be dying for military autocracy in fighting against the federation of free peoples. On the other hand every Belgian soldier, every French soldier, every Russian soldier knows that he is risking his life for the freedom and independence of his native land. Every British, every American, every Portuguese soldier knows that he will be fighting side by side with the others for international right and justice throughout the world, and it is that growing conviction more even than the knowledge of vast unexhausted resources which gives them all heart—it gives us heart—to go on fighting to the end, knowing full well that the future of mankind is our trust to maintain and to defend.

Commons Rejects Resolution

The attitude of the British House of Commons toward a peace move initiated by Germany was shown July 26, when by a vote of 148 to 19 it defeated the following resolution, moved by James Ramsay Macdonald, Socialist and Labor Member for Leicester:

> That, in view of the resolution passed by the representatives of the German people assembled in the Reichstag, to the effect that, putting aside the thought of acquisition of territory by force, the Reichstag is striving for a peace of understanding and lasting reconciliation of nations; that with such a peace, political, economic, and financial usurpation are incompatible, also that the Reichstag repudiates all plans which aim at the economic isolation and tying down of nations after the war, this House declares that this statement expresses the principles for which this country has stood throughout, and calls upon the Government, in conjunction with the Allies, to restate their peace terms accordingly; and, further, it declares that the Allies should accept the Russian

proposal that the forthcoming allied conference on war aims shall comprise representatives of the peoples and not solely spokesmen of the Governments.

Former Premier Asquith, in discussing the resolution, welcomed the news that a conference would be held early in the Autumn on the invitation of the Russian Government. Nothing but good could come of a plain restatement of the Allies' aims in a good cause. Two new facts of the present year, first, that Russia had ceased forever to be autocratic, and, second, the appearance, with all her moral and material forces, of the United States in the struggle, had a direct and practical bearing upon the opinion of the world as to the sincerity of the Allies' aims. He continued:

> Earnestly as we desire peace, no peace is worth having which would restore, under some thin disguise, the precarious status quo ante bellum and would leave countries like Belgium, Serbia, and Greece at the mercy of dynastic intrigue or under the menace of military coercion. It would be premature and futile to grapple in detail with the geographical problems eventually to be solved.
>
> The principle clearly agreed to by every one of the Allies is that in any rearrangement made the governing principle ought to be the interests and the wishes of the populations affected. But is that principle acceptable to the Central Powers? Is Germany prepared not only to evacuate Belgium but to make reparation for the colossal mischief and damage which accompanied her devastating occupation and the practical enslavement of a large portion of the Belgian people? Is she prepared not only to do that but to restore to Belgium not a pretense of but absolute independence?

Other Official Replies

The speech of Bonar Law dealt largely with the Russian crisis. He said that all the nations engaged were staggering under the blow, but that the resources of the Allies were sufficient to make it absolutely certain that, unless their hearts failed them, they must secure the results for which they had entered the war. The struggle had reached a point where it was a question of staying power, and in this matter he had absolute confidence in the Allies.

Another official reply to Chancellor Michaelis is contained in the latter part of a summary of war events prepared for The Associated Press by Sir Edward Carson, British Minister without portfolio, under date of July 29. After declaring that the Russian revolution and the entry of the United States into the war were the two great events of the year, he said:

> The immediate effect of the Russian revolution, from a military point of view, gives cause for great anxiety and has, up to the present, proved disastrous. But it must be borne in mind that the Government of the late Russian Emperor was hatching positive treachery to the alliance and would have caused much greater disaster to us by concluding separate peace with Germany.
>
> The revolution, even from a military point of view, has been far better than the régime which it displaced. And, from a political and social point of view, we in England welcome it without reserve. We are confident that the inevitable disturbance which accompanies every revolution when the seat of existing authority is overturned will settle into constitutional order based on free democratic institutions and that as soon as this is brought about the ingrained patriotism of the Russian people, combined with their splendid military qualities, proved on a thousand battlefields, once more will bring that great country into line in effective co-operation with her allies in striking at the common enemy of all.
>
> The Russian revolution, moreover, has drawn a clear-cut line between the contending nations, ranging them as the defenders of democracy on one side and as its assailants on the other. This aspect of the struggle, of course, has been most strongly emphasized by the action of America in joining the alliance against the Central Empires and Turkey.

America's Momentous Decision

> The momentous decision of the United States that no alternative remained to her but to take up arms against Germany is one of the greatest events in the history of the world. Previous to taking it she had proved by a long course of patient statesmanship how deeply seated was her abhorrence of war and her idealism in the conduct of international affairs. Nothing but persistent and openly avowed adoption by Germany of a policy of public crime and flagrant violation of neutral rights would have driven America into the war.
>
> The utterances of President Wilson have nobly vindicated the moral basis of the alliance against Germany, and we have full confidence that America's moral support will, in good time, be backed by ma-

terial aid of overwhelming power which will make an end of all doubts as to the completeness of the victory attainable by the Allies.

We feel sure that the American people realize as clearly as we do ourselves that no peace can be lasting which is not the fruit of a complete and unquestionable military victory. The new German Chancellor has shown that neither the German Government nor the German people is yet prepared for any such peace. They still hope to make civilization and democracy surrender to the black flag.

It would be foolish to deny that the submarine menace is an exceedingly grave one; but it will be defeated as every other German expedient has been defeated in the three years of war we now have passed through.

We enter on the fourth year in a spirit of confident determination to see this thing through until we have attained the aims we proclaimed at the beginning, which could not be better summarized than in President Wilson's pregnant phrase to "make the world safe for democracy."

Reply of Dr. Michaelis to Lloyd George

Dr. Georg Michaelis, the German Imperial Chancellor, summoned a large number of newspaper men to his office in Berlin on July 29 and made the following declaration and countercharges:

The speech of David Lloyd George, the British Premier, at Queen's Hall, London, and the recent debate in the British House of Commons again have proved with indisputable clearness that Great Britain does not desire peace by agreement and understanding, but only a conclusion of the war which means the enslavement of Germany to the arbitrary violence of our enemies.

Proof of this may be seen in the fact that Sir Edward Carson recently declared in Dublin that negotiations with Germany could begin only after the retirement of German troops beyond the Rhine. In response to a question put by Commoner Joseph King, A. Bonar Law, the spokesman of the British Government in the House of Commons, modified this declaration by fixing the standpoint of the British Government as being that if Germany wanted peace she first of all must declare herself willing to evacuate the occupied territories.

We possess clear proofs that the enemy gives assent to a declaration going even further than that impudently made by Sir Edward Carson. You all know that detailed information regarding the French plans of conquest, approved by Great Britain and Russia, has been circulated for weeks past in the neutral press and that it has not been denied up to the present.

Says French Seek Conquest

It would be of the greatest importance for the enlightenment of the whole world regarding the true reasons for the continuation of the sanguinary massacre of nations for it to be known that written proofs of our enemies' greed for conquest have since fallen into our hands. I refer to reports of the secret debate on June 2 in the French Chamber of Deputies.

I ask the French Government this question: Does it deny that ex-Premier Briand and Premier Ribot, in the course of that secret sitting, at which were present Deputies Moutet and Cochin, who had just returned from Petrograd, were forced to admit that France, shortly before the Russian revolution, had come to an agreement having in view vain plans of conquest with a Government which Premier Lloyd George described in his last speech as a "corrupt and narrow autocracy"?

I ask if it is true that the French Ambassador at Petrograd, in response to a request sent by him to Paris, received instructions to sign a treaty prepared in advance by M. Doumergue (ex-Premier and Foreign Minister) after negotiations with the Russian Emperor?

Is it true or not that the French President at the instance of General Berthelot, head of the French military mission to Rumania, formally intrusted him with a mandate, and that M. Briand afterward sanctioned this step?

This treaty assured to France her frontiers, but amended on lines of previous wars the conquest of 1870 to include, besides Alsace-Lorraine, Saarbrücken and vast territorial modifications on the left bank of the Rhine.

As desired by France when M. Terestchenko (the Russian Foreign Minister) took office, the Russian Government protested against the French aims of conquest, which also included that of Syria, and declared that new Russia no longer would be willing to take part in the struggle if it learned of these French war aims.

Professes to Quote Briand

Wasn't it the principal object of Albert Thomas (member of the French War Council) on his journey to Russia to overcome this remorse of M. Terestchenko? The French Government will not be able to deny all this, and it will be obliged to confess, although it may do so only tacitly, that M. Briand was the ob-

ject of stormy attacks during the secret session; that Premier Ribot was obliged to produce the secret treaty in response to the demand of M. Renaudel, (leader of the majority Socialists in the French Chamber,) and also that M. Briand, in the course of the excited debate which ensued, declared that revolutionary Russia was obliged to carry out what imperial Russia had promised and that it did not matter to France what was said by the lowest classes in Russia.

It is characteristic that Deputy Moutet, according to his own statement, replied in Russia to the question whether Alsace-Lorraine was the only obstacle to peace by saying he could not answer the question in that form and that Russia ought to take into consideration the fact that the Russian revolution had been purchased by French blood.

The admission of Deputies Cochin and Moutet that the Russian representatives had declared in the course of the negotiation that they attached no importance to Constantinople throws clear light on Russian sentiment. The delegates from the Russian armies also are in agreement with this.

Regardless of this manifest proof of the revulsion of the Russian people against a policy of aggrandizement, Premier Ribot refused in the secret session of the French Chamber to undertake any revision of the French war aims and announced the fact that Italy also had received guarantees of great territorial aggrandizements.

In order to divest their ambitions on the left bank of the Rhine of a character of greed and conquest, he announced the necessity of a buffer State, but the Opposition speakers cried out amid a din of contradictions: "It is disgraceful!"

I would like also to mention that Premier Ribot, after a pacifist speech by Deputy Augagneur, replied that the Russian Generals had declared that the Russian armies never were in better condition or better equipped than then. Here appears in perfect clearness the desire to let the Russian people go on shedding their blood in behalf of the unjust ambitions of France.

This desire has been fulfilled, but not as Premier Ribot anticipated, for we can hardly presume he had such an absolute lack of humanity as that; though foreseeing the failure of the Russian offensive, he yet insisted upon it, thinking it would give another hour's respite pending the entry of America into the war.

The enemy press endeavors to force upon my inaugural speech the interpretation that I only consented to the majority resolution with an ill-concealed reservation of Germany's desires for conquest. I am obliged to deny the imputation as to an object of which there can be no doubt. Besides, the resolution implies—which is quite clear—that the enemy must also renounce any ideas of conquest.

Dr. Michaelis added that it was manifest Germany's enemies were not in the least considering such renunciation and that the French meeting held in secret was fresh proof that her enemies were responsible for the prolongation of the war and were "actuated by lust of conquest."

"The conspicuousness of the justice of our defensive war," the Chancellor concluded, "will steel our strength and determination in the future."

Supported by Count Czernin

Count Ottokar Czernin von Chudenitz, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, gave out a similar statement at Vienna on the same day, declaring that the Dual Monarchy would fight to the last extremity if the Entente Powers refused to accept the suggestion of Dr. Michaelis and enter into negotiations on the basis of a peace by understanding. He also replied to Mr. Lloyd George's speech of July 21 and said that the British Premier was mistaken when he called the Reichstag resolution a "peace bluff." He said:

> I must reply to Premier Lloyd George with the question: What are we finally to expect from the Entente? What we desire is quite evident from the well-known declarations made in Vienna and from the demonstrations by the German people showing that a complete agreement exists to the very last detail between Vienna and Berlin.
>
> What the Chancellor and the Reichstag declared is what I described months ago as an honorable peace, which the Vienna Government is ready to accept and whereby it seeks a lasting reconciliation of the nations. But there also exists the complete agreement that we never shall accept a peace which is not honorable for us.
>
> If the Entente does not wish to enter negotiations on the basis which we have clearly indicated, we shall continue the war and fight to the last extremity.
>
> I don't care whether this admission is regarded as a sign of weakness or of strength. To me it seems only a sign of common sense and morality, which revolt against the idea of prolonging the war. I am absolutely convinced the Entente will never succeed in crushing us; and, since in our position of defense we have no intention of crushing the enemy, the war will end sooner or later in a peace by understanding. But, to my way of

thinking, the natural conclusion is that the further sacrifices and suffering imposed on all humanity are useless, and that it is necessary, in the interests of humanity, to reach a peace by understanding as soon as possible.

As we have fought in conjunction with our faithful allies, so we shall make peace in conjunction with them, now or later, and we shall fight in conjunction with them to the last extremity unless the enemy shows a willingness to understand our viewpoint.

I shall not put the question who was responsible for the war, because it is useless to discuss the past in this connection. But I shall speak of the future, and I wish to express the desire that the world may succeed after the conclusion of peace in finding adequate means and expedients to prevent forever the recurrence of such a frightful war.

The democratization of Constitutions is the great demand of the time. Both in Austria and in Hungary the Governments are putting their hands to this great work, but they are against intervention from the outside. We do not intervene in the internal affairs of other States, and we demand complete reciprocity in this matter.

Balfour's Guarded Statement

The following day, July 30, Arthur J. Balfour, British Foreign Minister, took part in a discussion in the House of Commons regarding Lord Robert Cecil's recent statement that "the dismemberment of Austria was not one of Great Britain's war aims." Mr. Balfour said it would not be wise for the Government to declare the details of its policy at this juncture. With respect to the Jugoslav and Austrian question it was impossible to foretell the position in which the world would find itself when that issue came to be decided. "As everybody "knows," he said, "we first entered the "war to defend Belgium and prevent "France from being crushed before our "eyes." If France now asked for Alsace-Lorraine, he saw no reason why Great Britain should not assist her until she got back into the position which existed before the attack engineered against her by Bismarck in 1871, namely, that she "obtain restoration of that of which she "was violently robbed more than forty "years ago." He added: "As long as "France fights for Alsace-Lorraine we "shall support her."

As for the democratization of Germany, Mr. Balfour continued, nobody was foolish enough to suppose that it would be possible to impose upon Germany a Constitution made outside of Germany. He added:

> Germany must work out her salvation. You do not mend matters by imposing a Constitution, even if you have the power. Nations must make their scheme of liberty for themselves, according to their own ideas, and based on their history, character, and hopes.
>
> But if it is true that the great power of German imperialism is still depending upon the belief—the belief driven into the German Nation by the wars of 1866 and 1870—that only under the imperial system can Germany be great, powerful, and rich, then if experience shows that the imperialistic system can produce not merely a triumph one time but inevitably lead to corresponding disaster at another, it may well be that those views which found German teachers for more than a generation before the Bismarckian domination will revive with new lustre and new strength, and that Germany, with all her powers of organization and all her inherited cultivation, will be added to those nations which before the war could hardly conceive how a universal war of this sort could be deliberately provoked in order to further the commercial or political interests of any single community.
>
> When Germany has come to the level of the United States and Great Britain in that respect we may hope that one of the great disturbers of the peace will forever be eliminated. I do not know who will venture to say for a moment that, looking at the internal condition of Germany as far as we are allowed to see it at the present time, the ideas of which I have been speaking will really grow in such fashion as to raise legitimate hopes that in our lifetime we shall see that established. But I am sure that if it is not established the security of Europe will not be established either.

The "Potsdam Plot" and Countercharges

The London Times on July 28 published an article from a "well-informed correspondent" tending to show that the die had been cast for war at a secret meeting in Potsdam on July 5, 1914. The Leipziger Volkszeitung had published

eight days earlier a report of Hugo Haase's speech in the Reichstag containing a reference to "the meeting of July 5, 1914," as one of the matters which would have to be explained before the origin of the war could be fully understood. The correspondent of The Times wrote:

> This is the first public reference to a date which probably will become the most famous of the fateful month of July, 1914. I have it on authority which it is difficult if not impossible to doubt that the meeting referred to was a meeting held at Potsdam on the date named. There were present the Kaiser, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, Admiral von Tirpitz, General von Falkenhayn, Dr. William von Stumm, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Archduke Frederick of Austria, Count von Berchtold, Austrian Foreign Minister; Count Tisza, Premier of Hungary, and General Conrad von Hoetzendorf. It appears that von Jagow and Count Moltke were not present.
>
> The meeting discussed and decided on all the principal points in the Austrian ultimatum which was to be dispatched to Serbia. Eighteen days later it was recognized that Russia would probably refuse to submit to such a direct humiliation, and that war would result. That consequence the meeting definitely decided to accept. It is probable but not certain that the date of mobilization was fixed at the same time.
>
> The Kaiser, as is well known, then left for Norway with the object of throwing dust in the eyes of the French and Russian Governments. Three weeks later, when it became known that England would not remain neutral, Bethmann Hollweg wished to withdraw, but it was too late. The decision of July 5 was irrevocable.
>
> The peculiar way, or rather ways, in which the facts have become known cannot as yet be told, but it is certain that most of Haase's hearers were fully aware of the meaning of his reference to July 5, for the subject appears to have been discussed more fully at a session of the Budget Committee of the Reichstag eight weeks ago, when a Socialist Deputy, Herr Cohn, challenged a certain Minister to deny the facts. To the astonishment of other Deputies, the Minister did not deny the facts, but declined to make any statement. The incident created an immense sensation in the Reichstag.

The Berlin Government, through its semi-official news agency, denied this charge in the following dispatch dated Aug. 1:

> The Wolff Bureau is authorized to declare the statements, with all their details, pure inventions. Neither on the day named nor on any other day in July did such a joint conference occur, either with or without the participation of the Emperor. Moreover, we again declare that the German Government abstained from any intervention in drafting the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia and that the German Government was completely ignorant of the contents of the ultimatum before its dispatch. The Times supports its false allegations on statements made by Deputy Cohn in the main committee of the Reichstag. The statement of the Deputy was immediately refuted in committee by the Government as incorrect.

Ribot Answers Countercharge

Dr. Michaelis, as has been seen, came back with the countercharge that France and Russia had made a secret treaty aiming at conquest. Premier Ribot replied to the latter on July 30, in the French Chamber of Deputies, saying:

> I wish to reply to the singular speech which Dr. Michaelis thought fit to invite the Berlin journalists to hear. The German Chancellor publicly commanded the French Government to declare whether in a secret sitting June 1 the French Government had not made known to the Chamber of Deputies the terms of a secret treaty made before the Russian revolution whereby the [Russian] Emperor bound himself to support French pretensions to German territory on the left bank of the Rhine.
>
> The Chancellor's version contains gross inaccuracies and absolute lies, notably regarding the rôle he attributes to the President of the Republic in giving an order to sign a treaty unknown to Premier Briand. The Chambers know how things passed. M. Doumergue, (former Premier and Foreign Minister,) after a conversation with the Emperor, demanded and obtained M. Briand's authorization to take note of the Emperor's promise to support our claim to Alsace-Lorraine and to leave us free to seek guarantees against fresh aggression, not by annexing territories on the left bank of the Rhine, but by making an autonomous State of these territories, which would protect us and also Belgium against invasion.
>
> We have never thought to do what Bismarck did in 1871. We are, therefore, entitled to deny the allegation of the Chancellor, who evidently knows of the letters exchanged in February, 1917, at Petrograd, and falsified since as his most illustrious predecessor falsified the Ems dispatch. Whenever the Russian Govern-

ment is willing to publish these letters we have no objection.

The Chancellor refrained from speaking about my declaration March 21, wherein I repudiated in France's name any policy of conquest and annexation by force. He has willfully forgotten my language May 22 in the Chamber, saying we were ready to enter into conversations with Russia as to the object of the war; and if the German people, whose right to live and develop peacefully we do not contest, understood that we wished peace founded on the right of the people, the conclusion of peace would thereby be singularly facilitated.

Finally the Chancellor passed over in silence the resolution unanimously voted after the June secret session. * * * What is the Chancellor seeking? He is trying to hide the embarrassment which he feels in defining Germany's objects of war and conditions whereon she would make peace. He is trying especially to turn aside attention from the terrible responsibility weighing on the conscience of the Kaiser and his councilors.

It is on the morrow of the publication of decisions made July 5, 1914, at a council held at Potsdam, at which all consequences of the ultimatum to be sent to Serbia were discussed, and from which war was bound to spring, that the Chancellor is trying this diversion. There is something shameless, when one has such responsibilities, in demanding our intentions.

Assuredly it is not to Germany that we address ourselves, but to all who are witnesses or actors in the struggle which we have been maintaining for the last three years and who know that there is in the depth of the French people's soul a deep attachment to the principles of justice, respect for people's rights, and, I may add at the risk of not being understood by our enemies, true generosity.

The Russian Foreign Minister, M. Terestchenko, also denied absolutely the declarations attributed to him by Dr. Michaelis. He issued a statement on Aug. 1, saying:

The Russian Foreign Minister drew up no protest nor made any special declarations to the French Government beyond a general declaration by the Provisional Government respecting war aims, which was generally made known May 18. This declaration, which was sympathetically received, will be thoroughly examined by the inter-allied conference to be held shortly.

Cambon on Potsdam Council

Jules Cambon, who was the French Ambassador to Germany when the war broke out, and who is now General Secretary of the French Foreign Office, confirmed M. Ribot's statements. To an Associated Press representative on Aug. 2 he said, in reference to the revelations regarding the Potsdam Crown Council of July 5, 1914:

I have reason to believe that these revelations, which place at this date the responsibility and initiative of the war, conform to the truth, and I am not surprised that the German Government attempts to divert the discussion by accusing us of seeking annexations which are absolutely contrary to the feelings of all reasonable Frenchmen.

The purpose of Herr Michaelis was to mislead the anti-annexationist elements of Russia and the United States in attributing to France a desire to annex what had never belonged to her. No Frenchman, myself among them, who keeps the memory of the sad wound of 1870 would have dreamed of precipitating Europe into a war to avenge this injury; but, since war has been imposed upon us, it is natural and just that we should profit by it to retake what had been unjustly torn from us.

In the region of the Sarre, to which allusion has been made, are towns which have been French for centuries and which the treaty of 1814 recognized as ours. Sarre Louis, for example, is the birthplace of Marshal Ney, who in 1814 refused before a court-martial to avail himself of the argument of his lawyer, who would have made him innocent of the crime of treason by the fact that his birthplace was no longer in France. Ney preferred to be shot rather than to renounce his French citizenship by judicial subtlety.

Washington dispatches on Aug. 2 stated, apparently with authority, that the United States Government had for sometime been in possession of proof that the German Emperor and his advisers had a copy of the Serbian ultimatum in their hands fourteen hours before it was sent to Serbia. This charge, which fits in with the story of the meeting of July 5, 1914, has been denied by the German Government, but is said to have been admitted by Dr. Zimmermann under pressure in the Reichstag. Dr. Zimmermann was Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs at the date in question.

Kaiser Disclaims Conquest

Emperor William on Aug. 1 took a hand in the war aims debate of the Chancelleries by issuing a proclamation to the German people, as follows:

To the German People: Three years of hard fighting are behind us. With grief we remember our dead, with pride our soldiers now fighting, with confidence all our workers, and with a heavy heart those who are languishing in captivity; but, above all, our thoughts stand resolute in the determination to prosecute this righteous war of defense to a successful termination.

The enemy is stretching out his hands toward German territory, but he shall never have it. New nations continue to enter the war against us, but that does not frighten us. We know our strength, and we are determined to make use of it. They wish to see us weak and powerless at their feet, but they shall not prevail.

They received disdainfully our words of peace; they did not know how Germany could fight. Throughout the world they have slandered the German name, but they cannot extinguish the glory of German deeds.

Thus we stand erect at the close of this year, immovable, victorious, and intrepid. Trials may still await us, but we shall meet them with a grave mien and full of faith. Throughout the three years' achievement the mighty German people has become firm in its resistance against all that the power of the enemy can conceive. If the enemy wishes to prolong the sufferings of war, they will weigh more heavily upon him than upon us.

For that which has been accomplished on the front let us at home show our gratitude by tireless toil. We must continue to fight and to furnish arms for it. But our people may rest assured that German blood and German zeal are not being gambled with for an empty shadow of ambition or schemes of conquest and subjugation, but in defense of a strong, free empire in which our children may live in security.

Let all our actions and all our thoughts be devoted to this fight. Let this be our solemn promise of this day, Aug. 1, 1917.

WILLIAM, I. R.

On the same day the Kaiser issued the following proclamation to the German Army and Navy and to the German colonial forces:

The third year of the war has come to an end. The number of our adversaries has increased, but their prospects of victory have not improved. You crushed Rumania last year. The Russian Empire once more trembles under your strokes. Both countries sacrificed themselves for the interests of others and are now bleeding to death. In Macedonia you forcibly withstood the enemy's assaults. In mighty battles on the western front you remain the masters of the situation. Your lines are firm, protecting your beloved homes against the terrors and devastations of war.

The navy has achieved good results. It has threatened the enemy's command of the sea and his very existence. Far from home, a little German group is defending a German colony against forces many times superior.

Victory in the coming year will again be on our side and on that of our allies. Ours will be the final victory.

With a deeply moved heart I thank you in my own name and in that of the Fatherland for what you have achieved in this last year of the war. With veneration we remember the fallen who gave up their lives for the greatness and safety of the Fatherland.

The war goes on. It is still being forced upon us. We shall fight for our existence in the future with firm resolution and unfailing courage. As our problems multiply, so does our strength increase. We are invincible. We shall be victorious. The Lord God will be with us.

WILLIAM, I. R.

In the Field, Aug. 1.

British Sovereign's Message

King George V., on the occasion of the third anniversary of the war, Aug. 4, sent identical telegrams to the Presidents and sovereigns of the United States, France, Portugal, Italy, Japan, Serbia, and Rumania, expressing "the unwaver-"ing determination of the British Empire "to pursue the contest until our joint ef-"forts are crowned with success and our "common aims attained."

His Majesty also expressed confidence in the unwavering will of the allied peoples and the heroism of their forces in achieving a final victory, obtaining the possibility of peaceful progress for humanity. Similar telegrams were sent to the Kings of Belgium and Siam and the President of Cuba.

In his message to King Albert of Belgium King George expressed his unshakable confidence in the ultimate restoration of Belgium to her rightful position among the free countries of Europe, adding: "The unfailing spirit of her people "under the grievous suffering inflicted "upon them by their enemies will con-"tinue to inspire the joint efforts of the "allied countries against the nation "which has trampled them underfoot."

The London newspapers commemorated the conclusion of three years of war by long reviews and statements by members

of the Government and other leaders proclaiming the determination to fight to the end. Some of these statements were epigrammatic. Lord Robert Cecil said: "The path to freedom lies through the "German lines." Sir Edward Carson, Minister without portfolio, said: "The "Germans unsheathed the sword; they "must not be allowed to put it back un- "broken."

The Kaiser's Message to President Wilson

A Historic Cable Sent Aug. 10, 1914

A hitherto unpublished letter cabled by the German Emperor to President Wilson on Aug. 10, 1914, giving the Kaiser's own version of how the world war began, was made public on Aug. 5, 1917, as part of the first installment of former Ambassador Gerard's book, "My Four Years in Germany," which was published serially in The Philadelphia Public Ledger. The original, in the Kaiser's own handwriting, was reproduced. By official request in Berlin, Ambassador Gerard had suppressed the message, which the Kaiser had given him for publication. It is now made public with President Wilson's permission.

The document is one which historians will study word by word for its light on the hidden motives back of Germany's action in the diplomatic crisis at the outbreak of the war. The Kaiser's plain admission that Belgian neutrality "had to be violated by Germany on strategical grounds," his apparent belief of the false assertion that France was preparing to invade Belgium, and his statement that King George gave promises which Sir Edward Grey refused to fulfill—these are a few of the many points of interest in it. Here is the text of the letter:

For the President of the
United States Personally:

10/VIII 14.

1. H. R. H. Prince Henry was received by his Majesty King George V. in London, who empowered him to transmit it to me verbally that England would remain neutral if war broke out on the Continent involving Germany and France, Austria and Russia. This message was telegraphed to me by my brother from London after his conversation with H. M. the King, and repeated verbally on the 29th of July.

2. My Ambassador in London transmitted a message from Sir E. Grey to Berlin saying that only in case France was likely to be crushed England would interfere.

3. On the 30th my Ambassador in London reported that Sir Edward Grey in course of a "private" conversation told him that if the conflict remained localized between *Russia*—not Serbia—and *Austria*, England would not move, but if we "mixed" in the fray she would take quick decisions and grave measures; i. e., if I left my ally Austria in the lurch to fight alone England would not touch me.

4. This communication being directly counter to the King's message to me, I telegraphed to H. M. on the 29th or 30th, thanking him for kind messages through my brother and begging him to use all his power to keep France and Russia—his allies—from making any warlike preparations calculated to disturb my work of mediation, stating that I was in constant communication with H. M. the Czar. In the evening the King kindly answered that he had ordered his Government to use every possible influence with his allies to refrain from taking any provocative military measures. At the same time H. M. asked me if I would transmit to Vienna the British proposal that Austria was to take Belgrade and a few other Serbian towns and a strip of country as a "mainmise," to make sure that the Serbian promises on paper should be fulfilled in reality. This proposal was in the same moment telegraphed to me from Vienna for London, quite in conjunction with the British proposal; besides, I had telegraphed to H. M. the Czar the same as an idea of mine, before I received the two communications from Vienna and London, as both were of the same opinion.

5. I immediately transmitted the telegrams vice versa to Vienna and London. I felt that I was able to tide the question over and was happy at the peaceful outlook.

6. While I was preparing a note to H. M. the Czar the next morning, to inform him that Vienna, London, and Berlin were agreed about the treatment of affairs, I received the telegrams from H. E. the Chancellor, that in the night before the Czar had given the order to mobilize the whole of the Russian Army, which was, of course, also meant against Germany; whereas up till then the southern armies had been mobilized against Austria.

7. In a telegram from London my Ambassador informed me he understood the British Government would guarantee neutrality of France and wished to know whether Germany would refrain from attack. I telegraphed to H. M. the King

personally that mobilization, being already carried out, could not be stopped, but if H. M. could guarantee with his armed forces the neutrality of France I would refrain from attacking her, leaving her alone, and employ my troops elsewhere. H. M. answered that he thought my offer was based on a misunderstanding; and, as far as I can make out, Sir E. Grey never took my offer into serious consideration. He never answered it. Instead, he declared England had to defend Belgian neutrality, which had to be violated by Germany on strategic grounds, news having been received that France was already preparing to enter Belgium, and the King of the Belgians having refused my petition for a free passage under guarantee of his country's freedom.

I am most grateful for the President's message.

WILLIAM, I. R.

The existence of such a letter was promptly denied by the German Government. The semi-official Norddeutsche Allegemeine Zeitung printed an article on Aug. 13 saying: "We are in a position to declare that no such telegram from the Emperor exists." The United States Government responded by publishing, without comment, the text of the cable letter as received in Washington three years ago. It differed in no essentrial from the version printed above.

Kaiser's Excuse Contradicted

The Kaiser's assertion that Belgian neutrality was violated because "France was already preparing to enter Belgium" has been contradicted by one of Germany's leading military historians, Lieut. Gen. Baron von Freytag-Loringhoven, head of the Supplementary General Staff of the German Army. In an article published by official sanction in the German press early in August, 1917, the Baron stated that France was caught unawares by the invading armies, greatly to the German advantage. His narrative of events in August, 1914, contains this passage:

> The French main concentration was originally accomplished between Belfort and the Belgian frontier, and the first indication that we contemplated a German advance through Belgium resulted in a shift to the left. * * * The Entente Allies recognized only on Aug. 17 that strong German forces also were advancing in a wide enveloping movement on the left bank of the River Meuse, where previously they had assumed that only an army of cavalry, strengthened by some infantry, was present.
>
> In consequence of the original erroneous concentration directed toward the east, the French Fifth Army did not succeed in advancing beyond the line of Dinant-Charleroi by Aug. 22, and was forced to content itself with holding the passages of the Rivers Sambre and Meuse.

General von Freytag-Loringhoven declares that the Germans retreated from the Marne because they were too weak to break through the French lines. But he argues that, although final success was missed there, Germany, by seizing the opportunity of a daring advance through Belgium, avoided war on her own territory.

The Kaiser Contradicts Himself

Stephen Lauzanne, editor of the Paris Matin and a member of the French Mission to the United States, wrote the following comment on the Kaiser's letter when it was made public:

In the letter written by Kaiser Wilhelm to President Wilson on Aug. 10, 1914, we find the following passage:

> While I was preparing a note to H. M. the Czar next morning (July 31) to inform him that Vienna, London, and Berlin were agreed about the treatment of affairs I received the telephone messages from H. E. the Chancellor that, in the night before, the Czar had given the order to mobilize the whole of the Russian Army, which was, of course, also made against Germany; whereas, up till then the southern armies had been mobilized against Austria.

It is not the first time that a similar assertion is made by the German rulers. In an official document issued from Berlin last year we read the following lines:

> History's verdict will not pass over the complete mobilization of Russian forces, which meant war against Germany.

And in his maiden speech at the Reichstag Dr. Michaelis, the new Imperial Chancellor, declared that "the Russian mobilization was the real cause of the war," because that mobilization obliged Germany, for her safety, to take military precautions.

Unfortunately, all these assertions—

M. I. TERESTCHENKO

Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Russian Provisional Government. He was Minister of Finance in the first Russian Cabinet after the Revolution

(Photo Press Illustrating Service)

M. PAINLEVE

French Minister of War, photographed during the allied conference in Paris. M. Painlevé was a university professor before entering politics

(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

letter of the Kaiser, official communiqués, speech of the Chancellor—are entirely untrue, and constitute one of the most audacious and impudent lies. The Germans, who are masters in the art of falsification, may falsify history and geography; but they will find it more difficult to falsify chronology and to prove that a fact which takes place at 10 o'clock in the morning is posterior to a fact which took place at 6 in the evening.

The truth, the undeniable truth which all historians will be obliged to admit, is that the German mobilization took place before the Russian mobilization, and this is undeniably proved by German documents.

On July 31, 1914, at noon, took place in Germany what is called the "Kriegsgefahrzustand"—that is, the official proclamation of danger of war. It is the first preliminary measure to the complete mobilization of the German forces. It took place at noon; it was placarded at noon all over Berlin, announced by special editions of the papers, and telegraphed through the empire. A few hours later, at 4 P. M., the German Kaiser telegraphed to King George of England, (the telegram has been published in the German White Book,) and this is what he says:

> Many thanks for your kind communication. * * * I have *just* heard from the Chancellor that intelligence has *just* reached him that Nicholas, *this evening*, has ordered the mobilization of his entire army and fleet. He has not even awaited the result of the mediation in which I am engaged, and he has left me completely without information. WILLIAM.

Now this is extremely clear. At noon the Kaiser proclaims the "Kriegsgefahrzustand" and at 4 P. M. he *just* hears that the Chancellor has *just* learned that the Czar has, *in the evening*, ordered the mobilization of the Russian Army. The "Kriegsgefahrzustand" is therefore undoubtedly anterior to the Russian mobilization, and undoubtedly the Kaiser lies when in his letter to President Wilson he writes:

> While I was preparing a note *in the morning* I received the telephone messages from the Chancellor that in the night before the Czar had given the order to mobilize the whole of the Russian Army.

He lies, because he has himself avowed in his telegram to King George that it was not in the morning, but in the evening, that the news had reached him through the Chancellor that Nicholas had just ordered the mobilization of his army. The Kaiser has indeed telegraphed too much in those tragic hours of 1914, and he has forgotten what he telegraphed, or he has not taken the trouble of comparing his telegrams. To King George he wires that the Russian mobilization has taken place in the evening of July 31. To President Wilson he writes that the Russian mobilization has taken place in the evening of July 30. Historians may compare and choose. But what is the value of the assertions of a man who says one thing in a telegram and another thing in another telegram?

But there is something more. In his telegram to King George the Kaiser complains that the Czar had left him "without information." This is another lie, because before mobilizing his army the ex-Czar sent four telegrams to the Kaiser of Germany. The last one was couched in the following terms:

> Tsarskoe Selo, July 29, 1914.
>
> To H. M. the Kaiser of Germany:
>
> Thanks for your telegram, which is conciliatory and friendly, whereas the official message presented today by your Ambassador to my Minister was conveyed in a very different tone. I beg you to explain this divergency. It would be right to give over the Austro-Serbian problem to The Hague Tribunal. I trust in your wisdom and friendship. NICHOLAS.

Not only did the Kaiser not answer that telegram, but he suppressed it. And in the official German White Book, giving all the documents about the war, the last telegram of the Czar has disappeared. The reason given by the German officials for suppressing the telegram is the following: They say that it was not interesting!

History will decide if the proposal of the Czar to give over the whole Austro-Serbian problem to The Hague Tribunal was or was not interesting. But it is not necessary to wait for history to decide what degree of confidence must be placed in assertions of the German Kaiser.

Russia Renews Pledge to Her Allies

Foreign Minister Terestchenko on Aug. 2 sent the following telegram to Russian diplomatists accredited to the allied powers:

At a moment when new and grave misfortunes are threatening Russia we consider it our duty to give to our allies who have shared with us the burden of trials in the past a firm and definite explanation of our point of view regarding the conduct of the war. The greatness of the task of the Russian revolution corresponds to the magnitude of the change which it caused in the life of the State. Reorganization in the face of the enemy of the entire Governmental system could not be effected without serious disorders. Nevertheless, Russia, convinced there is no other means of safety, has continued in accord with the Allies' common action on the front.

Fully conscious of the difficulties of the task, Russia has taken up the burden of conducting active military operations during reconstitution of the army and the Government. The offensive of our armies, which was necessitated by a strategical situation, encountered insurmountable obstacles on both fronts and in the interior of the country. The criminal propaganda of irresponsible elements was used by enemy agents and provoked a revolution in Petrograd. At the same time part of the troops on the front were seduced by the same propaganda, forgot their duty to the country, and facilitated the enemy's attempt to pierce our front.

The Russian people have been stirred by these events. Through the Government created by the revolution and an unshakable will the revolt was crushed and its originators were brought to justice. All necessary steps have been taken at the front for restoring the combative strength of the armies.

The Government intends bringing to a successful end the task of establishing an administration capable of meeting all dangers and guiding the country in the path of revolutionary regeneration. Russia will not suffer herself to be deterred by any difficulty in carrying out the irrevocable decision to continue the war to a final triumph of the principles proclaimed by the Russian revolution.

In the presence of an enemy menace the country and the army will continue with renewed courage the great work of restoration as well as the preparation on the threshold of the fourth year of the war for the coming campaign. We firmly believe that Russian citizens will combine all efforts to fulfill the sacred task of defending their beloved country and that the enthusiasm which lighted in their breasts a flame of faith in the triumph of liberty will direct the whole invincible force of revolution against the enemy who threatens the country.

Italy's Position Defined by Baron Sonnino

Baron Sonnino, Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, delivered an important address at the reopening of Parliament on June 20, defining Italy's position on the Balkan issues and other war questions. He began with a tribute to America's entry into the war, saying: "The "justice of our cause could not have re- "ceived a more solemn, a more manifest, "sanction than this given by a nation "which, within the limits of national "dignity, tried everything to avoid war." Concerning the problems and aims directly affecting Italy he said:

Last March the Italian Government, together with the other Allies, formally recognized the Provisional Russian Government. The Italian Nation and the Parliament follow with intense interest the course of events of their great ally in its new life of liberty. We must trust that the noble Russian people will find in the principles of democracy the strength necessary to overcome all the difficulties inherent in its racial and constitutional transformation, and that the sure instinct of the people will be on its guard against all enemy tricks which aim not only to make their own political and military interests prevail but also to undo the free organization of Russia. Russia, however, will find her best protection in a vigorous prosecution of the war and in her complete accord with her allies. The sad case of Rumania had a profound echo among us, who have with her common ideals and aspirations. Rumania, however, not unmindful of her traditions and conscious of the justice of her cause, will find the power necessary to overcome the difficulties of her present situation.

No peace will be agreeable to us which does not assure the restoration of three unhappy nations that have seen their territory invaded and devastated, but who live with full confidence in the future—Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro. Also

the restoration of the independence of Poland is an essential clause of our peace terms. The rights of nationality must be protected. It is in moments of danger that the bonds between nations become stronger.

The recent proclamation of the independence of Albania has publicly confirmed the special concern of the Italian Government toward that country, the interests of which, in connection with our direct and safe possession of Valona, are intimately bound to the general problem of the settlement of the Adriatic—a vital question for Italy. We want the independence of Albania in agreement with the general principles on which our alliances are based and which have been recently repeated so eloquently by the United States and by the new Russian Government. Italy, in regard to Albania, has no other aim than that of preventing a possible interference of a third power. Italy guarantees the absolute autonomy of Albania and will protect her interests and aspirations in the conferences of the nations. It will be the province of the peace conference to determine the exact boundaries of Albania. While the war is on it is necessary that the General Staff of the Italian Army have the direction of all affairs, always, however, with due regard to the existing usages and interests of the Albanian people. After the war Albania will decide for herself.

Military necessity has forced the three protecting powers to take in regard to Greece such measures as have resulted in the abdication of King Constantine and the assumption of the throne by his second son, Alexander. Italy, not being in the number of the protecting powers, had no part in all this, although—it is well to say it—the Italian Government in this circumstance, as well as in the general direction of the war, has been in full agreement with its allies. It is to be hoped that Greece has now reached such a condition in its internal affairs as not to endanger any longer the military position of the allied armies in Macedonia. We wish well to the new King, fully convinced that Italy and Greece must proceed together in the development of their political and economic activities toward those glorious ends to which their historical traditions and their ancient civilization call them.

Against Turkey England has recently undertaken a new vigorous military action in Palestine, in which the bravery of the British Army has already been demonstrated. The Italian flag is represented in that expedition—a fact which responds to a high international political and moral interest. The constant care of this Government and of our allies is this—to strengthen our unity of action and harmonize our respective interests.

The Mediterranean interests of Italy are essentially based on the principle of equilibrium and equality among the powers. We have the greatest guarantees that these interests will be equally protected and safeguarded.

Lately many efforts from many sides (from the enemy also) have been made to have all the elements of the future peace inclosed in a short formula. It is worth while to remember the wise words which the President of the United States addressed to Russia a few days ago: "All wrongs must be redressed and their recurrence made impossible." One cannot do this with highly sounding words or pleasing phrases. The general situation is very complicated, because it includes problems of difference of race, civilization, geographical position, traditions, aspirations. A short formula cannot cover the whole ground of so many cases. Complicated problems exclude a priori the simplicism of a formula that covers everything. Thus the formula of "no annexations and no indemnities" is purely negative if it is separated from the positive principles of liberty and independence of all nations. The negative policy of no indemnities and no annexations without a guarantee that peace and international justice will be maintained would amount to the same as to admit that all the iniquities and violences of the past are to be continued forever.

Italy's War Aims Explained

A prominent Admiral of the Italian Navy recently gave to Whitney Warren in Paris the following succinct and illuminating statement of Italy's war aims on both sides of the Adriatic:

In centuries of servitude we learned to suffer, but not to submit. We are fighting to complete our union, and rather than forego it we prefer to die. The Trentino and Trieste are doors to our home whereof the foreigner has taken possession, which prevents us from closing them against robbers. If New York and San Francisco were occupied by the Germans, would Americans have acted differently from the Italians? And what is represented by the Trentino and Trieste on land is represented by the Adriatic on the sea, for the sea frontiers of Italy are greater than her frontiers on land. By sea Italy breathes and lives. The Tyrrhenian and the Adriatic are her two lungs. If you take a lung from a man he may not die immediately, but he will be short of breath. If you take the Adriatic from Italy she will die of suffocation.

It is only necessary to glance at the map to see that without Dalmatia and

the chain of islands along the coast Italy can never be secure on the Adriatic. Dalmatia and those islands belonged to Venice. By their possession she assured herself and Europe against the Turkish pirates in the sea. When Venice fell, and Austria ravished the heritage of Saint Mark, Italy was not yet freed from her long bondage. This heritage in the hands of the usurpers formed an integral and indivisible part of the great Italian motherland too feeble to break the bonds asunder.

Everywhere Austria found traces of Italian culture on the coasts and among the islands. Ancient monuments and modern houses, churches of old and churches of today, language, customs, civilization—all is Latin, all part of the Italian motherland. But little by little Austria by persecution and confiscation replaced the Italians of these regions by Germans or Croatians from the interior. Our houses, our altars, our monuments are now occupied in great measure by foreigners of another tongue and another civilization, who do not realize what they have torn from us, who understand neither the language of our country nor its ruins. They only know they are there because there is the key to the sovereignty of the Adriatic. The Italians left in Dalmatia struggle still to save what remains of their country and invoke her aid, but their voices become more feeble as their numbers decrease. We must strike now, for soon it will be too late, our thousand-year-old Latin civilization will be abolished by these spoilers.

To these reasons must be added another of military order. Our dreadnoughts are shut up in Tarento because we do not possess a harbor large or deep enough on the Adriatic to hold a large squadron, whereas Austria dominates the whole upper Adriatic from Pola, the middle Adriatic from Setenco and Spalato, the lower Adriatic down to Corfu from Cattaro, and every channel, every isle affords excellent shelter for a large and powerful fleet. Thus Austria can overcome the inferiority of her fleet to those of Italy, France, and England. At any moment she can bring out her vessels from any point of the magnificent coast she has stolen from us, and we have no port at all to harbor our big ships.

I have spent all my life on the sea and now I have the honor to command all the mobilized naval forces of my country. I can therefore speak with full knowledge of the subject, as I base my arguments not on theory, but on experience. Whereas the Italian coast from Venice to Otranto is entirely low-lying, without ports, without anchorages, and wholly exposed to the north wind, the Curzolari Islands and Dalmatia offer vast and numerous points of refuge both from the enemy and from bad weather. No matter where the Austrian ship is in the Adriatic, she can always find shelter by steaming a few miles and reaching one of the numerous channels to the interior. But our vessels can only take refuge at Venice or Brindisi, our only natural naval ports. Brindisi and Venice are 800 miles apart and impracticable for great modern warships. So that the enemy can use the islands as a bridge between Dalmatia and Italy and cross it to attack us just as he can choose his own moment and withdraw before we can pursue him, because Brindisi and Venice are too distant for us to arrive in time. Besides, each lofty peak of the Curzolari Island mountains is an excellent signaling station to sweep the whole surrounding ocean. On the Italian side the reverse is the case; our view extends but a few miles.

For these reasons the words Dalmatia and Adriatic evoke the following thought in all Italians today: We cannot use the sea which bathes half of our country because all advantages are on the opposite coast. Austria was for many centuries without the Adriatic, yet she was powerful and prosperous because she was not a seafaring but essentially a contintental nation. We, on the contrary, by our geographical situation, are exclusively a maritime nation. We never have been able to live without the Adriatic, and now that we are threatened to be deprived of it forever we will fight for it to the death.

Italy does not demand territorial conquests; she wants simply to get back what belongs to her, what is necessary for her existence. If we had nourished the idea of conquest would we not have joined our former allies to profit by the advantages they held out? A vast colonial empire, the riches of Corsica, Nice, and Savoy—was not that a tempting bait for our ambition? And remember that at the time Italy entered the war everything pointed to a victory for the Central Powers. But to these promises Italy preferred the Carso, the Trentino, and the Curzolari Islands. We're not waging a war of conquest, but struggling to turn out the intruder in our home, to deliver our own sons, to save Latin civilization.

Germany's Attitude Toward Restoration

Premier Lloyd George spoke on Aug. 4, 1917, at a great patriotic meeting held in Queen's Hall, London, to mark the third anniversary of the war. He asserted that the German ambition for world conquest had been checked, and that before Great Britain entered a peace conference the Germans must learn the full meaning of the word "restoration." Denouncing the peace talk of the German Emperor and of Chancellor Michaelis as a subterfuge for German war lords to gain time, he shouted:

> There must be no next time. Don't let us repeat this horror. Let us be a generation that manfully, courageously, and resolutely eliminated war from among the tragedies of human life. Let us make victory, at any rate, so complete that national liberty, whether for great nations or for small nations, can never be challenged.
>
> The nations of the world have been climbing painfully up the steps that lead to national independence and self-respect, and now comes a great power with brute force to thrust the nations back crushed and bleeding into the chasm of servitude. That is what we have been fighting.
>
> They talk glibly of peace, but stammer and stutter when they come to the word "restoration." It has not yet crossed their lips in its entirety. We have challenged them. They cannot say it.

Pointing to the soldiers in the audience, the Premier said they were "gradually curing the Kaiser of his stuttering." He went on:

> So far he has not learned the alphabet of peace, not the first letter of that alphabet. "Restoration"—that's the first letter. Then we will talk.
>
> What do they mean? Do they mean peace when they talk it? The truth is, the Prussian war lords have not yet abandoned their ambitions. They are not discussing that. They are only discussing the postponement of those ambitions. * * * The allied powers at the first moment felt instinctively that a great menace to human liberty had appeared on the horizon, and they accepted the challenge. America saw it and joined us. That is what the Germans have been striving against for three years, and not without success.
>
> War is a ghastly business, but it is not as grim as a bad peace. There is an end to a horrible war, but a bad peace will go on and on, staggering from one war to another.
>
> On all the roads ever confronted there are ups and downs, and no doubt the Russian collapse is rather a deep glen, and I am not sure that we have reached its darkest level, but across the valley I can see the ascent.
>
> The Germans claim to be satisfied with the last battle. All I can say is that Field Marshal Haig has secured all his objectives. We had enough guns to smash lines upon which for three years the Germans had expended willing and forced labor, and if the Germans are pleased with the battle, we will let it continue thus, to our mutual satisfaction.
>
> The course the advance is taking is the British method of saving life, and it is the duty of the nation to stand behind the army, patient, strong, and united. In this way we will win. The nation that turns back or falters before it reaches its purpose can never become a great people.

Angry Retorts from Germany

An extraordinary outburst of anger in the German press followed Mr. Lloyd George's "restoration" speech. The Hamburger Fremdenblatt called the address rubbish, an agitator's speech of the lowest sort, almost hysterical, and full of reckless calumnies and misstatements. The Kölnische Volkszeitung, after calling the British Prime Minister a war fanatic and an agitator, declared that the curses of the whole world would soon "follow "to Hades this man of demoniacal energy "and humdrum, narrow outlook." The Frankfurter Zeitung, usually moderate in its tone, called Lloyd George a circus clown and added that Germany would not have the word restoration dictated to her. "We can reach the exact mean- "ing of that word," it continued, "only "by assuming that restoration at Eng- "land's command means destruction for "us. Nothing in the speech shows the "way to peace. Lloyd George talks of "victory with the Russian defeat and the "failure in Flanders staring him in the "face." The Lokal-Anzeiger of Berlin called him a senseless dictator and said: "We are victors in the East and in the "West. Germany is not concerned about "restoration and is not afraid to con- "tinue the war."

Count zu Reventlow, commenting in the Deutsche Tageszeitung, wrote that

Lloyd George was trying to distract England's attention from the Entente failure in Flanders, adding:

He uses strong words in speaking of weakened German nerves. He wants to teach the Kaiser the pronunciation of the word restitution, of course, in the English sense, which is synonymous with the restitution of English domination over Belgium. The conquest of Belgium by English arms has failed, and that is why the Premier now tries to reconquer it with his mouth. He prefers that as the safer method. But we need not bother about this. We have but one aim—the security of our frontiers—which can only be achieved by victory.

At a reception in the Reichstag building on Aug. 4, the anniversary of the sitting of Aug. 4, 1914, addresses were made by Parliamentary and military leaders, after which Dr. Michaelis, the Imperial Chancellor, said in part:

We all know what we want. We will hand our patrimony intact to the future generations. We will guarantee our children and grandchildren against the misfortune of a war like this. We will preserve our country by a strong and wise peace, in order that the German race may retain sure ground for its healthy and vigorous development. The gentlemen who preceded me showed that our strength is not paralyzed; that our will is as strong as it was in 1914. The heaviest sacrifices deserve the highest reward. Let us swear fidelity to the Emperor and the empire. Long live the Fatherland, the Emperor, and the empire!

A telegram to the Chancellor by Field Marshal von Hindenburg on that occasion said:

Firmly consolidated in the interior and unshaken on all the fronts, Germany braves the exasperating thrusts of her ancient and her new enemies. The German Army is fighting far in the enemies' country and is marching with unbroken strength to new successes. It enters the fourth year of the war supported by confidence as firm as a rock that our home spirit and united perseverance will remain alive, which is a guarantee of victory and of an honorable peace to our nation.

Boasts of Occupied Area

A review of the third year of the war printed in the Berliner Tageblatt called attention to what the writer regarded as Entente weakness and sought proof of German success in figures regarding conquered territory:

The past year has been fruitful of many instructive results. Above all it may be asserted that the Entente no longer has the disposal of unlimited production and supplies of ammunition as was the case during the Somme battle. This cessation of munition reinforcement has had a noticeable effect on the western front. And whereas the material resources of our opponents have not increased and the strength of France has become visibly diminished we still are unimpaired in our strength and more strongly fortified than ever before.

He who is willing to be guided solely by the facts and will not permit himself to be deceived by illusions must admit that the ambition of our foes to crush us is today less justified than at any other period, and because this is so we may be permitted to express the hope that common sense and a sincere desire for peace may finally assert themselves in the ranks of our opponents.

The German people, through its accredited representatives, has plainly announced to the world at large its readiness for peace. We hope this expression will be appreciated in its full importance on the other side.

The following offers an approximate picture of the area of occupied territory which now is held by the military forces of the Central Powers measured in square kilometers.

Belgium, 28,980; France, 19,220; Russia, 280,490; Rumania, 100,000; Serbia, 85,867; Montenegro, 14,180; Albania, 20,000. Total, 548,737.

This total is opposed by 900 square kilometers of land held by the French and the Austro-Hungarian territory in Russian possession, measuring 29,500 square kilometers. The latter figure no longer holds good. It has been diminished by fully 60 per cent., and is likely to fall away entirely in the near future.

Attitude of Socialists

Vorwärts, the organ of the majority Socialists, on the third anniversary of the war, published an article replying to Socialists in other lands who were calling upon the German members to withdraw their support from the Kaiser and his military machine. The paper said in part:

How could they expect us to hail the invasion of a hostile army in our own country and joyously greet our own armies' defeat just to satisfy a real or imaginary sense of justice? It is miserable hypocrisy to ask us to recognize the czarism of the past and the clamor for Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar district at present as the embodiment of ideal justice. Must not foreign conquest be as

repulsive to us as to our enemies? Are we expected to recognize evil only at home and not to see the crimes of others?

If the attitude of the German social democracy is so badly misunderstood in hostile countries it is only a sign of the fearful devastation which this war has caused within the province of the most natural and human sense of justice. No man who has preserved that sense, on whatever side he stands, will ask another people to sacrifice itself. Even their own self-esteem ought to prevent our opponents from asking anything of the sort.

Fighting Forces of France

Statement of André Tardieu

André Tardieu, French High Commissioner to the United States, made public on July 30, through a letter to the Secretary of War, many important facts regarding the present strength of France as a fighting unit. After three years of war, he said, France had 3,000,000 men in the battle zone, a million more than at the beginning. She also had one heavy gun for every twenty-six meters of front —that is one for every eighty-five feet on the average. The increase in munitions output is on a similar scale, as revealed in detail in M. Tardieu's letter to Mr. Baker, which follows:

July 30, 1917.

DEAR MR. BAKER: I brought to your knowledge in a recent talk the surprise I felt in reading so often in American newspapers some utterly inaccurate information regarding the military conditions prevailing in Europe, and especially in the French Army. In connection with our conversation, I believe it would be of interest to present to you some figures which, better than any comments, will expose to you the reality; these figures will show you France as she is, vigorous and powerful, in spite of three years of suffering without precedent in history.

I.—STRENGTH IN MEN

The strength in men, now present in the zone of the armies alone, shows the maximum figure reached during the war. This figure, which amounts to a little less than three millions of men, exceeds by over a million the number of men actually in the said zone at the beginning, and one must add to that figure the men in the zone of the interior and in the colonies. We are certain, with the resources of our metropolitan and colonial depots, to be able to maintain that number up to its present level for a long time to come.

Our strength in men, by reason of a better command and of better methods of instruction, has shown since the beginning of the war constantly decreasing definitive casualties, (killed, missing, and those taken prisoner.)

The following figures substantiate this:

	Casualties. P. C.
Battles of Charleroi and of the Marne.	*5.41
First six months of 1915.....	*2.39
Second six months of 1915.....	*1.68
First six months of 1916.....	*1.47
Second six months of 1916.....	*1.28

*In proportion to the total mobilized strength.

II.—FRONT HELD

For measuring the offensive and defensive quality of the troops whose numerical strength I have indicated above, I can do nothing better than to quote some more figures. The western front has an extension of 739 kilometers:

27 kilometers are held by the Belgians.
138 kilometers are held by the English.
574 kilometers are held by the French.

The French Army holds accordingly more than two-thirds of the western front, that is to say, of the front where the enemy has always directed its chief exertion.

The German divisions in line on the western front were, moreover, in June, 1917, distributed as follows:

42 opposite to the English.
81 opposite to the French.

A German division holds an average front of 4 kilometers 700 meters; a French division an average front of 5

kilometers 500 meters—that is to say, one-sixth more.

III.—ARTILLERY

We were amply furnished with "75s" since the beginning of the war. The number of these guns was constantly increased; it is adequate to our needs. As for the heavy artillery, we had in August, 1914, 300 guns grouped in regiments. In June, 1917, we had 6,000 of them, mostly modern. During our present offensive we have, on the average, one heavy gun for 26 meters. If we sum up all the trench, field, and heavy artillery, we have one gun for eight meters in the sector of attack.

Our output in munitions was arranged in August, 1914, for 13,000 shots of "75s" a day. It is now arranged for 250,000 shots of "75s" and 100,000 shots of heavy guns.

To be equal to this enormous production, invaded France did not hesitate, in the midst of war, to create new industries and to bestow on military industries the best of its productive strength.

If you consider, on another side, the weight of the projectiles shot on the German trenches during one of the last offensives, you will find the following figures for one lineal meter:

	Kilos.
Field artillery	407
Trench artillery	203
Heavy artillery	704
High-power artillery	128
Total	1,442

Here below, lastly, come figures on the monthly expenditure in ammunition for the "75s":

July, 1916	6,400,000
September, 1916	7,000,000
October, 1916	5,500,000

During the last offensive the expenditure was 12,000,000 shots in all calibres.

I might also add that we completely re-equipped and re-armed the Belgian, Serbian, and Greek Armies.

I recall, likewise, that the number of heavy guns given by us to the Allies exceeds 800.

IV.—FINANCIAL EFFORT

The financial effort cannot be separated from the military effort. Here, below, are some more figures. France has expended since the beginning of the war the following sums:

	Francs.
1914	8,040,000,000
1915	22,800,000,000
1916	32,640,000,000
1917	19,167,000,000
Total	82,647,000,000

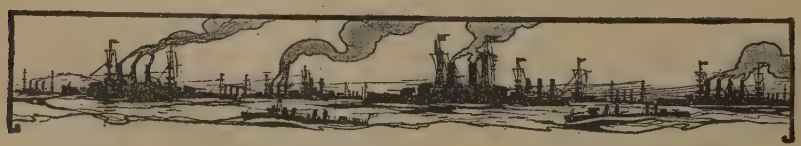
She received from foreign countries from the first of August, 1914, to the first of January, 1917, 6,000,000,000 francs. During the same period she loaned to several allied Governments 4,000,000,000 francs.

If France alone, which has only 38,000,000 inhabitants, and whose richest and most populated provinces are invaded, was by herself capable of such a financial effort, it is because of the strict discipline which she forced upon the employment of her resources; this discipline also is proof of strength.

Such is the situation. Severe was the ordeal; stronger is the national energy. Now it is a question of striking the last blow to the adversary. You will help us. But, at the moment when the American soldiers arrive in France, it is proper to let them know that they will find to receive them a country which, today as well as during the last three years, bears the principal exertion of our dreadful foe; a country which maintains to the maximum of her power, without hesitation and without weakness, her strength, her means, and her will.

Believe me, dear Mr. Secretary, very sincerely yours, ANDRE TARDIEU,

Hon. N. D. Baker, Secretary of War, Washington.



Results of Three Years of War

A Brief Review by Major Gen. Maurice

Major Gen. Frederick B. Maurice, Chief Director of Military Operations at the British War Office, summarized the results of three years of war on July 28, 1917, as follows:

THE first year of the war, broadly speaking, was an attempt by Germany to put into effect elaborate plans which her military strategists had been preparing over the space of many long years. The first phase was a concentrated attack on France and Belgium during a certain allotted period of time, in which the Germans estimated it would be impossible for Russia to disturb them in the east. The attack on France was checked, first on the Marne, later on the Yser and at Ypres, although France and Belgium suffered severely in the process.

Germany then, according to her plan, took the defensive on the western front and turned her offensive effort eastward in an effort to knock out Russia. Here again she failed, although her attack enormously weakened Russia's offensive power.

In the Autumn of 1915 Germany definitely abandoned her old pre-war strategic scheme and started in on a new plan developed since the war began, namely, an effort to upbuild "Mittel-Europa" as a great block composed of four so-called Central Powers which would command the road to the East. The Autumn campaign of 1915 consisted, in essence, of the furtherance of this scheme by conquering Serbia, bringing in Bulgaria, and halting our Dardanelles effort by rushing munitions, supplies, and soldiers to the assistance of the Turks.

By the Winter of 1915 Germany had gone a long way toward realization of her own ambition, and this point represents to my mind the grand climacteric of Germany's offensive power. All this time Great Britain had been building up armies, and with the beginning of 1916 we, for the first time, had a real army in the field.

With the Spring of 1916 Germany had come to realize that the conquest of Russia was impossible—Russia was too massive to kill or crush. So the German staff again turned on France, and the Verdun attack was the result.

With the defeat of Germany at Verdun came a turning of the tide, of which further manifestation was seen in a successful British offensive. Previous British military efforts had been, comparatively speaking, minor operations, or operations undertaken in support of the French. At the Somme we started our new work, and really great, important work it was, although a great deal of the contemporary effect of the Verdun defeat and of the Somme victory was neutralized by Germany's push into Rumania. The Rumanian push, however, viewed in true historical perspective, was merely a flash in the pan. The German military power already was on the decline, and her offensive strength was nothing like what it had been the year before.

The end of 1916 found the situation between the two great groups of contestants about equally balanced, but with the scales leaning slightly in favor of the Entente.

The year 1917 has presented a still rosier picture. During the whole third year of the war Germany and her allies have attempted nothing on land. They everywhere have been on the defensive. The Turks lost Bagdad and the Sinai Peninsula. On Germany's eastern frontier, although the Russian revolution enormously weakened Russia's military power, Germany was incapable of taking advantage of the situation. On the Austrian front the Italians got in powerful blows. In the west the British and French struck repeatedly, and the Germans have been powerless to answer back.

This is the pitiful state to which we have reduced the great power whose whole military gospel was summed up in the phrase, "vigorous offensive." Ger-

many's military helplessness, owing to the long strain on her man power, material, and resources, is such that today she barely is able to hang on, and her only hope is that she may find some way of similarly wearing us down and forcing us out of the war before we get up momentum to drive her back.

At present Germany is banking on the U-boat. She hopes against hope that the U-boat will reduce the people of the Entente Powers to the same state of want, privation, and suffering which she has been enduring for months and years past. She hopes to make the Entente people cry enough and start peace parleys while she still has got the big pawns with which to bargain at a peace conference.

General Robertson on the Situation

General Sir William Robertson, Chief of the British Imperial General Staff, on Aug. 4, 1917, reviewed the past three years of war, and made the following statement of the situation to a London correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES:

SUPPOSE we must conclude that no army of millions can be broken and crushed. Is the same thing to be supposed of the nation behind the army? Surely we see in this tremendous contest much more than a struggle of armed forces. It is a sifting of nations, a trial of character, a test of racial quality. The workmen and workwomen of each nation are engaged in the conflict, and the forces in the field are only the hands of a vast body in which every muscle is being strained and tried.

Suppose you cannot roll up the flanks of your enemy's army. Cannot you break his heart? Suppose you can only drive him yard by yard, hammering him back to his frontiers month by month? Suppose that is all you can do. Cannot you destroy his civilian confidence and break his political will? If that is the effect of your strategy the decision is a military decision. You have broken his will; you have imposed your will upon him; you have conquered his resistance.

But it is too early yet to say you cannot destroy his defensive in the field while his civilian will is still stubborn; we on our side, at any rate, do not say that.

Why should our people forget the difference betwen 1914 and 1917? They forget that Germany was ready three years ago. We had our backs to the Germans; we were within a few miles of Paris. The French Government had removed to Bordeaux. We were retreating—the French and English together—with the loss of a few guns and with many casualties.

What is the position today? We are far north and facing north. We no longer have our backs to the Germans, and we are millions where before we were thousands. We have driven them before us; we have taken positions that they regarded as matters of life and death, and our guns are hammering them now as they have never been hammered before.

It is too early to say that the defensive in modern warfare is impregnable. Military writers in Germany may say so, but our men in France are not laying down law on that subject. I would say it is too early yet for such dogmatism.

Let us wait a few weeks. The guns are speaking now; let them go on speaking, and let us remember while we wait that, whether or not vast armies can be conquered in the field as they were conquered years ago, the will of nations can be broken by hopelessness and despair. If the army does not crack, the nation behind it may crack.

Some one has got to give way in this conflict on one side or the other. There must be submission; and when you stop to consider the numbers and resources of each side, you may fairly conclude that if the nations of the Allies are steadfast, if the civilian heart is sound, submission must come sooner or later from the Central Powers. The material odds are on our side at last, but quality is going to win this war. Character will decide it.

America brings the hope of an earlier end to all the frightful agony and loss of

this war. Without her we and our allies should go on fighting to the end. We are forced to do so. Our life depends upon it. Europe would not be fit to live in if we submitted it to the war lords of Prussia. That would be the death of international good-will.

But America should hasten the end. That is the crowning mercy of her appearance on the battlefield. She has begun splendidly. She is solemnly earnest, and when she strikes her hardest it will be with the supreme object of saving the world for democracy and Europe from further death. We may be pretty confident that her blows will strike despair into the hearts of the Prussian war lords, troubled now lest their own people should find them out.

Do not let us underrate the Germans, because their cause is bad, because they are guilty of provoking the war, and because their material resources are less than ours. The whole German Nation is as disciplined as an army. It is the army. Germans have discipline in their blood, discipline finely drawn to thinness. Docility is a bad thing in peace, making for slavishness, but it provides a people with certain advantages in war.

Germany is strong because she is undemocratic, and she is undemocratic because she has been drilled in iron discipline. All those millions of people have been forced to take the sword from the hand of a King. Terrible as this discipline is and formidable as it is, there is a discipline more formidable still. I mean the self-imposed, self-accepted discipline of a free people.

What could be more magnificent than the spectacle which America now presents to mankind? She has liberty in her blood. She loathes despotism. She could no more bend her knee to the yoke of autocracy than she could turn her broad rivers into puddles and her great lakes into ponds. But look at her now, submitting herself to the discipline of war freely of her own will for the sake of a moral issue.

It is not for me to prophesy. It is not for me even to pronounce an opinion on America's preparations, but I should say that throughout the world freedom breathes more freely and democracy is more confident for the mere spectacle of that vast nation imposing upon itself the restraints and rigors of discipline. It means now as much to the spirit of this struggle as later its effects will mean in the final grip.

Serbia Plundered by Conquerors

THE American Ambassador in Paris received the following communication on July 24, 1917, from the Serbian Legation there:

Mr. Ambassador: I am instructed by my Government to inclose herewith to your Excellency a memorandum relating to the economic exploitation of the Serbian provinces occupied by the Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian authorities.

The economic exploitation which they are practicing by means of the illegal imposition of taxes, by the depreciation of Serbian money, the abolition of the moratorium, the sale of Serbian monopolies, the introduction of fresh monopolies by the violation of the rights of private property, and by forced subscription to the war loan, has but one object in view: the economic ruin of occupied Serbia.

Taking as their justification Articles 23, 43, 44, 46, 48, 52, 53, and 56 of The Hague Regulations, the Royal Government of Serbia protests strongly against these arbitrary measures on the part of the Austrian and Bulgarian authorities, constituting, as they do, flagrant violations of the public international law.

I should be obliged if your Excellency would be so good as to communicate this protest to your Government.

I remain, &c.,

VESNITCK.

The memorandum transmitted with the note gives notice that Serbia reserves the right of claiming at the time of peace negotiations an indemnity corresponding to the damage inflicted, both on the Serbian State and its subjects, by these flagrant violations of international law. It is charged that more than 100,000,000 crowns have been illegally extorted, as well as 6,000,000 crowns in the form of

forced subscriptions to Austrian war loans and the Austrian and Bulgarian Red Cross. Extracts from the memorandum are:

Our law of the 29th July, 1914, with regard to the moratorium, was abolished by decree of the Military Government of the 19th January, 1917. In virtue of this decree, Austrian and German creditors can legally and without hindrance claim payment of all their debts plus 6 per cent. interest, in quick installments, and in either Austrian or Serbian money, (which is accepted at only half its nominal value.) The decree was passed at the instigation of Austrian and German creditors. It has ruined Serbian trade.

The Austrians have pillaged all the houses in Belgrade and in other towns where the owners were absent. According to reports received, such houses have been completely ransacked. Private property has never been so little respected in any war. The royal palace has been plundered.

The Ethnographical Museum and the National Museum have been pillaged, and all valuable objects taken away, contrary to Article 56 of The Hague Regulations, according to which museums are as inviolate as private property.

The Bulgarians, like the Austrians, have plundered all the houses abandoned by their owners. At Monastir, for instance, it was proved upon the entry of our troops that the personal property of all our officials had been carried away to Bulgaria. The Bulgarians designate all lands, factories, buildings, furniture, and other property belonging to those who had emigrated from the occupied provinces as unowned property, putting up such property for sale or letting it on lease for the benefit of their treasury.

The National Library, the University Library of Nish, and the Library of the School of Theology at Prizzen were taken by the Bulgarians as war booty. The books and manuscripts of all these libraries were carried away to Bulgaria.

The Serbian Legation at Sofia was pillaged, and also the private belongings of the Minister and his secretaries.

It must be especially remarked that the Bulgarians have plundered to an extent and with an effrontery unexampled in modern warfare. They have sold as booty silk, calico, linen, glass, furniture, kitchen utensils, agricultural implements, and even tombstones.

The Austrians and Bulgarians, without having formally annexed the occupied provinces, behave as veritable sovereigns. Their economic administration has an evident tendency to ruin the population.

The Marching Stars

By AUGUSTE VILLEROY

[Contributed to the Paris Figaro in honor of the first arrivals of United States troops in France.]

Sous la voûte d'un grand arc-en-ciel qui s'éploie,
Dans l'adieu du dernier brouillard qui se dissout,
Belle de certitude et chantante de joie,
L'Amérique là-bas tout entière est debout.

C'est fait! La Liberté sainte, dont la statue
Triomphale brandit un astre en son poing clos,
Comme Jésus, de gloire éclatante vêtue,
S'avance vers l'Europe en marchant sur les flots.

Et nous voyons, du fond de l'espace enfin libre,
Fidèles au tragique et sacré rendez-vous,
Sur l'azur des drapeaux, où leur lumière vibre,
Des constellations qui s'en viennent vers nous!

A German Version of the Marne

Reviewed by a French Historian

JOSEPH REINACH IN LA REVUE DE PARIS

[Translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

One of the great decisive battles of the world's history was fought three years ago this month. The salvation of France and of democracy throughout the world hung upon the outcome of a great series of engagements in which French and English soldiers, wearied by the long retreat from Mons and Charleroi, stood and fought to the death with the pursuing German armies in the neighborhood of Paris. The action was on so vast a scale and extended through so many days that only when it was all over could its full meaning be grasped as a great French victory—the battle of the Marne. The world could not understand at first why the German armies had swerved to the south and left Paris unharmed, and the details of the cause are only now coming gradually to the light. Even the fact that the battle was a decisive German defeat was denied or carefully concealed at first in Germany. The book discussed by M. Reinach in the following article was the first to admit the truth—indirectly. The narrative of this German eyewitness, with M. Reinach's lucid French comments, and with General Clergerie's supplementary account of how General Gallieni's taxicab army issued out of Paris and surprised and defeated von Kluck, constitutes one of the most valuable chapters yet written on the subject.

THERE appeared at Berlin in the year 1916 a book, "The Battles of the Marne," which made a great stir in Germany. Extracts from it had already been known through the American newspapers. I have been informed that the volume has been since withdrawn by order from circulation. In any case, it is almost impossible to find a copy in neutral countries, even though Germany has deluged them with a war literature as voluminous as it is insipid. The Belgian Minister of War has succeeded in getting a copy, which he has had translated. He has asked me to write a preface for it. M. Hanotaux, on his part, intends to publish a critical edition of it. The Revue Militaire Suisse consecrated a short but substantial article to it in August.

The book is anonymous. The author is manifestly an authority and an eyewitness. Necessarily, he claims to write ad narrandum. In reality, it is to prove that the battle of the Marne "was interrupted for purely strategical motives"; consequently, that it was not "an immense victory" for the armies of France; that General von Moltke's plan is one of the greatest of all time, and that the commander of the First German Army is above all reproach. In all probability, he is an officer of the staff of von Moltke er of von Kluck. I am inclined to believe that he was attached to the latter, because of the very special attention which he pays to the actions of the First Army, and the eulogies which he lavishes on the commander who was beaten at the Ourcq. At times, one would say he writes at von Kluck's dictation. But he is equally attached to General von Moltke, who was at the head of the Grand General Staff from August, 1906, and who was to be forced into retirement before the end of the first year of the war. It is thus easy to understand how the book should be first authorized and then withdrawn. * * *

He explains the plan of the German General Staff with great lucidity; a strict defensive from the Swiss frontier to the Donon; a defensive-offensive, according to Marshal von Moltke's formula, between the Donon and Verdun, where the chief mission of the Fifth Army will be to retain the enemy forces opposed to it; a vigorous offensive of the first four armies which, starting from the base Thionville-Aix-la-Chapelle, are

to penetrate France through Luxemburg and Belgium "in order to endeavor later to extend the right wing more and more toward the sea."

This movement of conversion "full of genius" authorized the greatest hopes. "In the great curve which, through Brussels, Valenciennes, Compiègne, Meaux, passed to the east of Paris, we should throw the French armies back beyond the Aisne, the Marne, and, perhaps, beyond the Seine, in order eventually to outflank them to the south of Fontainebleau, and thus to roll up the whole French battle line." Meanwhile, reserve and Landwehr corps would prevent later debarkation of English troops between Calais and Dunkirk.

"So far as human foresight could tell, this plan could have been carried out at the end of September, 1914." Many army corps would have been liberated, and could have been hurled against Russia. * * *

It will have been observed that our author indicates, as having formed a part of the German plan, the passage "to the east of Paris" after the first successes. So that the German Staff did not hesitate, we are told, on the morrow of the battles of Mons and Charleroi, between pushing straight on to Paris and seeking the French army on the Marne or on the Seine. * * * It can be seen at once what a brilliant exculpation of von Kluck and von Moltke is contained in this affirmation. All Germany was convinced, in August, and, with it, almost the whole world, that her victorious armies had Paris as their objective. "Nach Paris!" shouted all her soldiers, when entering Belgium, and, later, all along our roads, deafening and frightening all those who saw them rushing forward at the rate of forty kilometers a day. But the General Staff and the Emperor himself were already resolved not to attack Paris before having destroyed the French armies "to the south of Fontainebleau."

Is this the truth? I think so. Or is it an invention, after the disillusion, after the failure of the "plan of genius," and the defeat? Evidently, this will not be known for certain until the German archives disclose to us the original plan of the General Staff, as it was before the war or during its first days. * * *

However great is the admiration of the German author for the German plan, he finds one fault with it: "The tasks imposed upon the armies of the centre and, even more, those of the right wing were really excessive." In fact, "not only

GENERAL VON KLUCK

were they to break the resistance of the Belgians and their forts, but they were also, through the stifling heat of August, to execute an altogether extraordinary march, before they could come to grips with the French, who held good positions chosen by themselves, and who had to reckon with no supply problem." * * * There are, as we know, other causes for the German defeat on the Marne—and our author himself will indicate them; but these causes are manifestly accurate. To march, in the hottest part of the Summer, at the rate of forty kilometers a day, and even though inspired by victory and sure of an early triumphal entry into the enemy's capital, would have undermined the offensive vigor of armies of steel and iron and sapped their power of resistance. This was the case of the soldiers of von Kluck and von Bülow, when they arrived at the Ourcq and the Marne. They were weary. Without doubt, our troops and the English had also endured heavy fatigues; but they had not had to pass through all Belgium fighting. Thus the violation of

Belgian neutrality, decided on for reasons of strategy, weighed heavily at this point also on the German armies. Finally, it cannot be denied that the German supply service became more difficult as the invading armies got further from their base. We, on the contrary, were fighting near ours. It was an appreciable advantage.

Wine a Cause of Defeat

Must we add that the German armies drank more as they ate less? The German author is silent as to this, but there are certain and numerous evidences of it. These beer drinkers were not used to our wines. Weary and sweating, they rushed into our cellars. The wine of France had its part in our victory.

The confession of this is found in the notebook of an officer on von Kluck's staff, a prisoner today. On Sept. 2 he notes:

> Our soldiers are worn out. For four days they have been marching forty kilometers a day. The ground is difficult, the roads are torn up, trees felled, the fields pitted by shells like strainers. The soldiers stagger at every step, their faces are plastered with dust, their uniforms are in rags; one might call them living rag-bags. They march with closed eyes, and sing in chorus to keep from falling asleep as they march. The certainty of victory close at hand and of their triumphal entry into Paris sustains them and whips up their enthusiasm. Without this certainty of victory they would fall exhausted. They would lie down where they are, to sleep at last, no matter where, no matter how. Only the delirium of victory keeps our men going. And, to give their bodies a drunkenness like that of their souls, they drink enormously. But this drunkenness also helps to keep them up. Today, after an inspection, the General was furiously angry. He wanted to put a stop to this collective debauch. We have just persuaded him not to give severe orders. It is better not to be too strict, otherwise the army could not go on at all. For this abnormal weariness abnormal stimulants are needed. In Paris we shall remedy all this. We shall forbid the drinking of alcohol there. When our troops are at last able to rest on their laurels, order will be restored.

"They drink enormously." It is a German officer who writes it, before the battle. They kept it up during the battle, on the evenings of the battle, in our villages of the Ile-de-France and Champagne, drinking enormously in our well-filled cellars. One of the cavalry officers who led the pursuit has told me that he found the main street of a village so strewn with wine bottles and broken glasses that he had to make his way through the fields. * * *

German Praise of Joffre

Our author underlines the importance of the nomination of Gallieni, (as Military Governor of Paris:) "One of the best Generals of Republican France, who was absolutely the right man in the right place." * * * But his admiration goes especially to Joffre, the reasoned admiration of a soldier who does not feel the need of diminishing his enemy, thus diminishing himself by a back stroke. It is natural that he calls the victories of the Sambre and the Meuse "prodigious." We do not deny that they were great, and that they filled the world with astonishment and anxiety. Let us quote textually:

> During the last third of August, 1914, the defeats of the French and English, especially on their left wing, had been so prodigious that only a general of very high gifts could have stopped the march of the Germans or obliged the adversary to evacuate a part of the territory occupied. The man who attempted this was General Joffre. Gathering all available reserves, a General with less decision would, perhaps, have tried to stop the enemy at several points. But a partial success gained in this way would have had no influence on the final result. Joffre immediately saw that it would not do to stop at half measures, and he found both the means and the efficient secondary commanders to carry out his ideas.

To begin with, Joffre did not allow himself to be disturbed "by the messages of misfortune which succeeded each other without interruption," during the closing days of August. He immediately recognized "at the first glance" that, on the one hand, "the strongly occupied line between Belfort and Verdun could hold at least for several days or weeks" and "contain the German attack"; and that, on the other hand, the danger to be guarded against was that of the immense enveloping movement—pursued "with a rapidity that had never been reached by armies of that size"—by the moving right wing of the enemy. Sure of his own right, Joffre therefore ordered the

splendid strategic retreat—according to the expression of Marshal French—which was to end in the victory of the Marne. * * *

Difficulties of Germans

An uneasiness begins to show through the following pages, in which the German Army is seen growing weaker as Joffre compels it to follow him still further. We may suppose that the understanding of the famous manoeuvre was reached by the German Staff only after their defeat, and that the homage rendered to Joffre is part of the special pleading for von Moltke and von Kluck. But this supposition is not essential, and we may well believe that such able soldiers perceived the growing peril which they could not avoid. In either case, we can indorse almost all the views of the German narrative.

The further the Germans advanced, and the longer the French and English were able to escape without engaging in a decisive action, the more did the initial advantage of the Germans pass into the hands of their adversaries. The Germans got further and further from their base, and grew more and more exhausted by their forced marches. They were using up their munitions and their food supplies with alarming rapidity, and the least dislocation of the supply service might become fatal to armies so vast as those which the Germans launched, in the month of August, against Belgium and the north of France.

But Joffre, who, it must not be forgotten, was fighting on interior lines, was coming closer and closer to his supply bases. Every day new, fresh troops were arriving behind his lines of battle; day by day the first lines could be provided with food supplies and munitions, and, finally, the French Staff found itself in the agreeable situation of bringing into battle far fewer wornout troops than its adversary, who, for a month, had been marching almost day and night. In addition to this, it was a piece of good fortune for the French that their front, however thin it might be at certain points, had not yet been pierced.

When Joffre had taken the resolution only to accept battle under particularly favorable circumstances, he gave the order to his subordinate commanders to withdraw before the enemy and to march further and further south. If his preparations had not been completed in time, he would eventually have accepted battle to the south of the Seine, and have abandoned Paris. He then took measures to reinforce his threatened left wing and centre, and, before all, to prevent the army which was marching on the (German) extreme right wing from outflanking his battle line.

We are familiar with these measures; it is not doubtful that the German intelligence department was acquainted with them at the time when they were taken, or very soon afterward. They were "the creation of two new armies: the Sixth Army, which, under the command of General Maunoury," should have been formed, according to the initial plan, in the neighborhood of Amiens, and which "because of the rapid German advance, was actually formed to the northeast of Paris and in its vicinity"; the Ninth Army, "which was slipped in between the Fourth and Fifth Armies, and intrusted to General Foch, a very able commander."

These armies were made up of divisions, very accurately enumerated, some of them brought by rail from Alsace and Lorraine, "drawn from Castelnau's large Second Army," from the First Army, commanded by General Dubail, and from the Second Army, under General Sarrail; others were drawn from the Paris garrison and the Moroccan contingents. Another part of these measures was "the submission to Joffre's orders of the troops of the intrenched camp of Paris which were commanded by General Gallieni," the Sixth Army being at the same time "put at the disposition of the Governor of Paris, that is, indirectly intrusted to the Commander in Chief," and this, "because, at all times, unity of command has been one of the principal factors of success." Finally, "in order that nothing might be neglected which could contribute to the success of the great plan, Joffre, who had already replaced Ruffey by Sarrail, put the Fifth Army under the orders of Franchet d'Espérey.

Swerving Aside From Paris

While Joffre's armies withdrew step by step on the Marne, where they were to halt on Sept. 5 and be joined by the English army, "the German armies of the right wing were marching forward into France without a halt. It seemed as though a wall of iron were ceaselessly moving forward. A single thought ani-

mated this colossal gray mass; the annihilation of the French field army, in order to end at a stroke the war on the western front. It was everywhere believed that Paris was the goal of the German Generals, and every day the newspapers announced the diminution of the distance which separated the German advance guard from the French capital. And then suddenly—it was on Sept. 4—the German First Army, leaving Paris on its right, swerved toward the south!"

The exclamation mark stands in the German text, but, without doubt, only to mark the final point. "The point is all." The narrator has explained, as we have seen, at the beginning of his narrative, that "the passage to the east of Paris" had been written beforehand in the plan "full of genius" of Moltke, and not the march upon Paris. This affirmation must suffice as an answer to all the criticisms which have been raised in the sequel against the abandonment, assuredly only for a very brief period, in the thought of the German Staff, but which in fact became final, of the direct attack against the capital. Magister dixit. Thus the younger Moltke had decided. Thus the elder Moltke had prescribed in his famous note of 1859: "Even though the fate of Paris decides everything, as in 1814," it would be right to "turn away from Paris" in case a French army should be gathered in the neighborhood of Rheims. It would then be necessary to attack the French behind the Aisne, to throw them back across the Marne, the Seine, the Yonne, and, finally, the Loire. After that, we could march on Paris.

I have said that this explanation appears to me genuine. It is, none the less, singular that the author of this narrative, so complete in other respects, should make no allusion at all to the tempest of recriminations which was raised in Germany, after the defeat of the Marne, against the movement "to the east of Paris." It is comprehensible that he should keep silent concerning the intervention of the Emperor, who wished, as I believe to be the case, that the German army should march direct on Paris, and concerning the opposition of Moltke, who must have spoken of it to von Kluck, to the imperial proposal. All the same, he might try to justify the manoeuvre, and to prove to German opinion that the attack on Paris, far from leading to certain victory, might have led to disaster, and that, therefore, the strategic rule must be followed. Why does he not attempt this demonstration, which I believe to be sound?

His mere sketching it has sufficed to bring about the suppression of his book, or the prohibition of a second edition by the higher authorities.

German Officer's Memorandum

In contrast with this, here is what may be read in the notebook of the German officer already mentioned, under date of Sept. 3. The bulk of the army had taken up its quarters in the forest of Ermenonwille. The columns were advancing toward Betz:

> We are leaving Paris on our right, and we shall concentrate toward the southeast, opposite the remnants of the Franco-English army, which is trying, it is true, to reassemble its broken fragments in the plain of the Marne. Our soldiers have no suspicion that we are temporarily leaving the road to Paris. They are counting so completely on finding themselves at the gates of Paris tomorrow, or the day after, that it would be cruel to tell them the truth. They would lose all their spring. Our soldiers believe that the epoch of battles is ended, that the decimated French Army is hiding, and that we are going to enter Paris singing and drinking.

Paris is not only the great triumph; it is rest and peace:

> One of our battalions was marching wearily forward. All at once, while passing a crossroad, they discovered a signpost, on which they read: Paris, thirty-seven kilometers, (twenty-three miles.) It was the first signpost that had not been erased. On seeing it, the battalion was as though shaken up by an electric current. The word Paris, which they have just read, drives them crazy. Some of them embrace the wretched signpost, others dance round it. Cries, yells of enthusiasm, accompany these mad actions. This signpost is their evidence that we are near Paris, that, without doubt, we shall soon be really there. This notice board has had a miraculous effect. Faces light up, weariness seems to disappear, the march is resumed, alert, cadenced, in spite of the abominable ground in this forest. Songs burst forth louder, and no longer the traditional songs, but Parisian ditties, stupid enough in all conscience.

Then on the next day, (Sept. 4,) General von Kluck himself comes to make a visit of inspection to Lizy-on-Ourcq. The officer of the notebook talks with a Major in his escort. Is von Kluck only the well-disciplined interpreter of the decisions of Moltke, the supreme chief? In any case, "he feels certain that the Germans will soon crush the crumbs of the French Army. The reports of spies who have watched the retreat of the enemy army are very encouraging. They are a dejected horde, discontented, without any spring. There is no chance of their regaining a biting edge. The General fears nothing from the direction of Paris. We shall come back to Paris, after having annihilated what is left of the Franco-British army. The Fourth Corps of reserves will be intrusted with the triumphal entry into the great capital. * * *"

On Sept. 5, the eve of the general attack, the officer of the notebook records that the high German command foresees a flank attack, "although our reconnoissances have not brought any certain information on this point." Orders are given to dig trenches, to hasten defensive works. "These orders are very badly executed." Von Kluck makes a tour of inspection; "he is evidently very displeased." The soldiers work badly, or not at all. They are "worn out by forced marches, or drunk." But there is something more: "Persuaded that they have already attained complete success, they are full of disillusionment when they learn that they will have to dig defensive trenches. Our soldiers have been too much accustomed to singing hymns of victory and triumph."

New Spirit of the French

This is very good military psychology. Here is a German who can read more than is in his books. Note the phrase that follows: "If the French were not so profoundly demoralized, they might become very dangerous, for our First Army is very far from possessing the energy and discipline which were its strength in Belgium and on the northern frontier of France." Also, on Sept. 7, (battles of Marcilly, Barcy, and Chambry,) and Sept. 8, (capture of Chambry,) what surprise: "The French troops appear to be full of ardor. * * * Our men hold the heights, but the French have become demons, they charge in the face of machine-gun fire, joyfully let themselves get killed. * * * The valor of the French is superhuman. * * * Like spontaneous generation, troops appear from all sides. * * *"

On Sept. 8 the officer of the notebook writes:

> Col. Gen. von Kluck has inspected the posts. I saw him. His eyes, usually so brilliant, are dull. He, so energetic in his whole attitude, speaks in a faint voice. He is quite cast down. I question the Major who accompanies him. Our reconnoissances have just unmasked considerable French formations. Today's battles have been terrible for us. And all our armies, from the Marne to Alsace, are bearing an unendurable burden. We must parry this danger at any cost, even by retreat.

It was, writes the German historian of the Marne, "to escape the danger of being outflanked that the French Commander in Chief had created a new army on the extreme French left. This new army the Sixth, and the German Fifth Army, against which Joffre created it, were only fighting on the Ourcq, for four days now, in order to try to outflank each other. Neither succeeded. However, von Kluck was only able to stop Maunoury's turning movement by drawing strong reinforcements from Bülow, whose Second Army was thereby greatly weakened; the English, and the French Fifth Army, under Franchet d'Espêrey, concentrated all their efforts on the point of least resistance in front of them; the English recrossed the Marne; the French Fifth Army pushed north; thus the German forces facing our Sixth Army on the Ourcq were taken in the flank. * * * Here is the German account:

> Sept. 9 was a very critical day for Maunoury. The Germans had been marching unceasingly for five weeks, they had fought numerous battles, and lacked munitions and even more, food. Yet, in irresistible assaults, they had the force to throw the French back at all points. Instead of yielding, they compelled the French to yield; instead of being outflanked, they outflanked the French, and even captured Nanteuil-le-Haudouin. But the finest energy must grow weak when it is not supported and refreshed. Reduced to

corps, weakened and melted away by fighting and fatigue, even these valiant warriors lost their power.

The French, on the contrary, who were only a few kilometers from Paris, not only received continual reinforcements, but were further supplied with all kinds of munitions. General Gallieni ceaselessly watched with vigilant eye over the movements of the Sixth Army, and made every imaginable effort to furnish it, as rapidly as possible, with every kind of support. He requisitioned thousands of automobiles in Paris, and, during the night, sent them to Maunoury with reinforcements, which were brought to him by rail from the interior and other parts of the front. One of the most remarkable of these transports was that of the Sixty-second Division (Zouaves) toward Creil and Senlis, carried out in the night of Sept. 8-9, with a view to hindering at all costs the outflanking of the French left wing.

Finally, on the same day, Maunoury asked that the division which he had lent to the Marshal should be returned to him, because the danger of being beaten by the cavalry corps of General von Marwitz no longer existed for the three English corps. This Eighth Division was sent, by rail, from Paris toward Maunoury's extreme left wing.

On the evening of Sept. 9, in spite of all the reinforcements they had received, the situation of the French Sixth Army was anything but brilliant. But it had to hold its ground at all costs, and could not withdraw even an inch further, no matter what it might cost.

But on the German side the offensive power was equally paralyzed. After all their efforts, and all the prodigious battles of the last days, the iron legions of von Kluck's army had arrived at the extreme limit of what they could give. On Sept. 9, toward noon, General von Marwitz had to announce, with an unwilling heart, to his chief that it was no longer possible for him to resist the whole English Army and the French Eighteenth Corps. To spare the blood of the English, Marshal French had in fact asked his neighbor on the right, the commander of the Fifth Army, for a whole corps, the Eighteenth.

In accord with the Chief of the General Staff, von Kluck was forced, unwillingly, to give the order to cease fighting, because the superiority of the enemy left wing grew continually. During the night of Sept. 9-10 the German armies withdrew toward the north in complete order. When, on the next morning, the French wished to continue the battle, von Kluck and his army had disappeared. Strong rearguards alone covered his retreat and for a long time occupied Nanteuil-le-Haudouin. * * *

Thus reads this early German admission of military defeat at the Marne.

A retreat in good order. * * * The officer of the notebook writes: "At Lizy the retreat is organized. * * * If that helter-skelter can be called organization."

The anonymous narrator, as was to be expected, remains faithful to his ill-starred chief: "The skill with which the Germans succeeded in withdrawing from their adversary is evidenced by the fact that von Kluck only abandoned a small number of guns and almost no prisoners." He also praises him for having retired toward Compiègne and Soissons, and not toward Rheims, for if he had bent toward the east, "the Germans, when Antwerp fell, would not have been in a position to extend and carry their front as far as the coast." This is accurate.

Necessarily, as von Kluck, with his army of the extreme right wing, "served in a certain way as guide for the other armies," his retreat compelled that of Bülow's army, which, in its turn, involved that of von Hausen's Saxon Army and of the Guard, in the centre of the German front. Duke Albert of Württemberg and the Crown Prince, not wishing to lose contact, withdrew in their turn.

Foch the Storm Centre

Of all the battles in progress, that of Sept. 9 before General Foch's army was much the hardest and bloodiest. Von Hausen's furious offensive was the ultima ratio of Moltke, requiring of an action of the centre a decision which he no longer hoped to be able to win on his wings. And Foch immediately proclaimed his faith in the famous Order of the Day, like a challenge, which destiny did not accept: "The situation is excellent; I order that the offensive shall be renewed. The key of the day will be to debouch by Fère-Champenoise." The very name of Fère, like that of Mondement and Marais, fails to appear in the narrative. Our centre might not have broken on Sept. 10; Dubois, Humbert, Grossetti, and all the others, firm in their reconquered positions, were masters of the hour.

The marshes of Saint-Gond in their turn witnessed a flanking manoeuvre which had a decisive share in the victory. The narrative admits, however, that Langle de Cary's attack, on Foch's right, against the Nineteenth German Corps—the retaking of Sermaize and of the crest west of Vassincourt—"had a certain influence on the course of the battle," and "to a certain degree hastened the retreat

of the (German) centre." He also admits that the energetic resistance offered by our Third Army "to the Crown Prince's violent and able attacks," stopped them on the heights of the Meuse and between Verdun and Saint-Mihiel. "The ring of iron around Verdun and the forts of the Meuse was also slackened—for a time."

Everything is linked together in the manoeuvre of battle, but on condition that no link bends or breaks. It would have availed Maunoury nothing to hold like a rock if Foch had yielded, nor Foch to have pierced the German centre if Maunoury had been enveloped on his left. And everything would have smashed if Franchet d'Espérey and French had not pierced their hole between the First and Second German armies, or if Langle de Cary had been pushed back or Sarrail had been repulsed on the extreme right wing.

Finally, the German writer, while he still refuses to utter the word defeat, marks in clear enough lines the failure of Moltke's plan, which was "to smash the French Army at the first shock, to cut it into pieces and dislocate it." But, he says, "Joffre succeeded still less in turning the Germans, in rolling up their battle line and in throwing them out of France, across the Rhine."

In other words, we lost the battle of the frontiers; the Germans lost the battle of the Marne. * * *

Significance of the Marne

These are the facts as they appear to a German officer, who is not a Jomini, but who understands what he sees and whose mind is well balanced. The moral significance of the Marne escapes him; that of Valmy, as we know today, was only revealed years later to Goethe. "Moltke withdrew the front of the German battle line about a day's march to the north." That is all he sees. It was "a battle interrupted for tactical reasons."

And Moltke had five motives. Two have already been discussed, the exhaustion of the armies of the right wing and the centre, which were "quite worn out," and the defective supply of food and munitions. In the third and the fourth place, the Germans had discounted a more rapid fall of the fortresses of Liége, Namur and Maubeuge, and "the energetic sortie of the Antwerp army," coinciding with the battle of the Marne, held army corps whose mere presence would have been enough to make German victory certain and "break the French line." Finally, it was necessary, beginning with the end of August, "before the deploying of the German armies was completed," to transport to the eastern frontier several army corps from the western front and from the interior of the empire, because the Austrians had not been able to stand up against the formidable thrust of the Russians into Galicia and the Russians had invaded East Prussia.

These three Russian and the Belgian reasons are perfectly accurate.

The Russian mobilization was ordered on the night of July 30-31, a partial mobilization of the four southern districts—Kieff, Moscow, Kazan, Odessa—as a reply to the mobilization of seven Austrian army corps on July 27; the general mobilization was ordered on July 31, toward midday, in reply to the general mobilization of Austria decided on in the morning. The German Chancellor delivered an important speech (on Nov. 9, 1916) to establish the assertion that the partial mobilization of Russia rendered war inevitable. An impudent lie, but let it pass, and suppose that Russia had waited for the completion of her concentration before taking the offensive against Prussia. This would have made Germany safe on her eastern frontier. Consequently, two or three army corps which Hindenburg summoned would have been on the Marne, on Sept. 9, or on the Ourcq; and the wheel might have turned.

How the Belgians Helped

The same reasoning applies to the Third and Ninth German Reserve Corps, which remained on the banks of the Dyle and the Scheldt, where the Belgian Army of the intrenched camp of Antwerp "was working to draw them against itself and to keep them far from the French battlefield." There were two fine combats at Impde and Hofstade, on the canal from Louvain to Malines, on Aug. 24 and 25,

during the battles of Mons and of the Sambre. At the sound of the firing, the Hanoverians set fire to Louvain, its Collegiate church and Halle aux Draps, with the famous library. On Sept. 4, on the eve of the battle of the Marne, there was an engagement at Capelle-aux-Bois, a bloody check of the Germans, who took vengeance for it by burning the village.

Moltke summoned from Belgium three reserve divisions, replaced by a division of Landwehr and a naval division. "The moment for a contribution by the Belgian Army to the operations of the allied armies became from that time opportune." It was the offensive against the German position, strongly organized, and extending from the left bank of the Dyle (from the village of Haecht) to the left bank of the Senne and the town of Walverthem, which is ten kilometers distant, to the southeast of Termonde. The battles of Sept. 9, 10, and 11 were so clearly favorable to the Belgians that the Germans sent for reserves taken from the interior garrisons and the Sixth Reserve Division, already on the march toward France. They then counterattacked on Sept. 12, and gained the advantage at the cost of heavy losses.

When, on Sept. 13, the Belgian Army withdrew on the intrenched camp, "the aim which it had had in view was attained"; the battle of the Marne had been won.

Finally, it is clearly proved that the German plan of a sudden attack had begun to fail with the refusal of Belgium to open its territories to the armies which were rushing to attack us, and to the heroic resistance of this noble people. The German plan was strictly a horarium. Every minute in it was determined. From the German frontier, opposite Aix-la-Chapelle, to the gap of the Oise, on the French frontier—the source of the Oise is in the Belgian province of Namur—there are six days' march. But the passage of the Germans across Belgium in arms—halted before Liége and before Namur, halted on the line of the Gette, beaten on Aug. 12 on the edge of the forest of Haelen, victorious on Aug. 18 and 19 at Aerschot—had lasted *sixteen days*, (Aug. 4-20.) The splendid effort of the Belgians had therefore made ten full days late the arrival of the German armies on the French frontier, from which only eight marches separated them from the advanced forts of Paris.

Thus the Russians and the Belgians, not less than the English, conquered with us on the Marne. The German author is not mistaken about this. It still remains for him to see that a battle which ends in a retreat is a defeat, that the violation of Belgian neutrality was at once a political crime and a military blunder, and that the war was premeditated and intended by the German Emperor.

How Paris Was Saved

General Clergerie's Story of a Great Sally, the Battle of the Ourcq, and von Kluck's Defeat

GENERAL CLERGERIE, former Chief of Staff in the Military Government of Paris and a close associate with General Gallieni in the tragic hours of August and September, 1914, officiated at the distribution of prizes to the boys of the Lycée of Périgueux, July 14, 1917. In an informal address he told how the army of the intrenched camp of Paris was led to attack the right wing of the German Army at the moment when the latter, in the region of the Ourcq, was preparing to envelop the left wing of the French Army.

Here is a summary of that page of history, the story of an eyewitness:

From Aug. 26, 1914, the German armies had been descending upon Paris by forced marches. On Sept. 1 they were only three days' march from the advanced line of the intrenched camp, which the garrison were laboring desperately to

put into condition for defense. It was necessary to cover with trenches a circuit of 110 miles, install siege guns, assure the coming of supplies for them over narrow-gauge railways, assemble the food and provisions of all kinds necessary for a city of 4,000,000 inhabitants.

But on Sept. 3 the intelligence service, which was working perfectly, stated, about the middle of the day, that the German columns, after heading straight for Paris, were swerving toward the southeast and seemed to wish to avoid the fortified camp.

"General Gallieni and I," continued the speaker, "then had one of those long "conferences which denoted grave events: "they usually lasted from two to five min- "utes at most. The fact is that the mili- "tary Government of Paris did little talk- "ing—it acted. The conference reached "this conclusion: 'If they do not come to "'us, we will go to them with all the "'force we can muster.' Nothing re- "mained but to make the necessary "preparations. The first thing to do "was not to give the alarm to the enemy. "General Maunoury's army immediately "received orders to lie low and avoid any "engagement that was not absolutely "necessary." Then care was taken to reinforce it by every means. All was ready at the designated time.

In the night of Sept. 3, knowing that the enemy would have to leave only a rear guard on one bank of the Ourcq, General Gallieni and General Clergerie decided to march against that rear guard, to drive it back with all the weight of the Maunoury army, to cut the enemy's communications, and take full advantage of his hazardous situation. Immediately the following order was addressed to General Maunoury:

> Because of the movement of the German armies, which seem to be slipping in before our front to the southeast, I intend to send your army to attack them in the flank, that is to say, in an easterly direction. I will indicate your line of march as soon as I learn that of the British Army. But make your arrangements now so that your troops shall be ready to march this afternoon and to begin a general movement east of the intrenched camp tomorrow.

At 10 in the morning a consultation was held by Generals Gallieni, Clergerie, and Maunoury, and the details of the plan of operations were immediately decided. In the afternoon an understanding with the English was reached at Melun. General Joffre gave permission to attack and announced that he would himself take the offensive on the 6th. On the 5th, at noon, the army from Paris fired the first shot; the battle of the Ourcq, a preface to the Marne, had begun.

General Clergerie then told what a precious purveyor of information he had found in General von der Marwitz, cavalry commander of the German First Army, who made intemperate use of the wireless telegraph and did not even take the trouble to put into cipher his dispatches, of which the Eiffel Tower made a careful collection. "In the evening of "Sept. 9," he said, "an officer of the in- "telligence corps brought me a dispatch "from this same Marwitz couched in "something like these terms: 'Tell me "'exactly where you are and what "'you are doing. Hurry up, because "'XXX * * *' The officer was greatly "embarrassed to interpret those three "Xs. Adopting the language of the "poilu, I said to him: 'Translate it, "I "am going to bolt."' True enough, "next day we found on the site of the "German batteries, which had been pre- "cipitately evacuated, stacks of muni- "tions; while by the roadside we came "upon motors abandoned for the slightest "breakdown, and near Betz almost the "entire outfit of a field bakery, with a "great store of flour and dough half- "kneaded. Paris and France were saved.

"Von Kluck could not get over his as- "tonishment. He has tried to explain it "by saying he was unlucky, for out of a "hundred Governors not one would have "acted as Gallieni did, throwing his "whole available force nearly forty miles "from his stronghold. It was downright "imprudence. Of course, it was Gallieni "who was in the wrong!"

General Clergerie pointed the moral for his youthful audience in these words: "If you want France to be great, there's only one way: Act."

A German Sailor's Account of the Jutland Battle

P. KRUG, one of the survivors of the German flagship Lützow, which was sunk in the battle of Jutland in June, 1916, published in July, 1917, a pamphlet giving his view of the naval engagement. His pamphlet, which appeared at The Hague, is the first published account of the battle by a German sailor.

Torpedoed by a British warship early in the engagement, the Lützow, which was the flagship of Admiral Hipper, was hammered unmercifully by the big guns of the British vessels, and soon became a complete wreck, a "ship of the dead," as Krug describes her.

According to his story, twenty-seven German sailors were trapped in the Diesel dynamo room before the battle had been long in progress, and remained there when the Lützow, a disabled hulk, was abandoned and sent to the bottom by a torpedo from a German destroyer. Two of these imprisoned men had been driven insane and were kept tied by their shipmates.

After describing the first part of the battle and telling how the arrival of British battleships turned the tables on the Germans, Krug writes:

> Suddenly the entire ship is roughly shaken. The colossus heaves far over, and everything that is not fixed is upset. The first direct hit! The torpedo pierces the fore part of the ship. Its effects are terrible. Iron, wood, metal, parts of bodies, and smashed ships' implements are all intermixed, and the electric light, by chance spared, continues to shine upon this sight.
>
> Two decks lower, in the Diesel dynamo room, there is still life. That compartment has not been hit, and twenty-seven men, in the prime of life, have been spared, but the chamber is shut off from all others, for the water is rushing into all sections. They are doomed to death. Several 38-centimeter shells squarely hit their mark, working terrible havoc. The first hit the wireless department. Of the twelve living men who a moment ago were seated before the apparatus, there is nothing more to be seen. Nothing is left but a smoking heap of ruins. The second shot again pierced the fore part of the ship. The entire forepart of the vessel, as far as the Diesel motor room, was past saving.
>
> Another broadside meant for the Lützow fell short, but a torpedo boat close by disappeared, leaving only a few odd pieces of wood and a smashed lifeboat drifting around. It is now half-past 7, and the hostile circle grows ever smaller. The Lützow and the Seydlitz lie with their bows deep in the water; both are badly mauled. The forepart of the Lützow was in flames. Shells burst against the ship's side in rapid succession. A terrible sight is presented on board the Lützow, and it needs iron nerves to look upon it coolly. Hundreds have lost their lives, while many have lain for hours in torture, and the fight is not yet over. The bow is now crushed in and is entirely submerged. The four screws are already sticking half out of the water, so that the Lützow can only make eight to ten knots an hour, as against the normal thirty-two.
>
> The Admiral decides to transfer to the Moltke. He gives orders to turn and get away from the scene of the fight, but the Lützow has not gone a mile before she receives a broadside of 38-centimeter shells. The entire ship was filled with the poisonous fumes of the shells, and any one who failed to affix his gas mask was doomed to be suffocated.
>
> It was three-quarters of an hour before the lighting installation was restored. Then for the first time could the extent of the damage wrought by the salvo be seen. One of the shells had landed in the sick bay. Here there were only three doctors and fifteen attendants, besides 160 to 180 wounded. Of all those, only four remained alive. These four were hurled into the next compartment by the air pressure; there they lay unconscious.
>
> The Lützow was now a complete wreck. Corpses drifted past. From the bows up to the first 30-centimeter gun turret the ship lay submerged. The other gun turrets were completely disabled, with the guns sticking out in all directions. On deck lay the bodies of the sailors in their torn uniforms, in the midst of the empty shell cases. From the masts fluttered torn flags, twisted signal lines, and pieces of wire of the wireless installation. Had not the lookout man and the three officers on the commander's bridge given signs of life, the Lützow would have truly resembled a ship of the dead. Below, on

the battery deck and in the coal bunkers, there still lay innumerable wounded, but there was no longer a doctor to attend to them.

Night came on and hope was entertained of getting away without a further encounter. But at 3 o'clock in the night news of the approach of two British cruisers and five destroyers was received and just at that critical time the fore and middle bulkheads gave way.

Orders were given to quickly carry the wounded to the stern. Then the order rings out: "All hands muster in division order abaft." A tumult arises on the lower deck, for everybody is now bent on saving his life. It is impossible in that short space of time to bring up all the wounded, for they are scattered everywhere. Eighteen men had the good fortune to be carried up, but all the rest who could not walk or crawl had to be left behind.

The twenty-seven men shut up in the Diesel dynamo chamber had heard the order through the speaking tube, for many, mad with anguish, screamed through the tube for help, and it was learned that two of their number lay bound because they had become insane. Inspired by their sense of duty, these sealed-up men had continued to carry on their work in order to provide the ship with light.

The torpedo boats now quickly took off the crew of the Lützow, and those left behind were doomed to death. It was resolved that no piece of the vessel should fall into the enemy's hands. An order was given and a torpedo cleft the waters. Just then seven men were to be seen running like madmen round the rear deck. Overfatigued as they were, they had apparently dropped off to sleep and only just awakened. As the torpedo exploded, the Lützow's bow quickly dipped, and the stern rose until she stood on end. Then she heeled over and sank, forming a great whirlpool that carried everything within it into the depths.

When the roll was called it appeared that there were 1,003 survivors of the Lützow; 597 men had perished in the battle.

Heartrending Scenes in Belgium

A CITIZEN of Liége who succeeded in escaping from Belgium draws a terrible picture, says Reuter's Agency, of the sufferings of the repatriated deportees and of the brutality with which the unfortunate people are still treated by the Germans. This escaped Belgian was engaged from March to July, 1917, at an infirmary outside Liége station and witnessed the arrival of train after train of repatriated deportees. Describing what he had seen, he said:

Never shall I forget the terrible scenes I have witnessed. The trains contained sometimes 500 to 900 men, who had been for three days practically without food. A great many of them had their feet and legs frostbitten or frozen off, and had to be carried on stretchers. They had been obliged to walk for hours in their stocking feet in the snow. Often gangrene had set in and the men died within a few days.

We had an average of two deaths every day in our small infirmary. Some of them were so famished that they could not take any food, and had to be fed with a spoon; others ate ravenously anything that they could snatch from your hand. Eighty per cent. are stricken with tuberculosis, and will never recover. Such is the result of a few months spent in the German prison camps and kommandos.

The first time we saw them alight from the train we could not believe that these ragged ghosts, with haggard faces and feet wrapped in muddy sackcloth, could be the same men who had passed through Liége, singing patriotic songs, on their way to Germany. According to their reports many have died over there; many also died on the way home, every train bringing a load of three or four dead as well as the dying. Many more have died at home later after horrible sufferings from the incurable diseases which they have contracted.

But these physical tortures are nothing beside the moral trials to which they have been subjected. Some of the men have gone quite mad and do not realize that they have come back. One of the men I attended, in his delirium repeated unceasingly the same cry, while making a movement as if pushing something away. "I will not sign, I will not sign!" He did not, and he died for it in my arms. As an old woman said to me who was waiting for her son to be returned, "Is it not enough to make the stones weep?"

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club

VII.—Battle of Loos and Champagne Offensive

A FRENCH writer observing the new British divisions which began to march to the western battle front late in May, 1915, said, "This is an army of athletes which England has trained." The splendid regular army which had fought so bravely in the Summer and Autumn of the first year of the war was resting mostly in thick-sown graves between the Seine and the sea. But the best soldier material of Britain had flocked to the colors in the early Winter and was thoroughly trained and equipped by this time. These were Kitchener's men and were to continue the task of hammering at the German lines as they were left after the fighting at Souchez, Festubert, Aubers Ridge, and Neuve Chapelle in the Spring of 1915. The new troops found hard fighting awaiting them at Hooge.

The salient at Ypres was still a storm centre, and the Germans since May had held the high ground about the Château of Hooge, two miles east of Ypres on the road to Menin, which was the point of their nearest approach to the town after the terrific battles and the gas attacks in May. In June and July there was continued close fighting for every outbuilding or fortified rubbish heap on this low ridge, where positions were taken and lost over and over again. By July the advantage was considerably on the German side, especially in the region of Bellewaarde Lake, a pond north of the château.

Here the British had lost ground until they were pressed back to a little lane connecting the Menin road with the highway to Zonnebeke, a full half mile nearer Ypres than the position at Hooge. This made a dangerous-looking dent in the British line, but along the Menin road they still clung to trenches close up to the château. A huge depression called "The Crater" resulted from the explosion of a British mine at this point and was the scene of a powerful German attack before dawn on July 30.

First Use of Liquid Fire

In this assault liquid fire was employed for the first time, and after a heavy bombardment by trench mortars (minenwerfern) the infantry stormed the British trenches, using a great number of grenades. The troops in the trenches attacked were practically annihilated, and the British line gave way about a quarter of a mile to the edge of the high ground at the corner of Zouave Wood. The Germans were about to thrust their lines south of the Menin road forward to a point abreast of their furthest positions westward along the lane north of that road. Second Lieut. Woodroffe, a boy under twenty, was the first soldier of the new army to win the Victoria Cross, which was awarded for a splendid effort to lead his men back in a counterattack in which he was killed. Major Gen. Keir, commanding the Sixth Corps, ordered a counterattack in midafternoon which resulted in the useless slaughter of the Seventh and Eighth Rifle Battalions, which were torn to pieces in the death trap called Zouave Wood and the fields beyond, where 2,000 men fell, including sixty officers.

No further suicidal attempts were made to storm the German lines by daylight, and for ten days the British heavy artillery poured a flood of 8-inch and 9.2-inch shells over them. The British superiority in heavy guns began at that time to be in evidence and has continued to grow ever since.

On Aug. 9 two brigades renewed the counterattack just before dawn and, charging across a "no-man's land" 500

yards wide and heaped with the unburied victims of the previous effort, these gallant troops recaptured the crater and trenches close to the château. Two hundred Germans who held the dugouts in the crater were killed to the last man. That night the Germans shelled the new British positions, part of which it proved impossible to hold. In this day's fighting the two brigades lost over 2,000 men, but nearly all the ground was held until a fresh brigade arrived and gave the much-needed reinforcement required to retain the position.

Western Front, September, 1915

In the early Autumn of 1915 it was estimated that the Germans were defending their western front of 570 miles with a total force of nearly 2,000,000 men. They were outnumbered by the Allies, for Sir John French commanded a million British soldiers in France, while the French had 2,000,000 men on this front with strong forces of recruits in training camps in the rear. There were about 6,000 guns of varied calibre on each side.

By this time the British production of artillery munitions had been very greatly increased over the capacity of the early Spring. The German system of field fortification had, however, been developed to the utmost. Back of every front-line system lay another complete and even stronger line of trenches, completely prepared with wire entanglements, very deep dugouts, &c. The second line was usually about 700 yards behind the first, and a third and stronger position was prepared usually about a mile to the rear. There were frequent *fortins* or low redoubts of great strength so situated as to enfilade trench systems which might be lost. Against this elaborate fortification the operations took on increasingly the character of sieges rather than field manoeuvres intended to break through or outflank an enemy in the field; but in September the Allies launched two great attacks which it was hoped might win from the enemy some of his vantage ground. The time seemed propitious, for von Hindenburg's great campaign in Russia, while widely victorious, still required every man that could be spared from other fields.

The German lines in France formed a great right angle, whose upper line faced west from the sea to the Aisne, where it bent and ran toward the southeast to the Swiss frontier. The Allies planned to strike two great blows back of the head of this vast salient—one in the north toward Lens, and the other in Champagne about Souain.

The Battle of Loos

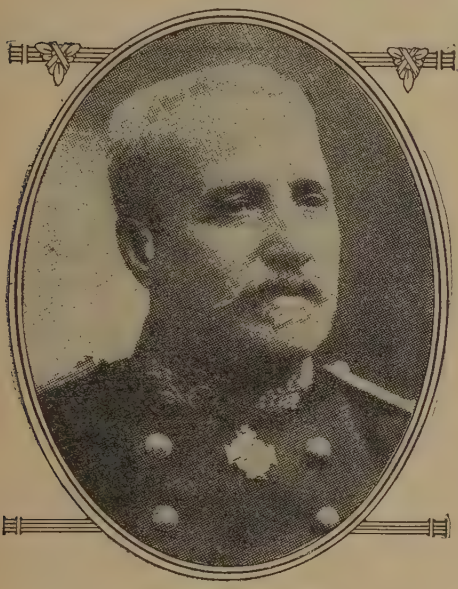
On the northern sector a terrific bombardment was maintained from Sept. 23 until the early morning of the 25th, when the British attack upon Loos started. On the French front, facing Vimy Heights, the bombardment continued until early afternoon, when the infantry assaults began and made excellent progress before night. The next day D'Urbal's soldiers fought their way to the lower slopes of the heights north of Thelus, crossed the Souchez stream and gained part of Givenchy Wood. By the 29th the western slopes of Vimy Heights and much of Givenchy Wood had been taken from the Germans, and it became necessary for the French commander to send reinforcements to the British on his left flank, where a deep salient was being held east of Loos by a dangerously inadequate force.

While the French were winning their footing on Vimy Heights the British had fought a series of separate battles both north and south of the Vimy sector. It will be well to realize in connection with this whole series of actions that they were timed to coincide with the great French attack far to the south in Champagne, and intended to so thoroughly engage the Germans in the north as to prevent the dispatch of reserves from that region to the south, where the Allies hoped to be able to break through the invader's fortified lines and reach the railway communications in the rear. The northern attacks were planned to be at least "holding" battles, but the numbers of both men and guns employed were so great as to lead to the hope that at some vulnerable spot the German lines might be broken and the railways from Lille southward be reached.

On Sept. 25 the British, after a final bombardment, exploded a mine and then

once more attacked Hooge, the blood-drenched point of the Ypres sector. Two infantry divisions stormed German trenches in some places to a depth of as much as 600 yards, but nearly all the ground gained was so completely commanded by the heavy German artillery that it had once more to be yielded by the end of the day.

Another British attack developed soon after 4 A. M. in front of Armentières. Here the forces on the flanks made good progress, but the centre failed to gain, so that in the end both flanks were compelled to fall back to re-establish the alignment. The only result here was that the German troops were kept occupied on their own front.



GENERAL DE CASTELNAU

An Unsuccessful Phase

A third battle meanwhile was fought by the British Indian Corps, commanded by General Anderson, above Neuve Chapelle, and this effort was the least successful of all. The faults seem to have been divided between imperfect staff arrangements and unsatisfactory qualities displayed by some of the native troops. Two Indian brigades which rushed over German first-line trenches failed to either clear out or hold the positions, which were presently reoccupied in dangerous force by the Germans. A reserve brigade of Indians, which should have followed closely the advancing units, stopped in the old British front-line trenches and viewed with dismay a front which, to their astonishment, bristled with resistance, although two whole brigades had swept over it and disappeared beyond. At the opening of this battle one of the Indian divisions (the Meerut) attempted to send a cloud of poison gas over the German lines, but in a drizzling mist with almost no wind the gas lay still, so that when they advanced they were compelled to charge through the gas themselves. As the day wore on, German counterattacks drove back the lines of the Twentieth Division of the Third Corps, which exposed the flank of the Meerut Division, to which the main attack toward Aubers Ridge had been committed.

Gradually whatever plans had existed dissolved and the action degenerated into an utterly confused mêlée, out of which the remnants of the leading brigades finally fought their way back to the old lines. The reports laid great emphasis upon the sturdy courage of the British regular battalions serving with the native brigades. Once more the Neuve Chapelle sector proved a deadly area impregnable to British efforts, and this battle of September in this fatal sector was a failure like the preceding ones of December and May.

Fighting Near Givenchy

Still another attack was made by the British troops near Givenchy, the strongly defended outpost on the west front of La Bassée. Some gains were made, but the lack of reserves made it impossible to hold such of the first-line positions as were entered.

The great British attack on this day of many battles was meanwhile launched against the fortified ridge and quarries west of the La Bassée-Lens road. Here General Haig had Rawlinson's (Fourth) and Gough's (First) Corps for deployment on a front of about eight miles between Givenchy and Grenay. This important phase of the great battle of Sept. 25 opened soon after 6 A. M. with an at-

tack on the German positions just below the La Bassée Canal, but, although some progress resulted after desperate fighting, the brigade engaged here was compelled before night to fall back.

Just below this sector another Scotch brigade in a glorious attack won the Hohenzollern Redoubt and a fortified position called Fosse 8. On their right the Seventh Division drove their attack through to the German second line in the Cité St. Elie and the village of Haisnes, both places well in the rear of the Hohenzollern Redoubt and directly on the La Bassée-Lens highway. The lack of sufficient reserves made it impossible to hold the more advanced positions won, and by midday part of the gains had to be relinquished.

The Capture of Loos

Further south Rawlinson's men fought brilliantly, and in an advance of nearly two miles reached the outer edge of Hulluch and captured Loos close to the Lens-Bethune road. In this splendid success there was a notable improvement over the methods which on the same day scored such a failure at Neuve Chapelle. Loos was taken by divisions made up of London regiments which had spent a number of days before the battle in studying a big model of this sector, with the result that when one battalion (the Nineteenth London) lost every officer, the men went on and accomplished their part without hesitation.

Success in this war is reserved for those adequately prepared to win it. However, even successes so won cannot be maintained unless supported by large reserves equally well prepared. The brave Scotch battalions, having taken Loos, pressed on with mad courage into the very heart of a fortified zone beyond. In less than three hours Gordons, Camerons, Seaforths, and Black Watch had driven nearly four miles through the German trenches. An English writer commenting upon the heroic fighting of the Scotch brigades in this battle justly remarked that while what they did was magnificent it was not war, for it was an attack unprovided with reserves. About 10 o'clock word was sent up to the advanced units that they must fall back; but, almost encircled by the enemy as they were, the task was well-nigh impossible. Only a few men fought their way back to the lines, which were finally held.

In summing up the results of these great efforts, which involved something like five separate but co-ordinated battles on the British front, we must admit that

MAP OF REGION WHERE BATTLE OF LOOS WAS FOUGHT

little more resulted than the prevention of reinforcements being sent by the enemy from the northern positions to his hard-pressed lines in Champagne. There seems to have been a time when the prompt use of adequate reserves in the sector north of Lens might have rescued the whole region between Lille and Douai from the invader. Sir John French was in supreme command, and he had in reserve and immediately under his control the Eleventh Corps, consisting of the Guards Division and the new Twenty-first and Twenty-fourth Divisions. At the critical moment when the great Scotch charge reached Cité St. Auguste the Guards Division was about twenty

miles away from the Loos sector. General French gave Sir Douglas Haig the Twenty-first and Twenty-fourth Divisions before 10 A. M., but even these troops were eight miles away.

On Sunday, the 26th, the Germans made heavy counterattacks and severely defeated the inexperienced troops of the Twenty-fourth Division, so that a good deal of ground was lost. On Monday the Guards Division, consisting of three brigades of England's finest troops, was sent in to redeem the situation. The Guards fought well. The Third Brigade, consisting of the First Grenadiers, Fourth Grenadiers, Second Scots, and First Welsh, attacked the strongly fortified Hill 70, just north of Lens, and were deployed in columns of half platoons, with 100 yards intervals between the sections and 250 yards distance between the lines. They reached the crest of Hill 70, but could not hold it against the converging machine-gun fire, and, falling back, dug themselves in about a hundred yards to the west. On the 28th the First Coldstreams succeeded in reaching a fortified chalk pit north of Hill 70, but that place, too, was too hot to hold.

Through the remaining days of September and the early part of October, under heavy bombardment, the British consolidated the positions and straightened the lines. They had taken 3,000 German prisoners, with 26 field guns and 40 machine guns. Lord Kitchener in England and Field Marshal French at the front gave unstinted praise to the gallantry of the troops, but there was a distinct disappointment in England, where it was felt that the errors of Neuve Chapelle in the Spring had been repeated and that the possibility of a great victory had been lost because of imperfect plans. Probably the fairest of the many criticisms leveled at the British staff was that which admitted their lack of training in the handling of great armies. Had the splendid British armies possessed a thoroughly efficient and competent General Staff they would have won in the early Autumn of 1915 what they have fought for through two long and bloody years since.

The British losses at Loos and thereabout were 45,000, including 3 Major Generals and 28 battalion commanders.*

French Attack in Champagne

While the British were fighting the series of battles which culminated at Loos and d'Urbal's Tenth French Army was fighting for Vimy Ridge all France awaited breathlessly the great effort which it was hoped would smash a way through the German fortifications on the chalk ridges of Champagne. Here the really great effort was planned to deal such a blow as would cut through the invader's railway communications, which so perfectly assisted his Generals to shift men and guns quickly wherever required.

The sector selected for attack was that above Suippes, between Auberive and Ville-sur-Iourbe, and de Castelnau's army was chosen for the grand effort. All through September both French and British airmen flew straight at any German aircraft which attempted to reconnoitre back of their lines. They were most successful in masking the great concentrations of troops back of the sectors selected for attack. Early in the morning of Sept. 25 de Castelnau's men began to crowd forward through the communication trenches under a volcanic discharge of shells hurled over their heads against the German trenches of both first and second lines. Every platoon had been carefully taught just what its own objective was to be, and General Joffre's famous order read: "Soldiers of the Republic: After months of waiting the hour has come to attack and to conquer." Every soldier had an extra ration of wine on the night of the 24th, and trench knives were added to the regular equipment for the close fighting anticipated in trenches and dugouts.

At 9:15 on the morning of Sept. 25 the bugles sounded, the officers cried out "To Win or Die!" and on a front of fifteen miles a splendid French Army charged. Both field batteries ("seventy-

*It is interesting to compare the losses in the month of May, 1917, when the casualties amounted to 114,000 as the price of another offensive on nearly the same ground but in which positions won were held and 3,412 Germans were captured.

fives") and cavalry were used during the day, for on that long front the French lines had by night advanced an average of two and a half miles. Four great redoubts had been stormed and thousands of prisoners taken, together with hundreds of guns. On Sunday, the 26th, further progress was made, and on the 27th the French repulsed an attempted diversion by the Crown Prince at La Fille Morte, in the Argonne.

By Wednesday, Sept. 29, the French had sufficiently reorganized their forces to resume the attack, which was directed particularly along the west side of the Souain-Somme-Py road, where the Navarin Farm, on the east side of the highway, and Hill 185, on the west, marked a line about midway between the two towns. The German lines proved too strong to be forced, and, although there was a gap opened near the great Lubeck trench, a concentrated German fire poured through the opening forbade any further advance. In fact, the scientific arrangement of the German fortifications was such that any position captured immediately was subjected to an enfilading lateral fire from neighboring positions, as well as a deluge of shellfire, both direct and indirect. Above the farm called Maisons de Champagne a defensive work called the "Ouvrage de la Defaite" was won and lost over and over again before the brave French soldiers would admit their inability to hold it. All that de Castelnau's men could do was to dig themselves in where they were and fight hard to hold what had cost them so much.

The French losses in Champagne, and including those in Artois at Vimy Ridge, amounted to 120,000 men. The Germans were pushed back nearly three miles on a front of about fifteen miles, but they remained secure in a stronger position than the first, and their railway communications were undisturbed.

Net Results Disappointing

The great allied offensive in the west in the Autumn of 1915 resulted in tremendous battles which won considerable local success, but nowhere succeeded in seriously disturbing the invaders' grip upon France. Nothing was achieved which could be reckoned an offset to what the enemy had accomplished in Russia through the Summer, and only part of Joffre's optimistic prophecy was realized. The splendid élan of the French soldier did carry him at a bound up to the batteries of the adversary, but the hope that he would charge on past and beyond the fortified lines was doomed to disappointment. Despite superiority in numbers of troops, guns, and shells, the Allies were compelled to realize that the bravest of attempts could not hope to pierce those fortifications. The slow processes of siege operations must be resorted to, and years consumed in a task which it had been fondly hoped might be accomplished in a series of smashing attacks.

It was after the Marne that the Germans dug themselves in so thoroughly on the chalky hills of Champagne, and as the months have lengthened into years they have created a series of defensive works secure from flank attacks and capable of a deadly defense against frontal assaults. The French staff knew the difficulties of their task, and were provided with exact information as to every trench, alley of communication, and clump of trees. Letters or numbers were assigned to each of such objects on the detailed maps furnished to the troops in every sector of the attack. It was found that the wire entanglements between the German trenches attained a width of from 15 to 60 meters. The French official report on the battle in Champagne said that a line showing the different stages of the French advance would assume a curiously winding outline, revealing on the one hand the defensive power of an adversary resolved to stick to the ground at all costs, and on the other the victorious continuity of the efforts of the French soldiers in this hand-to-hand struggle. At the two extremities of the attacking front the offensive could make no progress because of the converging fire of the enemy and his powerful counterattacks.

In an order dated Oct. 5 General Joffre announced the results in Champagne, where 25,000 prisoners and 150 guns were captured and made visible evidence of the splendid success of the opening phase of the battle. That the outcome of the great effort was a bitter disap-

pointment to the French was never evident in the slightest weakening of their determination to fight on at all costs until somewhere and somehow the final defeat of the enemy shall be accomplished.

German Counteroffensive

The Germans had maintained in the east their favorite conception of war, that only the offensive can win. On the west front through all this long series of battles in 1915 they were compelled to assume the to them repugnant rôle of the defensive. But to the German military mind it was perfectly clear that the only successful defensive must be that of the active and aggressive kind known as the offensive-defense.

When the allied effort of late September died down the Germans began a campaign of counterstrokes serious enough to shake the Allies out of some of the vantage points recently gained, and all sufficiently threatening to compel both British and French to hold heavy mobile reserves distributed back of the battle lines ready for instant dispatch to any point where serious disaster might threaten. The German commanders knew that a fatal deterioration in the best troops in the world is certain to result if they are permitted entirely to lose the initiative. Their announced plan was to hold rather lightly the first-line positions to minimize the losses from bombardments, yet in sufficient strength to inflict severe losses upon the assaulting infantry; then, when an exhausted fraction of the original force had gained the second-line positions, to hurl upon them powerful fresh reserves competent to destroy survivors of the original attack and recover much, if not all, of the lost ground.

This plan was perfectly sound and failed of great results only because the Germans no longer possessed the superiority in numbers which it demanded. Nearly their whole force was required to resist the allied attacks, and when these stopped exhausted the Germans had nowhere immediately available fresh units strong enough to be hurled in for an instant counterstroke. The counterstrokes were made, but only after the lapse of days or weeks in which the Allies had repaired their losses in men and improved the defensive arrangements in the new positions. Late in September several divisions arrived in France from Russia, and it is probable that this reinforcement numbered somewhere near 125,000 men.

On Oct. 3 the British front was attacked between La Bassée Canal and the town of Loos, which had been captured the week before. In the salient near Cité St. Elie the defense held well, but further north at the Hohenzollern redoubt the British were forced out of most of the works. On Oct. 8 the Germans after a five-hour bombardment with explosive shells launched strong infantry attacks in four waves, which were torn to pieces by the French and British guns. Only small and temporary advantages were gained, and nearly 9,000 dead were left in front of the British trenches, against which the finest German infantry had been marched shoulder to shoulder. Unquestionably the German commanders blundered badly here, for in result this battle amounted to no more than a demonstration, but the price paid was far too high for such a purpose. The artillery preparation had been entirely inadequate, notwithstanding that on all sides the war had taught the lesson that without most thorough artillery preparation no frontal attack on a prepared position can be expected to win.

The Germans seem to have learned this lesson more slowly than the Allies. Over and over again they have acted as though no economy were worth while in the use of their magnificently trained infantry. They appear often to overestimate the effect of a bombardment of a few hours which has really only begun to pave the way for a frontal attack.

Fierce Fighting Around Hulluch

On Oct. 13 the British sent a great cloud of poison gas (white on top, mottled red and green below) over the German front between the Hohenzollern redoubt and Hulluch. Then when the heavy guns had pounded the front the infantry attacked. Southwest of Hulluch German trenches on a front of 1,000 yards were taken, but as the German artiller-

ists had the range to a foot the positions could not be held. Between the redoubt and Cité St. Elie parts of a heavily fortified quarry were captured. At the great redoubt the main British attacks were directed, and in the face of a terrific cross-fire a division of Territorial troops fought their way into the two great communicating trenches known as the Big Willie and the Little Willie, where for three days close hand-to-hand fighting largely with bombs followed. Here Captain C. G. Vickers (of the Sherwood Foresters) won the Victoria Cross by most exceptional bravery. When only two of his men were left to hand him bombs he held a barrier for hours and ordered a new barrier completed behind him to insure the holding of the trench against attacks pressing in on three sides. Even such gallantry and enormous losses sufficed only to win part of the great redoubt, which was found to be a marvel of intricate defensive fortification in the hands of defenders of the greatest courage and resolution.

On Oct. 19 the Germans repeated their attacks between the Quarries and Hulluch as well as in the Hohenzollern redoubt. Only heavy losses resulted. The British losses on the western front from Sept. 25 to Oct. 18 were 59,666, of whom 11,000 were killed, including 773 officers.

In Champagne on Oct. 6 the French made a great attack upon one of the key positions, that at the Butte de Tahure, just north of the ruined village of the same name. It is noticeable that in this area the German engineers had most skillfully located the wire entanglements and other defenses just under the hillcrests on the reverse or northern sides, where the French gunners could get no direct observations. After a heavy bombardment by massed guns the Picardy Division captured the top of the Butte, and so gained the rear of the village, where the Germans still occupied strong positions among the rubbish heaps. This day's success marked the culmination of French progress in the campaign in Champagne in the Autumn of 1915.

On the same day the French Moroccan infantry made a little progress north of the Navarin Farm, but was checked by a storm of machine-gun fire. German counterattacks on Oct. 8 at both Navarin Farm and Tahure failed, but on the 19th General von Heeringen made a very threatening attack further to the west in the Rheims sector. After shelling and gassing the French positions for many hours, four lines of German infantry advanced, with intervals of 300 yards. Only the fourth line survived to reach the French trenches, from which French reinforcements expelled them later in the day. On the 20th renewed attacks further west, near the village of Prunay, were all defeated. At one point in front of the wire entanglements 1,600 German dead were counted, all from one regiment.

On Oct. 24 the French captured La Courtine, a typical German field fort near Le Mesnil, and held it against numerous counterattacks. On Oct. 30, having been strongly reinforced from the Russian front, the Germans again counterattacked on a front of four miles. They failed to recapture La Courtine, but stormed the Butte de Tahure. In the north, in Artois, d'Urbal's Tenth Army fought daily on Vimy Ridge, but no great single actions occurred. The Médaille Militaire was won by a feat of extraordinary courage by two Breton soldiers, Privates Manduit and Cadoret, who were blown up in a sap by a countermine; after three days of molelike burrowing they got back to the French lines.

Bulgaria Joins the Germans

While German armies were winning Western Russia in the Summer of 1915, and while the allied attacks in France were going on in the early Autumn, German diplomats were secretly scoring a notable victory in the Balkans. Bulgaria, the most warlike of the three small kingdoms—Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania—which separated the Teutons from Turkey, was won to the side of the Central Powers, and about Sept. 20 a treaty was signed between Bulgaria and Turkey. About the same day Field Marshal von Mackensen, Germany's ablest soldier, appeared at the head of a new German army—which included at least one Austrian corps—opposite Belgrade, the Serbian capital, on the Danube. The Bulgarian, Serb, and Greek armies were

CHINA'S NEW PRESIDENT

General Feng Kue-chang, former Vice President, assumed the office of President after defeating Chang Hsun and preventing the restoration of the empire under the Manchu dynasty

(Photo Bain News Service)

VAJIRAVUDH, KING OF SIAM

The young monarch, who is 36 years of age, has brought his country into the war on the side of the Allies. About 19,000 tons of German and Austrian shipping in Siamese ports have been seized

(Photo. Underwood & Underwood)

all mobilized, and the Serbs were anxious to attack Bulgaria without waiting for a declaration of war. England persuaded them to wait, still believing that Bulgaria could be kept neutral, if not won to the allied side. This cost Serbia whatever advantage might have been gained by the initiative. On Oct. 4 diplomatic relations with Russia were severed in consequence of an ultimatum which demanded that Bulgaria should definitely break with the Central Powers. The next day every village in Bulgaria was circularized with a Government pamphlet stating the case against the Allies as follows: Russia was in the war to get Constantinople and the Dardanelles; France for Alsace-Lorraine; England to ruin Germany; Italy, Serbia, and Montenegro for plunder. Also the Allies had offered too little for Bulgarian help on their side. Inferentially the German price was much higher.

Early in October, disregarding a Greek protest, French and British divisions were landed at Saloniki for the purpose of helping Serbia to resist the threatened invasion and to prevent any possible lapse of the Greeks toward the Teuton side. On Oct. 7 von Mackensen forced the river frontiers of Northern Serbia, and on the 9th captured Belgrade. Two Bulgarian armies were on the eastern frontier, and Turkish troops were moving up from the southeast. On Oct. 11 Bulgaria declared war on Serbia, and four days later England declared war on Bulgaria.

Barrage Fire in Modern Warfare

A barrage fire, such as that used by the British with wonderful precision and effectiveness in the recent offensive in Flanders, is one of the most remarkable developments of the great war. Dictionaries of a few years ago say a barrage is a dam or barrier, and that is just what it is in battle tactics. In general terms, barrage fire is the systematic advance, in front of charging infantry, of a curtain of exploding shells fired from guns to the rear of the line. Although modifications of the system were used even by Napoleon, it never has been possible to develop it to scientific exactness until the present conflict.

Barrage fire does not start until the so-called artillery preparation is complete. In the preparation guns of practically every size take part. For the barrage a certain uniformity of calibre is essential. A series of batteries, say of eight-inch howitzers, is arranged upon a more or less straight line, usually close behind the division or army corps that is to go forward. The gunners never see their targets, their fire being directed entirely by telephone, telegraph, or airplane.

At the time designated for the charge these guns are elevated. They must drop a steady line of shells just far enough ahead of the charging troops to prevent any effective counterthrust on the part of the enemy. Usually the shells fall only a few hundred feet ahead of the charging line. When this is the case the fire is known as "creeping barrage." Constant correction of the range is necessary, as shells too close may endanger their own men and too far away may allow play for the machine guns, which creep out of their dugouts at short notice, wreak havoc, and then crawl back underground before field artillery can be brought to play upon them. Only precision of observation, perfect ammunition supply, and absolute sympathy between the movements of the attacking line and the heavy guns can render the creeping barrage effective. But when these are attained it is the dominating and irresistible feature of a modern battle.

Berlin After Three Years of War

Observations of a University Professor

[This article was written in June, 1917, for The London Times by F. Sefton Delmer, for thirteen years English Lecturer at Berlin University. The introductory portion appeared in the August issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, Pages 324-327.]

THE traffic in the London streets, too, is a surprise to me. I find them pulsing with life compared with corresponding thoroughfares in Berlin. The Leipziger and Friedrich Strassen are still, it is true, fairly animated, but in the rest of the city a baby could wander about at no great risk to life and limb. Private carriages and motor cars have long since disappeared from the streets, and the riding tracks through the alleys of the Tiergarten are untrodden. Here there seems to be no lack either of taxicabs or chauffeurs.

In Berlin it is practically impossible to get such a vehicle. I have known men leave their comfortable flats in the Tiergarten quarter to live in hotels in the city in order to be close to their work, as an auto or droshky is never to be had. The fine military cars one occasionally sees in Berlin are said to have been part of the cargo of the captured Yarrowdale. Berlin is, too, almost without horses. All available horses were called in long ago for military and, where they can be spared, for agricultural purposes. The horses now seen in public vehicles, droshkies, omnibuses, &c., excite one's pity. They are mere bags of bone, and I have seen them greedily eat potato peelings from the hand of some kind-hearted child or woman in the streets. One hears, too, of special horse diseases brought about by lack of proper fodder.

This lack of horses leads to all sorts of difficulties of transport and makes itself felt in a thousand ways.

Landlords provide tenants each week with ration tickets.

The method of distribution of these tickets is very simple. The landlord or the caretaker (Portierfrau) of each house makes out on a printed form provided for the purpose a list of the families in the various flats, stating the number of persons in each. This list is handed in to the Brotkommission—District Bread Ticket Distribution Committee—which has its office in a classroom of one of the big municipal schools. There are many such officers spread over Greater Berlin, so that no one has to go far to reach one. This committee then gives the exact number of tickets required to the Portierfrau, who distributes them to the various families in the house and gets a printed receipt for them. One gets quite a sheaf of such tickets, of all colors and sizes, handed in at the door once a month.

For each of the following commodities there is a separate card: Bread, (3½ pounds a week;) meat, (1 pound a week;) butter, (1¾ ounces,) and margarine, (1 ounce a week;) eggs, (during the Winter one a fortnight, now three a fortnight;) potatoes, (5 pounds a week;) sugar, (¾ pound a fortnight;) milk, varies according to age, but is only allowed to children up to the age of six years and to invalids in cases where a committee of doctors decides that it is absolutely necessary.

There is an extra ticket called the Lebensmittelkarte, which enables the holder to buy certain quantities of oatmeal, barley, semolina, jam, canned vegetables, herrings, soup tablets, &c. Readers must not suppose, however, that all these good things on the grocery ticket are handed out at once. Each week a proclamation is posted up on the advertisement pillars at the street corners making known that, say, 3½ ounces or sometimes even 7 ounces of barley, or 7 ounces of oatmeal, or 3½ ounces of semolina, or, perhaps, if it is a good week, 7 ounces of barley and 3½ ounces of semolina will be distributed as his weekly portion to each person applying in time. Every week brings one at least of these extras with it, and on rare occasions—three times during the

whole Winter—there was 1 pound of so-called jam allotted to each person.

The chief ingredients of this jam were mangolds and beetroot, sweetened with saccharin. It was not altogether a tasty concoction, and the German soldiers at the front, who get practically nothing but this eternal "marmelade," as the Germans call jam, to put on their bread, are said to make it the butt of the doggerel in which they are so fond of indulging. Of canned vegetables there was only one distribution during the past Winter—it was in March, and they gave us 2 pounds each. The number of herrings distributed during the last six months was one to each person on three separate occasions, and they cost about 6 pence each. Fresh vegetables—when they are to be had—can be bought without cards. Brussels sprouts and spinach were obtainable during part of the Winter, but cost as much as 3 shillings a pound.

We could sometimes get a head of coarse white cabbage from some hiding place under the counter in the greengrocer's shop; such a cabbage cost 2 shillings. Horse carrots were greatly in demand at 8 pence a pound. Mangold-wurzels, obtainable on the potato card, cost only ¾ penny a pound. For my part, I never want to see another mangold-wurzel as long as I live, much less to have to make my dinner off one, as my family and I not seldom had to do. In spite of the unappetizing quality of this "vegetable," I have seen long queues of people standing for an hour at a time at the Wittenburg Platz market when a lorry happened to draw up laden with these roots, often in a half-frozen state. No one knew beforehand when or at what shops wares were expected to arrive, so it was a matter of luck if you happened to get to the right shop at the right time, and it was amusing to notice the interest with which people peered into one another's baskets in the streets in order to get hints as to where there was something to be had.

In the days when potatoes were so rare, about Christmas time, trailing groups of people armed with potato nets could be seen running as fast as their legs would carry them from one shop to another. After they had been standing, perhaps, for an hour at one place, the ominous placard with "Kartoffeln ausverkauft" ("Potatoes sold out") would appear in the shop window. The door would be locked, and off the whole band would scour to the next shop that rumor credited with potatoes. At the present time, however, these queues have in most cases been rendered superfluous by the introduction of customers' lists. One can, for instance, only obtain meat at that particular butcher's shop where one has had one's ticket stamped and one's ticket number registered. The meat tickets are, of course, good for the same amount of meat at a restaurant, too. There is in Berlin no such possibility as there is in London, where a greedy and unpatriotic individual, having consumed his one-and-threepence worth of luncheon at one restaurant, may go next door and have another one-and-threepence worth.

The prices of the rationed articles have been fixed fairly low. The loaf of rye bread for the week costs, for instance, 7½ pence; the wheaten loaf, 8 pence; butter is a little over 3 shillings a pound; margarine, 2 shillings a pound; sugar costs 4½ pence a pound; eggs are now 4 pence each. The price of meat—and such meat!—varies according to the cut from 2 shillings to 2 shillings 9 pence a pound. Ham, bacon, and sausage of the better kinds are no longer to be seen in any of the shops, but occasionally an enterprising tradesman will manage to get a small quantity of bacon or butter through from Holland or Poland, and he sells it secretly, independently of the ration tickets. He gets as much as 12 shillings a pound for the bacon and 8 shillings a pound for butter. Swiss cheese is the only cheese that has been seen in the Berlin shops since September last.

The Public Kitchens

Several of the big market halls that had been put out of action by the war have been refitted by the municipalities to serve as soup kitchens; it has involved an expenditure of something like 2,000,000 marks, (£100,000 at pre-war rates,) if I can trust my memory. In these immense central kitchens the food is cooked

in huge boilers, made for the purpose, the vegetables being washed and peeled by machinery. From here lorries bring the thousands of gallons of suppe (hot-pot) in airtight caldrons to the distributing centres. These centres are generally located in the gymnastic halls (turnhallen) of the big Government schools.

The heavy work of transport is done for the most part by convicts serving sentences of hard labor, the driver alone being a Government official. The soup is then dealt out by women who volunteer for the work. A characteristic labor-saving detail is that the ladles these women use are especially made to contain one litre, (almost a quart,) this being the maximum portion allowed to each person.

The public kitchens are run by the various Town Councils of Greater Berlin, which have the best opportunities of obtaining the necessary raw materials from the supplies already requisitioned by the State with the minimum of intervention by the profiteering middleman.

During the Winter there were times when my family and I found it practically impossible to get along without having recourse to the public kitchens—I mean at periods when there were absolutely no fish, no eggs, no potatoes, and no vegetables to be had, and only half a pound of meat per person per week. The middle and professional classes rather hung back at first, and it was amusing to see how people we knew followed suit once they found us "proud English" unblushingly lining up with our enamel pot in a tea basket.

Mangold-Wurzel Mixture

The one-course bill of fare of the midday meal is chalked up in its daily variations on a blackboard in a prominent place at the entrance to the kitchen. The meal provided consists of a kind of thick soup that we should call hot-pot. This hot-pot would one day contain nudeln, a German variation of macaroni. It would have been very good if it had not generally been musty; it was always welcomed with delight on account of its filling properties. Next day there would be mangold-wurzels, cut into small cubes and boiled in water thickened with barley or oatmeal. This dish was generally greeted with satirical remarks.

Another day there would be stockfish, the most unappetizing dried salt fish imaginable, boiled to shreds and thickened with potatoes. I have often seen this fish in the back streets of Genoa, but never thought that I should eat it. It excited no enthusiasm among the hungry Berliners. But when on another day sauerkraut (shredded cabbage that has been allowed to ferment in brine) appeared on the notice board their faces were wreathed in smiles. On Sundays there is generally two inches of sausage in addition to the quart of hot-pot allowed to each person. On New Year's Day, 1917, we were even treated to rice and prunes.

During the time of strike unrest the menu grew perceptibly better, and pea soup once more appeared, but soon afterward mangold-wurzels (woe to me!) came into their own again. We paid fivepence a quart, which was a fair average price. This hot-pot was sometimes fairly good, and it was always infinitely better than the food provided at Ruhleben while I was there; but, as a rule, had we not been really hungry, we could not have eaten it at all.

No food can be got from such kitchens unless a person has registered as a customer at latest by the Thursday for the coming week, and he must register for a whole week at a time. This involves the sacrifice of three pounds out of the five pounds of his potato ticket for the week and seven-tenths of his meat ticket, (the whole ticket throughout the Winter being only for one-half pound.) Through this method of registration the purveyors are enabled to estimate almost to a ladleful the amount of food required at each centre.

Middle-class families always sent a servant girl to fetch the food and consumed it at home, as did the poorer people also for the most part, but young people in situations who preferred to eat their dinners at the public kitchen could do so at tables provided for that purpose. The table appointments were of the plainest, but clean.

Were the people satisfied with this arrangement? There is no doubt that it would have been a great deal more popular had the people not been obliged to give up such a large proportion of their meat and potato tickets. They were, on the whole, very chary of criticism, being apparently afraid to find fault too openly with food provided by such an official body as the Berliner Magistrat, which corresponds to the London County Council.

To keep these public kitchens up to even a moderate standard of efficiency the municipalities have had to encroach upon the food supplies reserved for the army. The military commissariat has even been forced by the stern protests of the municipalities—who feared that the patience of the people at home was being tried to the breaking point—to give up quantities, not large it is true, of rice, peas, and beans that had been long since requisitioned for the officers and soldiers. The officers are said to have particularly good fare, and they certainly always look well fed. If any one is starving the women and children of Germany it is the German Army.

Oils of all sorts are practically unobtainable. I heard of a Berlin lady only a few weeks ago who gave 200 marks (£10) for ten pounds of ordinary salad oil, and thought herself lucky to get it. Paraffin may not be sold in the shops between April 1 and Sept. 30. Methylated spirits can be obtained only by people in special trades who have a permit. Ammonia, boracic acid, vaseline, and glycerine have disappeared from the shops, and one has almost forgotten that such a thing as benzine ever existed. Turpentine came to an end long ago. How the painters still contrive to paint the houses is beyond me, but somehow they manage it.

Misleading Tone of Reports

Every afternoon, day after day, I went across the street to the police station, where on a notice board was hung out the day's military report from headquarters. It was posted up punctually at 3:30 every day. Month after month I watched the reports to see the progress our men were making, and I had to learn to read between the lines and to force myself to disbelieve, not the details of the report, but its misleading tone. Little groups of passersby would gather around the notice board and after a while again dissolve. The impression, I could tell, left on their minds was a negative but hopeful one—Germany at bay and her foes uselessly battering themselves to pieces in hopeless onslaughts.

All their hopes of going forward into France have long since vanished. "This time we intend to destruct France," a German officer said to his English wife in my hearing at the beginning of the war. The word still rings in my ears. "We intend to destruct France!" And now! So modest have these Germans grown that merely to hold out against attacks is greeted as victory. In silence they read the report and in silence they turn and walk away.

Now and again an individual will point to some telling sentence tucked away in the middle of the report—a village, a trench left to the enemy because it was no longer of any value—and his face will betray an almost imperceptible note of distrust, but he will say nothing. The womenfolk in the queues are more outspoken, and one used often to hear them say, "Wir siegen fortwährend, doch kommen wir immer weiter zurück"—"We have nothing but victories, and yet we always get further back."

Life in Denmark's Lost Province

By Gudrun Randrup Toksvig

[Translated from the Danish for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by the author]

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN, the Danish province captured by Germany and Austria in the war with Denmark in 1870, is the Alsace-Lorraine of Denmark. Sönderjylland or South Jutland is the Danish name for this province. Officially, there is no South Jutland, of course. A story is told of a Danish girl who, from habit, addressed a letter going to the province of Schleswig-Holstein as going to South Jutland. Her letter was returned to her with the following inscription: "Sönderjylland unbekannt in Deutschland." (South Jutland unknown in Germany.)

The people are still pathetically loyal to Denmark in spite of Germany's efforts to Germanize the province by forbidding the teaching of the Danish language in the schools, and frowning upon the official use of that tongue in general. Nevertheless, Danish is secretly taught to the children in the homes. There is hardly a South Jutland youth who cannot speak his old mother tongue. South Jutland Danes may be said to be more Danish than the Danes themselves. It must be said that this only holds true in North Schleswig-Holstein, since the southern part of the province is completely Germanized, and, in fact, this section has never been Danish in custom or language.

The lost province is so dear to the Danish people that news from there is published as an inseparable part of the newspapers in Denmark. The death and casualty lists of South Jutlanders pressed into German military service are faithfully published even in Danish-American papers. Den Danske Pioneer is one of the leading Danish newspapers published in the United States. The Pioneer has a special department entitled, "Fra hinsides Graensen," (across the border there,) which is devoted to news from the former Danish province of Schleswig-Holstein. It is from this department that the following items and stories have been selected and translated:

An Officer's Daring Escape

A Russian officer recently fled across the border into Denmark at a point south of Vamdrup, (a small Danish town very near the German frontier.) His escape from a German military prison camp sounds very Baron Munchhauseny. He had been taken prisoner by the Germans in one of the big battles on the eastern front. After some time he was put to work as a sort of postmaster in a camp of Russian war prisoners in East Prussia. His excellent knowledge of German and Russian made him valuable in this capacity. One fine day the Lieutenant got hold of a German passport. Luck was with the stout-hearted, for the "postmaster" saw his chance to steal a German uniform. Thus equipped, he went by train through East Prussia and clear through Germany until he reached one of the nearest border stations, where he got out of the train. Under cover of the friendly night he crossed the border safely. The next morning he reached the Danish city of Kolding, (a city of 14,000 inhabitants about nine miles from the frontier.) He went up to the City Hall and reported the details of his escape with the request to be sent back to Russia.

New German Delicacies

A South Jutland newspaper mentions two new German war dishes said to be rare delicacies: boiled nettle leaves and tea brewed from cowslip blossoms.

Burial Shrouds of Paper

The Kieler Zeitung says: "The custom "of burying the dead in their valuable "clothes is the means of great loss of "much good cloth. The loss of such "cloth is now irreparable because of the "war. For the public good, before which "the individual must bow, it is necessary

"to break this old custom. It should be "taken under consideration that the dead "should be clothed in burial shrouds "made of paper, and should be covered "with a sheet of similar material. Pil-"lowslips could likewise be made of "paper. In view of existing conditions, "it seems unsuitable to clothe the dead "with shoes and stockings."

Fines for Thistles

The population in the district of Hadersleben (about ten miles from the border) have been ordered to destroy thistles in the pastures, by the roadsides, in the garden, in the woods, and in the cultivated fields, either by cutting them or knocking them down. Neglect of this order will bring on a maximum fine of 150 marks, or about $35.

Fate of Historic Bells

The German military authorities in South Jutland have seized a goodly number of the country's old church bells. The metal is to be used for military purposes. These church bells often have peculiar old inscriptions. For this reason Nis Nissen, a member of the Landsthing or Danish Upper House, appeals to the readers of a South Jutland newspaper to copy accurately the words and numerals engraved on the venerable bells, so that at least something may be preserved of these historic relics.

Nis Nissen mentions among others the oldest bell in Norburg, a city on the island of Alsen, thirty-five miles north of Kiel. It hangs in Tundtoft Church and bears the following Latin inscription, translated into Danish: "When Christian the "Fourth was King, Statholder, (Imperial "Chancellor,) Jacob Ulfeld church di-"rector, Johannes Mikkelsen church pa-"tron, Pastor Johannes Monrad dean, "and M. Johannes Monrad rector in "Tundtoft, in the year of our Lord 1620, "Melchior Lucas made (cast) me."

The youngest and also the largest bell in Norburg, now become a sacrifice to the war, has the following Danish inscription at the top: "Johan David Kriesche cast "this bell." On one side: "Cast at "Eckernforde (about fifteen miles north "of Kiel) Anno Domini 1777, when "Counselor of Justice Johan Christian "Anders was church inspector and Hol-"ger Fangel rector." On the opposite side: "Psalms, 95, 6: 'O, come, let us "worship and bow down: Let us kneel "before the Lord, our Maker.'"

A foreign firm has made an offer to the board of church directors to take the big bell down intact for the sum of 100 marks, or about $23. This offer has not been accepted by the German authorities. The bell will be broken to pieces in the tower and brought down in small sections.

It is with a sorrowful heart that every Dane must see this sacrifice laid on the altar of war. The venerable bells of South Jutland that have rung in so many centuries are not only historical antiquities, they are witnesses also—stones that speak.

Prayers for German Harvest

The official organ of the Kiel Consistory says:

"Since harvest prayer services have "been held in all churches throughout "the land for the past two years of the "war at the instigation of Die Deutsche "Evangelische Kirche Ausschuss, (the "German Evangelical Church Commit-"tee,) this year we also appeal to the "honored clergy to call upon God's bless-"ing for a bountiful harvest in these "hard times of war. The experiences of "the last years of the war have con-"stantly brought home to us what sig-"nificance a good harvest has for a suc-"cessful and victorious termination of "the war. We therefore ordain that our "national church shall touch upon the "great national importance which this "year's harvest will have for our people. "At the same time, we request the min-"isters to pray for a rich harvest in the "church prayer every Sunday until har-"vest time."

$640,000,000 for American Aviation Corps

PRESIDENT WILSON on July 24 signed the war aircraft bill appropriating $640,000,000, a sum greatly in excess of the combined army and naval expenditures of previous years and larger than any sum for a single project ever voted by any Congress. With these funds it is hoped that the United States will be able to fill the air along the western front in Europe with thousands of aviators and military airplanes. The aviation corps is ultimately to consist of about 100,000 men with about 22,000 airplanes.

As soon as the bill was signed Howard Coffin, Chairman of the Aircraft Production Board, stated that the board was prepared to go ahead at once, but results should not be expected too soon. He added:

Under ordinary conditions at least a year would be required for the industrial preparation which this program demands. Yet we have no such length of time in which to perform the task now.

In every other country there is a shortage of materials for aircraft construction. In every other country there is a shortage of the type of men required for the air service. In spite of our previous inexperience in quantity production of fighting planes, we must have thousands of them for next year's use to make the contribution which the Allies expect of us.

The design and construction of jigs, tools, and gauges will require weeks, and even months, no matter how rapidly we work. It must be remembered, therefore, that a few months will necessarily elapse before the outward results of our industrial effort will show in the shape of quantities of finished fighting machines.

Most gratifying progress on the preliminary organization has been made during the last few weeks. If it progresses in the future at the stride that has been developed there need be no fear as to America's position in the aircraft field by next Summer.

The difficulties which apply to the production of high-powered machines for fighting and bombing purposes fortunately do not apply with equal force to the training program. Within a comparatively short time we shall have enough of the type required for training the thousands of men who will constitute a contribution to the winning of the war equal in importance to the production of machines.

America is the last great reservoir of material for war pilots as well as for airplanes. Already three of the twenty-four big new training fields are completed and instruction on them has begun. Others are being rushed to completion. Orders for training machines were placed weeks ago, and shipments of the first output already have been made. The output of this most necessary type will continue to increase rapidly, as we already have plants experienced in their manufacture.

In considering the size of the appropriation it must be borne in mind that less than half this amount is to be expended in the purchase of airplanes alone. Personnel, training, equipment, overseas maintenance, spare parts, flying stations, armament, and scientific apparatus, all are to be provided for, and are equally as important as the manufacture of the machines. One hundred and ten thousand officers and enlisted men—an army of the air greater than our standing army of a few months ago—will be needed.

Some idea of the magnitude of the task before the Aircraft Production Board may be gathered from the statement on British progress in manufacturing warplanes made on July 12 by Dr. Christopher Addison, who was then Minister of Munitions and who has since been appointed Minister in charge of reconstruction. Since January, 1917, when the Munitions Ministry became responsible to the British Flying Services for supply, the program had been steadily and largely increased; and it was still expanding. Dr. Addison added:

No fewer than 1,000 factories are engaged on some process or other connected with the construction and equipment of the flying machine. If for the purposes of comparison you put the number of airplanes produced in May, 1916, at 100, then in May of this year the number rose to rather more than 300. Even this rate of increase is being accelerated. The output in December will be twice what it was in April, and the December total will be far surpassed in succeeding months. The number of airplane engines turned out monthly has been more than doubled this year already and this total will be doubled again before the close of the year.

What these figures involve in organization will perhaps be appreciated when it is stated that a single cylinder of the rotary engine involves forty-eight different operations in its manufacture. As for spare parts, an enormous number has to be manufactured, as, owing to the fragility of the machine, its parts require frequent renewal and "spares" must be ready to hand whenever and wherever wanted.

A growing number of workers is employed in the airplane factories, the increase in the last five months being 25 per cent. on the previous total. Along with this the replacement of skilled workers by women has gone on, the dilution having risen from 19 per cent. to 37 per cent. To meet the demand for labor special schools have been started all over the country, where a training of about two months qualifies a pupil to carry out some simple process in airplane manufacture. About 100 qualified workers are supplied each week under this system.

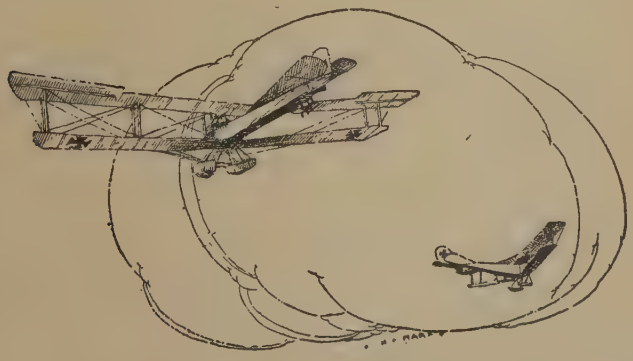
Yet the demand is not satisfied. More and more women are wanted, both in London and in the provinces; and women of good education and good physique can render the nation no better service at the present time than by undergoing the training which is offered in these schools.

The Ministry of Munitions has had special difficulties to overcome to reach the present degree of output and efficiency. The technical development of the airplane has presented peculiar problems. New types are continually being evolved. Those responsible for the manufacture of our flying machines have always had to allow for a new invention coming along and revolutionizing all their projects. Speed, climbing power, armament, have continually increased and improved since the outbreak of the war. An engine that can develop up to 350 horse power, for example, and a single-seater scout able to travel at 150 miles per hour are built on very different lines from their prototypes of August, 1914. Where there is no finality there is a limit to standardization, except in small details, and the problem of supervising the manufacture of our airplanes is correspondingly complicated.

The variety of materials used in airplane construction, again, has been a great source of anxiety to the Ministry. Linen, timber, chemicals for tightening the fabric of wings, alloy steel, light alloys, thin tubes are among the essential requirements of the industry. Even if these were wanted in normal quantities, there would be difficulty in getting enough in view of other necessities. But the needs of the airplane program are enormous, almost passing belief.

For our present program of construction more spruce is wanted than the present annual output of the United States, more mahogany than Honduras can supply—and Honduras is accustomed to supply the requirements of the world. Besides this, all the linen of the type required made in Ireland, the home of the linen industry, and the whole of the alloyed steel that England can produce can be used. As for flax, to meet the needs of the air service the Government has actually to provide the seed from which to grow the plant essential for its purposes. Still, despite the magnitude of the demands, all the needs of airplane manufacture will be met. The program before the Ministry of Munitions is that of a maximum production.

In Germany the Zeppelin has been practically discarded and all energies are being directed to an enormously increased production of airplanes, with the object of taking up the Allies' challenge for the supremacy of the air.



Some Historic Airplane Raids

Recent Attacks on London and Paris, and the Advent of Giant Machines in Aerial Warfare

AIR raids on a large scale were made in July and August by German, British, French, and Italian aviators. Harwich, a seaport town on the east coast of England, was visited on July 4, 1917, by twelve or more German air raiders who dropped bombs, killing eleven persons and injuring thirty-six others. It was a misty morning, and the machines could be distinguished only at intervals when they appeared from behind cloud banks. Bombs were dropped in rapid succession. British airmen intercepted the Germans and broke up their formation, causing them to return toward the sea. Their retreat was marked by a series of duels with British aviators. Two of the enemy machines were brought down ablaze and a third was damaged.

Greatest Raid on London

The greatest air raid on London up to the present writing was made by twenty-two German airplanes on the morning of July 7, 1917. The total number of persons killed in the metropolitan area and the Isle of Thanet was 43; injured, 197. The raiding machines were of the new Gotha type, which is about three times the size of the single-seated machine. Three of the airplanes which took part in the attack were brought down at sea on the return trip. British airmen at Dunkirk prepared to intercept them, but they took a more northerly route. The Dunkirk fliers, in the course of their patrol, brought down seven machines of another German squadron.

The battle in the air was an engrossing spectacle. Despite official appeals to the population to take cover in case of another raid, millions saw some part of it and hundreds of thousands watched it in all its phases. The raiders were plainly visible during most of the time. Their arrival was favored by a thick Summer haze, which assisted them in their manoeuvres over the metropolis. Their plan of action had evidently been worked out to the smallest details and their formation was maintained throughout. They crossed London from northwest to southeast. Shrapnel was bursting all around them, but they flew, as one spectator put it, like a school of crows following a leader. The simile was inaccurate in respect to color, for the raiders were shimmering white in the sun. A little later their course might have been compared to the flight of swallows, for anti-aircraft guns seemed to get their range as the northern districts of the capital were reached. The machines dived and swerved just as swallows do. At times one or another machine would drop, and many spectators, unversed in the tricks of flying, jumped to the conclusion that one or more planes had been brought down. Experienced airmen understood these "falls" to be what has now, with the advance in flying, become a common device to change the altitude when one position becomes too hot.

London again showed a spirit of phlegmatic endurance. Curiosity to see what was going on was much less general than it had been on the occasion of the June 13 raid. While the earlier phases of the raid attracted crowds to roofs and windows, and even into the streets, a marked disposition to take to cover made itself evident as the firing continued. When the raid reached its height certain usually crowded streets were left empty. The fact that a larger proportion of people took cover than was the case in June was held to explain the smaller casualty list.

Details of Damage Done

Subsequent uncensored reports stated that bombs were dropped in Whitechapel and killed a number of persons. A bomb was dropped in Aldgate near where hay wagons were standing, but it did not explode. From Aldgate the raiders flew

over Fenchurch Street and Mincing Lane, where the tea, coffee, indigo, and spice merchants have their offices. Several persons were injured by bombs there. By this time British aircraft were coming from all directions to repel the invaders, and the anti-aircraft guns on the tall buildings near the Bank of England were also in action. Apparently the raiders were trying to hit the bank, as they had attempted on previous raids, but did not succeed. One of the bombs struck the Swiss Bank, which was full of men and boys, and several were injured.

Five or six of the bombs that fell in Cheapside as the German machines continued their flight toward St. Paul's did not explode. One struck the General Post Office and set part of the building on fire. Another bomb fell into St. Paul's churchyard and destroyed the iron railings on the north side and broke several of the stone monuments. One was dropped on the west side of the cathedral in front of the main entrance, but did not explode. From there the air raiders flew down Ludgate Hill and over Fleet Street, and then made a swing to the northwest as far as Oxford Circus, where more bombs were dropped, without doing much harm. Then they changed their course and turned back to the southeast over St. Giles-in-the-Fields, down to Marconi House, in the Strand, and over Somerset House and the River Thames toward the Kentish coast, flying at great speed and followed by squadrons of British aircraft.

A Defender's Heroic Charge

One of the heroic episodes of the raid was the charge by Second Lieutenant I. E. R. Young, an officer of the Royal Flying Corps. His feat is described in a letter from his Major to his father:

> Your son, as you know, had only been in my squadron for a short time, but quite long enough for me to realize what a very efficient and gallant officer he was. He had absolutely the heart of a lion and was a very good pilot. Your son had been up on every raid of late, and had always managed to get in contact with the enemy machines. The last raid, which unfortunately resulted in his death, shows what a very gallant officer we have lost.
>
> Almost single-handed he flew straight into the middle of the twenty-two machines, and both himself and his observer at once opened fire. All the enemy machines opened fire also, so he was horribly outnumbered. The volume of fire to which he was subjected was too awful for words. To give you a rough idea: There were twenty-two machines, each machine had four guns, and each gun was firing about 400 rounds per minute. Your son never hesitated in the slightest. He flew straight on until, as I should imagine, he must have been riddled with bullets. The machine then put its nose right up in the air and fell over, and went spinning down into the sea from 14,000 feet.
>
> I, unfortunately, had to witness the whole ghastly affair. The machine sank so quickly that it was, I regret, impossible to save your son's body, he was so badly entangled in the wires, &c. H. M. S. —— rushed to the spot as soon as possible, but only arrived in time to pick up your son's observer, who, I regret to state, is also dead. He was wounded six times, and had a double fracture in the skull.

The same afternoon Premier Lloyd George called a special meeting of military and aerial defense experts at Downing Street in connection with the raid. A group of Members of Parliament interested in air questions also held a meeting and decided to press the Government for a definite statement of policy in the matter of reprisals on German towns. Lord Derby, Minister of War, had on June 26, in the House of Lords, stated that the Government had no intention of imitating German brutality, but would confine aerial operations to exclusively military purposes. But the new raid immediately evoked a fresh demand for reprisals on German towns.

Another daylight raid over England was made on the morning of July 22. This time the east coast was visited by about twenty German airplanes, which dropped bombs on Felixstowe and Harwich, killing eleven persons and injuring twenty-six. The property loss was insignificant. An alarm was sounded in London, but before the Germans could reach any point near the city they were attacked heavily by defending squadrons of aircraft, which caused them to retreat. "A patrol of the Royal Flying Corps," said an official statement, "encountered some hostile machines return-

ing to Belgium and brought down one at sea near the coast."

Since the outbreak of the war 366 persons had been killed and 1,092 injured by air raids in the London metropolitan area, according to a statement made by Sir George Cave, the Home Secretary, in the House of Commons on July 30. In the same period, he added, 2,412 persons had been killed and 7,863 injured in ordinary street accidents in the same area.

Two Raids on Paris

Paris was attacked by German airmen on the two successive evenings of July 27 and 28. These were the first raids on the French capital since January, 1916. A few minutes before 11 P. M. watchers of the French Aviation Service in Paris heard the noise of a motor and then an explosion, followed after a brief interval by another. The Prefecture of Police was accordingly instructed to give the alarm throughout the city. Soon after the warning the sky over the city was alive with defense airplanes, twinkling like stars, from which they hardly could be distinguished. Firemen dashed through the streets sounding alarms on powerful sirens, and one by one the street lamps flickered out. Bombs were dropped on three different suburban sections. In the first the bombardment caused no damage; in the other two localities five or six bombs were dropped, causing the slight injury of two women. One of the women was struck while in bed and was removed to a hospital; the other was injured by flying glass. At 1:10 A. M. the firemen gave the signal that all danger was over.

The second attack proved wholly futile, the German airmen being dispersed by French sky fighters before they even reached the outskirts of the capital. Somewhere on the front, however, one German flier dropped four bombs on a Red Cross hospital, killing two doctors, a chemist, and a male nurse and injuring several others, including patients. The raider was flying low and the distinguishing marks of the hospital were plainly apparent.

French Raid in Reprisal

In retaliation for German attacks on open French towns eighty-four French airplanes made a series of raids far into Germany on the evening of July 6. The text of the official statement read:

> On the night of July 6 eighty-four machines took to the air in reprisal for bombardments against our open towns. Several of these raids had as their objectives towns situated very far in the interior of the enemy territory.
>
> Eleven of our airplanes flew over Trèves, on which they showered 2,650 kilos of shells. Seven fires broke out, one of great violence in the central station. Six other machines bambarded Ludwigshafen doing considerable damage. Among other buildings, the important Badische aniline factory was devoured by flames.
>
> Another of our airplanes, piloted by Sergeant Gallois, pushed as far as Essen and dropped projectiles on the buildings of the Krupp factory.
>
> Military installations in the environs of Coblenz, the Hirson station, the railroad west of Pfalzburg, and the Thionville station were likewise bombarded.
>
> Another series of operations over the enemy lines gave excellent results. A fire broke out in the station at Dun-sur-Meuse, a munitions depot exploded at Bantheville, the railroad station at Machault, and establishments at Cauroy were burned.
>
> In all 30,455 kilos (about 67,000 pounds) of projectiles were used. Two of our airplanes have not returned.

Bombing the Krupp Works

The exploit of Sergeant Maxime Gallois, who flew 446 miles to bomb the Krupp Works, was told by himself in these words:

> Four of us—Lieutenant Ardisson de Perdiguier, Sergeant Durand, another comrade, and myself—left our base at nightfall Friday, (July 6,) with the intention of reaching Essen. Soon afterward we ran into foggy weather and lost sight of each other. I flew at an altitude of 1,200 meters, and passed over Metz and Thionville, following the course of the River Moselle, which, however, rapidly disappeared in the mist.
>
> The batteries fired at me crossing the Rhine, and as I passed over Metz searchlights played about the sky. At Thionville I heard another airplane near by, but made it out to be Ardisson's. Afterward I was compelled to travel by the aid of the compass, the stars, and the moon.
>
> At Trèves I saw a heavy bombardment, which I calculated was directed at my comrade. Therefore I knew I was traveling in the right direction. I did not see Coblenz. I saw the reflection of the moon

on the Rhine and found Bonn. From there to Düsseldorf there was a regular sea of electricity, which increased as I got further north.

Cologne was a blaze of luminosity, and at Düsseldorf there were all kinds of lights—blue, red, and white. All the time the anti-aircraft guns fired as I passed, and around Cologne the gunners were very accurate in the range.

Leaving there, I saw, like cliffs on the horizon, a brilliant illumination which seemed kilometers in length stretching to the left of Essen, while southward was another long line of lights coming from the factories. Arriving over Essen, I rose to about 2,000 meters. I circled around, searching for a place where the lights from the workshops appeared densest. Then I threw the first bomb. After counting ten I dropped the second, and then the remainder of the ten I carried at similar intervals. I could not tell whether the bombs exploded, but they probably did. It was impossible to distinguish their effect, owing to the flaming furnace chimneys.

My duty done, I turned homeward, not having seen my comrades again. The motor worked with wonderful regularity all the time. I came back exactly the same as I went, and was fired at many times.

I was thoroughly exhausted and was suffering from my eyes, which were affected by the strain and wind, as I had lost both pairs of goggles at the start, and was often obliged to put my head outside in order to see the director. When nearing the base, owing to the darkness I could not tell exactly where I was. I thought possibly I was still over the German lines and decided to continue westward as long as the petrol lasted. I had a few litres left and was driving onward, when suddenly I recognized a prearranged signal and managed to land just at dawn at the same place from which I had departed. The distance covered was 750 kilometers, (about 466½ miles.)

The whole flight lasted seven hours. When Gallois landed on his return he was unable to get out of his machine owing to fatigue and semi-blindness, but after a day's rest he was fully recovered and ready to undertake further expeditions. Thirty-eight years of age, he was serving in the dragoons when the war broke out. He passed a short time in the squadron and was then sent to the hospital where sick horses were cared for. He tried to exchange to the autocannon battery, but was told he was too old. He applied four times for the Aviation Corps unsuccessfully, but was accepted on the fifth application.

The German official report stated that only two bomb holes were found at the Krupp Works, and that six other bombs smashed windows in a village twenty-five miles from Essen. Bombs also were dropped in the villages of Speecher, Ehrang, and Oberemmel, where a child was killed, and on Neunkirchen, where a man was killed; on a suburb of Diedenhofen, where a family of three were killed, and on Trèves, where the Franciscan Monastery was set on fire. One airman who attacked Trèves was brought down near the Saar, it was announced, while another airplane was destroyed and its pilot made prisoner. The report concluded: "For what reason the open and militarily unimportant town of Trèves was bombed is incomprehensible."

British naval airplanes carried out a raid on the night of July 7 on the Ghistelles aerodrome in Belgium. Although heavily attacked by an enemy formation, bombs were successfully dropped on objectives, and all the British machines returned safely.

List of Air Raids

The more important of the organized raids carried out by the Allies and the Germans since May 1 are set out in the following list:

	Allies.	German.
May 1.	Sissonnes Aviation Camp	.....
May 2.	Sissonnes Aviation Camp	.....
May 2.	Béthenville	.....
May 7.	.....	London
May 12.	Zeebrugge	.....
May 23.	Réthel	.....
May 24.	.....	*East Anglia
May 25.	.....	Folkestone
June 1.	Zeebrugge, Ostend, Bruges	.....
June 2.	.....	Dunkirk
June 3.	Zeebrugge, Bruges, and St. Denis Westrem Aerodrome ..	.....
June 3.	Trèves	.....
June 4.	Bruges	.....
June 4.	Colmar Aerodrome	.....
June 5.	.....	Thames Estuary
June 6.	Nieuwmunster Aerodrome	.....
June 9.	St. Denis Westrem.	.....
June 13.	.....	London
June 15.	St. Denis Westrem.	.....
June 17.	.....	*Kent & E. Anglia

	Allies.	German.
June 26..	.....	Nancy
July 2..	Bruges Docks and Lichtervelde Munition Depots	.....
July 3..	Ghistelles and Ostend Aerodromes..	.....
July 4..	.....	Harwich
July 6..	Trèves, Ludwigshafen, Essen, and Coblenz	.....
July 6..	.....	Epernay & Nancy
July 7..	.....	London

*Raids by Zeppelins.

In the series of raids during June and July on Zeebrugge, Ostend, Bruges, St. Denis Westrem, and other places the British machines all returned safely on every occasion, although heavily bombarded by German anti-aircraft guns.

420 Airplanes Lost in July

The following table shows the losses in machines officially reported on the western front from the beginning of May to July 8:

	German.		British.
	Destroyed.	Driven Down Out of Control.	Missing.
May	133	116	90
June	104	90	74
July	14	11	3
Total	251	217	167

Within a period of one week, during June, British official communiqués reported the following German losses: Two Zeppelins destroyed, two seaplanes destroyed, twenty-two airplanes brought down, and twenty-one airplanes driven down out of control. On the other hand, the British losses in the same period amounted to only six airplanes missing. French official reports do not give the number of machines lost, but merely record the damage inflicted on the enemy. How substantial the German losses have been at the hands of the French is proved by the following figures for a recent month:

Machines destroyed	102
Machines seriously damaged.....	109

According to a British official statement, 420 airplanes were lost on the western front in July. This figure is approximate only, owing to variations in the French and German methods of announcing air losses. The month's losses are the third highest of the war and compare with 392 for June, 713 for May, and 717 for April. The July losses were divided among the belligerents as follows: German machines, 291; Allies, 129, of which 89 were British, although this figure probably is incomplete. The British brought down 247 German machines, the French 35, and the Belgians 9.

Italian Raids on Pola.

Early in August the Italians began a series of raids with giant Caproni airplanes against the Austrian naval base at Pola. These were meant to be both reprisals for Austrian raids and military assaults upon the nest of aircraft and warships with which Austria seals the entry to the Gulf of Trieste. Each Caproni airplane carried a crew of four or five men, with an extraordinary cargo of bombs. An eyewitness thus describes the departure:

> The first raid was carried out by thirty-six machines, including fast fighting machines, which escorted the great Caproni bomb-droppers. It was like watching a flotilla of destroyers go to sea as the great machines moved off at four-minute intervals, taking up a perfect alignment against the sky. Motor boats were out to guide them to the Austrian coast, for there was a fog over the sea. Before midnight the squadron was over Pola, manoeuvring amid a tangle of searchlight beams and a hurricane of shots from panic-stricken gunners in the city's defenses. Bombs ranging from 70 to 200 pounds were raining down on the arsenal, dockyard, and anchored ships.
>
> Three waves of airplanes went over, and the first two saw a huge explosion in the arsenal and a great fire start up, either in the arsenal or in the submarine depot. Six and a half tons of bombs were dropped in all, and there would have been more but that the third wave of attackers failed to find purely military targets.
>
> The following night they again returned to the attack. This time a light fog favored the aviators, and eight tons of explosives were deposited where they were likely to do the most damage. The results are described as entirely satisfactory.

The 600 horse power Caproni is a triplane with two fuselages or bodies, and driven by three Fiat or Isotta-Fraschini motors, any one of which has sufficient power to keep the craft aloft even were the others to be disabled. The machine is of both the tractor and pusher type,

for two propellers are mounted in front and one in the rear. The plane carries a so-called useful load of 4,408 pounds, which assures fuel for six hours, together with a crew of three men, three guns, and 2,750 pounds of bombs. It has a speed of close to eighty-five miles an hour and is capable of climbing 3,250 feet in thirten minutes, 6,500 feet in twenty-seven minutes, and 10,000 feet in fifty-seven minutes.

This seems slow in comparison to the Spads, which climb 10,000 feet in five minutes or less; but a Spad is simply a flying motor, with sustaining strength barely sufficient to support the aviator and a gun. The Caproni is as big as a trolley car. Its wing span is more than 100 feet. It stands twenty-one feet in the air and it is nearly fifty feet long.

The only aircraft which compares with it in size is the British Handly-Page machine, which, with two 280 horse power Rolls-Royce motors, carried twenty-seven passengers, and has a wing spread of 98 feet, and the Curtiss and Gallaudet monsters made in this country.

Earlier Raids of Note

Long-distance airplane raids have been made at intervals since the first year of the war, but hitherto they have had to be executed with machines that are dwarfed by the newer constructions. One of the first raids of historic importance was that against Carlsruhe on June 15, 1915. It was conducted by twenty-three twin-motored Caudron machines, in charge of Captain de Kerillis, and dropped close to fifty large bombs on Carlsruhe. Three of the machines did not return—they had to land and were captured, but the damage to Carlsruhe was serious.

In the very first bombardment of Sofia on April 21, 1916, a single aviator started from Saloniki, flew to Sofia, dropped four bombs and proclamations announcing the capture of Trebizond, and returned to Saloniki. This exploit was repeated by single aviators from time to time; then on Sept. 15, 1916, it was repeated by four aviators who left Saloniki at 6:20 and arrived over Sofia at 8:40. They dropped their bombs, many of which were effective, and returned. They had crossed the Balkan Mountains at 6,000 feet without trouble, and had accomplished what an army could not have done. The only limitation was that the airplanes were too few in number to win a decisive victory. In every raid in the Balkans only four or five airplanes participated.

Among the most remarkable long-distance bombing expeditions were the raids on Essen and Munich by Captain de Beauchamp and Lieutenant Dancourt on Sept. 24 and Nov. 18, 1916, which have been repeated since by other aviators. The raid on Ludwigshafen, accomplished on May 27, 1915, in which eighteen airplanes took part, also involved a flight of about 400 miles. It was conducted successfully, and only one airplane was forced to land and submit to capture. Another classic was the bombing raid on the Mauser Works at Oberndorf on Oct. 12, 1916, in which a French bombing squadron and a British bombing squadron participated, escorted by Lafayette Flying Corps fighters. In all these raids the aviators had to fly from five to seven hours continuously under most trying conditions, having to protect themselves with insufficient arms. A night raid in large, well-armed warplanes would be easy in comparison—and much safer.

A German Airman's Story of a Raid on London

Under the signature of "A Participant" the commander of one of the German airplanes which took part in a recent raid on London described his experiences:

THE morning sky is bluer than ever at 9 o'clock, the sun seeming to be laughing at the world. We are getting ready. Our commander addresses a few last words to us, ending with "God

bless you, lads." At 10 o'clock punctually our leader's machine, heavily burdened, rises and heads for London. Our huge birds swarm after him.

Soon the Belgian coast comes in view. To the left we clearly make out the German front lines. Next we are at Nieuport with a wide territory all around inundated. Ostend and Zeebrugge follow. We leave Holland to the right at the mouth of the Scheldt and Vlissingen is just visible. The commander is still flying somewhat ahead, the squadron, in close formation, behind. We can recognize the men in the machine flying nearest us, and signals and greetings are exchanged. A feeling of absolute security and indomitable confidence in our success are our predominant emotions.

Now our leader turns to the left. We are above the sea, the coast lines disappearing gradually. Barographs indicate higher altitudes. The motors are thundering their monotonous song of human power. Now and then the sharp tack-tack of practicing machine guns penetrates even the clamor of winds and the humming motors. In front, but far below us, appears a cloud bank.

Still more distant in a hazy atmosphere is the English coast. We notice our comrades in other machines pointing to the coastline. They nod at each other and seem highly enthusiastic. We pass the cloud bank and in long lines see English sentinel boats stretched behind. Then, in a hazy veil, the mouth of the Thames appears. We approach Sheerness at the left, which town ought to know us.

In a straight line we make for London, and now the first British shots reach our altitude, but that does not matter much. Onward we fly. Soon the bombardment dies away and the squadron closes in, moving higher. We follow the windings of the Thames on the map, and find we are speedily approaching our goal.

But another cloud bank appears. "Damn it all, shall our game be spoiled this time?" I exclaim. I write my fears on a piece of paper and hand it to my pilot, and I see his fist coming down broadside with an oath.

Five minutes pass in anxious suspense, and I look around after the comrade airships. They are still following in close formation. Then we pass that cloud bank, and London's sea of houses stretches in vast expanse far below us.

We now discover the first of the English chasing fliers, but for the present they do not concern us. Suddenly there stand, as if by magic here and there in our course, little clouds of cotton, the greetings of enemy guns. They multiply with astonishing rapidity. We fly through them and leave the suburbs behind us. It is the heart of London that must be hit.

We see the bridges, the Tower of London, Liverpool Station, the Bank of England, the Admiralty's palace—everything sharply outlined in the glaring sunlight. There are ships on the Thames that look like toys. With my glasses in one hand I signal with the other to my pilot. Slowly long rows of streets pass through the small orbit of the glasses.

At last it is time to stop, I give a signal, and in less time than it takes to tell I have pushed the levers and anxiously follow the flight of the released bombs. With a tremendous crash they strike the heart of England. It is a magnificently terrific spectacle seen from midair. Projectiles from hostile batteries are sputtering and exploding beneath and all around us, while below the earth seems rocking and houses are disappearing in craters and conflagrations, in the light of the glaring sun.

In a few moments all is over and the squadron turns. One last look at the panic-stricken metropolis and we are off on our home course. I nod to my pilot, indicating that everything is all right. He answers "likewise." We have gotten somewhat behind the squadron, but soon make up the distance.

Now we are in for a little bout with English chasers. They don't let us wait very long. As we reach the suburbs the first three English fliers suddenly appear in front of us, seeking to block our flight. At a hundred or two hundred meters distance both sides open fire, striving to get at each other's weak spots.

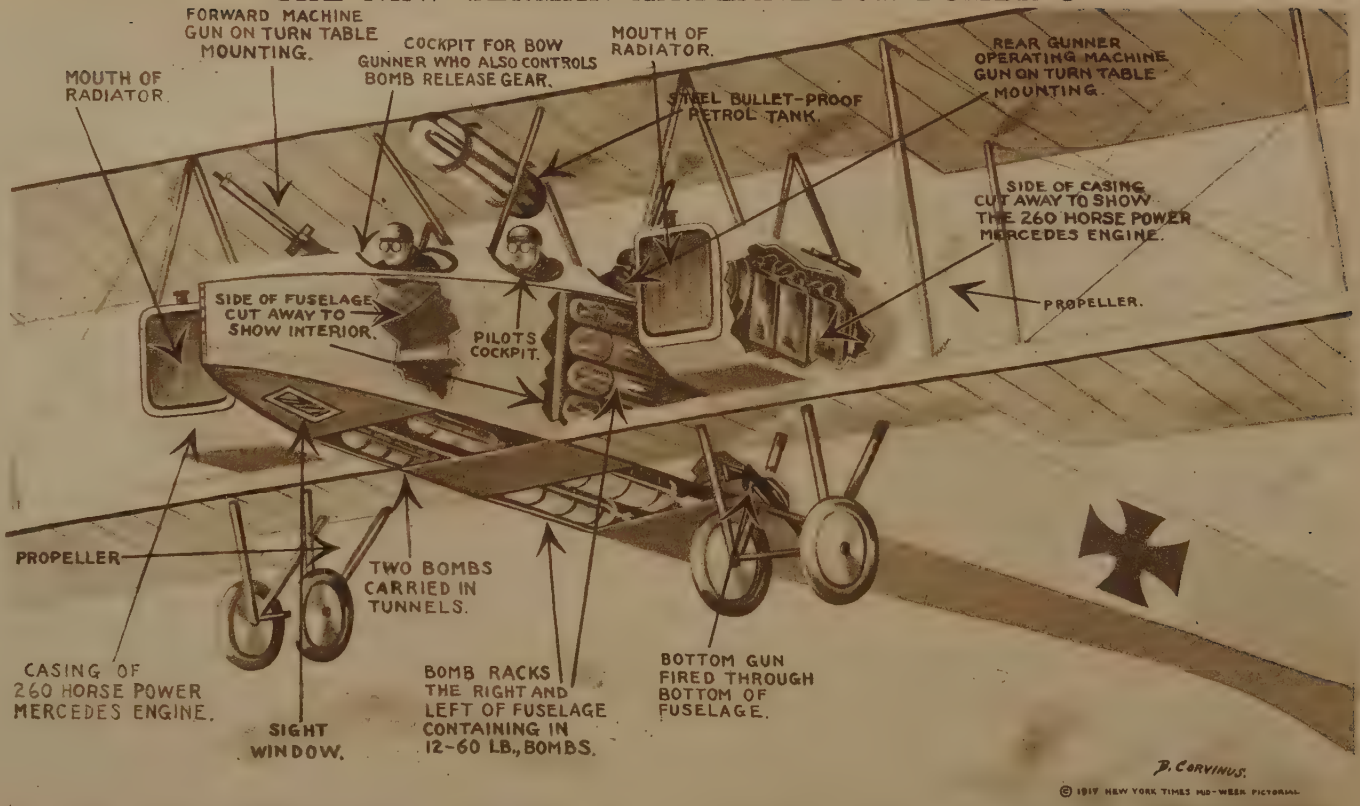
Then from several directions the attacking British planes reach us. They appear from below, then from the right or left or from above. My pilot is watch-

THE BRITISH ARMY ENTERING BAGDAD

Early on the morning of March 11, 1917, the British Army in Mesopotamia entered the ancient City of the Caliphs. During the previous nights the Turks had beaten a simultaneous retreat upstream on both banks of the Tigris.

(British Official Photo from Central News)

THE NEW GERMAN AIRPLANE FOR BOMBING



The Gotha bombing machine carries fourteen bombs, each weighing sixty pounds. It has two engines and is armed with three machine guns. One of these airplanes was brought down during a raid on London, thus enabling the above diagram to be made

(© The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial)

ing with eagle eyes, while I, with my hand on the gun lever, am not slow to give a tack-tack to the daredevil who exposes himself to my machine. Twice we just evade terrific onslaughts. Two hostile pilots turn and do not come back.

But the third is a brave and tenacious fellow. For ten minutes we fire at each other almost incessantly, my opponent looking for an opening. Suddenly he makes for us and showers his bullets on our machines. I can see or feel that the bullets have struck our planes, but I know I've got him. I send a whole sheaf of fire into his body. His machine rears up in the air like a wounded animal, turns a somersault, and disappears in the depths. This is the first enemy I have defeated over British soil. Three cheers!

Already the British coast is in view again, but more fighting awaits us. This time the English fliers seem to have lost heart. Their attacks are easily beaten off. Our machines reach the coast at length and close up with the rest of the squadron. While reloading my machine gun my pilot discovers a new enemy. By his tactics I recognize him as one of those astute English fliers we encountered at the Somme. Perhaps we had met there. For a short time we fly almost parallel, both preparing to attack. Suddenly he turns sharply to the left and there he is not twenty meters distant. Our machine guns pour lead into each other. Suddenly his gun stops dead. Must have jammed. He turns sharply and tries to fly, but my machine gun catches him squarely on the broadsides, and down he goes. Just twenty seconds of fighting and all is over, old friend of last Summer!

Ear Disturbances Suffered by Aviators

By P. Lacroix, M. D.

[Translated from the Bulletin de l'Académie de Médecine de Paris for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

AS a military surgeon I have spent a year in one of our most important schools of aviation. This has enabled me to make a systematic study of the reactions and disturbances of the ear observed in aviators during their flights. I have based this study on questioning and on the otoscopic examination of numerous pilots from the aviation centre at Ambérieu (near Lyons) and also on personal auto-observation during the flights which I have made myself as an observer at altitudes varying from about 1,500 to 6,000 feet.

The ear is both an organ for the maintenance of equilibrium and an organ for hearing. As an organ for maintaining equilibrium, how does the ear behave itself in the aviator during flight? Do the flights produce vertigo? It seems, a priori, that rising in an aeroplane to great altitudes must entail a tendency to vertigo; but this conception does not correspond at all to the reality; on the contrary, one is struck with the rarity of vertigo under such circumstances. As soon as the aeroplane leaves the ground, the fear of dizziness which one was expecting disappears, and is replaced by a feeling of calm stability. When the apparatus, having attained the altitude sought, advances in the air, proceeding at a speed which ordinarily is an average of sixty miles an hour, one believes that he is advancing only with a majestic deliberation. Aside from the impression caused by the spectacle (very beautiful it is) which one has below him—the long, white ribbons of the roads, the diminutive houses, the microscopic living beings, a spectacle truly Lilliputian—there is really the absence of every painful impression, of all dizzy conditions. Personally, although I feel visual dizziness on the balcony of a second story, I have never felt it in an airplane even in the eddy wind, in the spirals, in the rapid descents.

This is easily explained. Vertigo, a malady of the sense of space, may have for its origin a visual condition, or a tactile disturbance, or an affection of

the labyrinth of the ear. In the airplane, the terrestrial guiding marks are too far distant to disturb the visual state. The habitual stability of the apparatus brings with it tactile and labyrinthine stability. It is only when the airplane is taken in a violent eddy wind that the tendency to vertigo may appear. But, in the matter of aviation, the rolling and the pitching, the dangerous "montagnes russes," are already abnormal and are near neighbors to accident.

Let us now consider how the aviator's ear behaves as an organ of hearing during flights. Do the flights provoke deafness?

The disturbances of equilibrium with vertigo are exceptional; but, on the other hand, affections of the hearing — buzzings, deafness—are habitual and practically the rule. The observer who is making his first flight is surprised to hear his ears buzz while the airplane is rising. This buzzing disappears at certain moments and then appears again. Auditory distinctness follows the same alternations. The noise of the motor which was striking the eardrums ceases to be perceived, then reappears. It is in the very high altitudes especially that these disturbances are produced during the ascents and the rapid descents; it is to these phenomena (deafness and intermittent buzzings) that it is fitting to give the name of "reactions of the ear."

These reactions are the rule, but they vary in intensity as well as in duration. An attempt has been made to explain them by the effect of the air set in motion by the propellers, by the noise of the motor. The air, which strikes the face quite vigorously during flight, certainly plays a rôle in this respect. However, the disturbances in question are also dependent in good part on the irregular aeration of the middle ears. The successive atmospheric strata into which the airplane passes do not have the same density, for the barometric pressure decreases as the altitude increases. The air which fills the external auditory canal in a given atmospheric stratum finds itself in a different pressure from that of the air which has been stored up by the middle ear in the preceding atmospheric stratum. To this fact are due the tractions on the eardrum and on the chain of the ossicles [small bones of the ear] and also the buzzings and the deafness; but these cease as soon as an act of swallowing (which opens the Eustachian tube) re-establishes the balance of the pressure on the internal and external surfaces of the eardrum. The aviator protects himself from these ear disturbances, in fact—sometimes without noticing that he does so—by executing almost automatic acts of swallowing, which, by aerating the middle ear, restore the equilibrium on the two surfaces of the membrane of the eardrum.

I have made frequent otoscopic examinations on pilots who had just landed, and I have verified in varying degrees objective traces of these reactions of the ear. For these examinations I have chosen pilots returning from important tests, flights at high altitude, flights of long duration, which constitute the tests for the brevet of pilot. In such cases the lesions of the eardrum ascertained are always similar. One finds more or less pronounced: (a) On the one hand, a red stripe the whole length of the handle of the hammer-bone in front and behind; (b) on the other hand, a congestive state sometimes very intense of that upper part of the eardrum known under the name of the membrane of Shrapnell. This appearance of the eardrum is well known to aurists; this it is which one excites in correcting a retracted eardrum by insufflations of air into the middle ear.

In healthy ears these disturbances are temporary. In the flights of short duration they cease immediately on landfall. For the prolonged flights, a slight buzzing with some deafness may persist for a few hours or even a day, but rarely beyond that. I believe, however, that in case of ears already diseased, as found in persons subject to ear or tube ailments, the flights would be susceptible of aggravating these affections. Therefore it is with good reason that the medical certificate of fitness for pilotage demands in the candidate integrity of the middle and internal ears.

Airplanes and Gas Bombs

New and Deadly Methods of Warfare Developed Since the Beginning of the Conflict

CONGRESSMAN TILSON of Connecticut, in a discussion in Congress on new methods of warfare, advocated the expenditure of $600,000,000 for airplanes, arguing that if the United States could have 100,000 machines in the air in France the result would be to blind the artillery of the enemy and win the war. In the course of his address, he said:

"At the beginning of the war each side had a few airplanes. The subject had appealed to the imaginative Frenchman more than it had to us or to the English. So France had quite a number. Germany, of course, following out her practice of thorough preparedness in everything, was well prepared with airplanes. At the battle of the Marne airplanes cut a considerable figure. The Germans had the old Taube machine and the French had the old Nieuport and others. These machines made something like seventy or eighty miles an hour. At once both sides set to developing this art, and very soon they were turning out machines on both sides that made very much in excess of those figures. First came the German Fokker, and gained superiority for the Germans. Then the Nieuport and other French machines were improved, and so it has gone, with superiority first going to one side and then to the other. Both sides now claim to have machines that will make the incredible speed of 140 miles an hour, and that will climb in the air 10,000 feet in thirteen minutes.

"The old machine was made to carry one man, or two at the most, and some thought that was the limit of the size of airplanes. The development in size has gone on until today larger machines are flying than ever were thought possible. Today smaller ones than any practical constructor dreamed of are being successfully flown. Take the big machines of the Handley-Page type, in which eleven men have flown from London to Rome in the night time. Such a machine is so large that it can take two little airplanes with their aviators on the wings, go up in the air 10,000 feet, and launch the small machines from the wings of the big one. That feat actually has been done. A machine of this larger type, which it is necessary to fly lower and which now usually flies at night, when we are able to take and hold complete supremacy of the air we shall be able to use in the daytime.

"The weapons that can be used from aircraft are practically all of those that can be used on the land, up to and including the Davis 3-inch recoilless gun, and a number that can be used in no other way, as I shall show in the case of certain drop bombs. I have spoken of the use of pistols, rifles, and machine guns from airplanes. The machine gun especially is extremely important. I also referred to the use from airplanes of fragmentation bombs, especially the Barlow bomb. At that time I told the House that this bomb had not yet received its final test. The test was held at the Hampton grounds a few days ago. It was dropped from airplanes at great heights, so as to thoroughly test it, especially as to accuracy and destructiveness. I do not think it advisable to give you the official figures, but I am permitted to say that the results were highly satisfactory in every respect, and that the officers having the matter in charge are quite enthusiastic. This bomb, in my opinion, is sure to be heard from before the war is over. Not only is great credit due to the inventive genius of Mr. Barlow, but to the Ordnance Department, and especially to the commandant and other officials of Frankford Arsenal, under whose special guidance this young man's fertile ideas were so satisfactorily worked out. I am informed that an up-to-date corporation of patriotic men has made all preparations necessary to manu-

facture these bombs in large quantities under whatever arrangement the Government may deem necessary and proper.

Deadly Gas Warfare

"In addition to the fragmentation bombs there is a large field to which I now refer, viz., that of gas bombs. Fighting with gas is worthy of an entire chapter by itself. The use of gas as a weapon of defense, like many of the other weapons now in common use in the armies of Europe, such as the catapult, flame projector, trench knife, and sling, is an inheritance from the early ages amplified, improved, and made more destructive by the aid of modern science.

"The first recorded effort to overcome the enemy by the generation of poisonous and suffocating gases seems to have been in the wars of the Athenians and Spartans, (431 to 404 B. C.,) when, in besieging the Cities of Platea and Belium, the Spartans saturated wood with pitch and sulphur and burned it under the walls of these cities in the hope of choking the defenders and rendering the assault less difficult. They also melted pitch, charcoal, and sulphur together in caldrons and blew the fumes over the defenders' lines by means of bellows.

"'Greek fire' was used by the Byzantine Greeks under Constantine about 673 A. D. to destroy the Saracens, and Saracens in turn used it as a weapon of defense against the Christians during the Crusades. This Greek fire had the double advantage of being not only inflammable but also generating during the process of combustion clouds of dense, blinding smoke and gas of an asphyxiating character. Its chemical composition was supposed to be a mixture of quicklime, petroleum, sulphur, and such other inflammable substances as pitch, resin, &c. Upon the addition of water the slaking process which the quicklime underwent generated enough heat to ignite the petroleum, which in turn ignited the resin, pitch, and sulphur. This flaming mixture was delivered against the enemy by means of phantastic syringes in the shape of dragons and other monsters with wide jaws.

"The first use of gas in modern warfare occurred April 22, 1915, when the Germans liberated great clouds of gas against the allied trenches near Ypres with a resulting complete demoralization of the troops and a large number of casualties. The Germans at that time turned loose fifty tons of chlorine gas to the mile of front occupied. Chlorine gas is two and one-half times as heavy as air. It apparently rolls along the ground in a greenish-yellow cloud. As soon as it reaches the vicinity of the dugouts, being heavier than air, it immediately goes down into the dugout and remains there until removed. The Allies had to meet this problem, and they began meeting it at once. Some Germans were captured who had gas masks, and in a few days every woman in France that could find any material out of which to make these things was making gas masks—imperfect, crude things at first, but they improved rapidly. A gas mask is absolutely necessary for the life of any one who is exposed to these deadly gases.

"Coincident with the use of the 'gas cloud' the Germans began to use gas also in bombs, hand grenades, and shells. From this beginning gas has now become recognized as one of the accepted arms of the military service and is being used very extensively in all armies, especially in the form of gas shells. The gases were used against the Canadian troops contrary to The Hague Convention, but are now generally used, not only by the enemy but by the Allies themselves."

Gas Bombs Most Terrible

In answer to a question as to whether the use of cloud gases had been discontinued on account of the effective results from gas masks, Mr. Tilson replied: "That is probably true as to cloud gases, which of course can be used successfully only against the front line of trenches, in which every man must be thoroughly prepared to defend himself against gases. It is our intention to have one of these respirators of the box type with every man, and a reserve mask of the type used by the French and the Belgians, so that cloud gases will prob-

ably not be used much when it is known that everybody is thoroughly prepared against them. The gentleman will note, however, that it is my expectation that these gases will be made use of from airplanes a great deal more than they ever have been. They have already been used, and are now being used increasingly, in the form of projectiles of glass and steel containing these poisonous gases and fired from trench mortars and howitzers. They are using those increasingly. My idea is that they will be used still more from airplanes when we get supremacy of the air, and that the gases being dropped suddenly from the air, perhaps at some distance back from the front line, the men behind the front line will not be so well prepared and will suffer demoralization and other damage, especially among the artillery."

A member asked: "Is the nature of these gases such that if the bombs containing them are fired from a howitzer or dropped from an airplane there will be time to adjust a mask which is actually being carried by the soldier, in time to prevent his being harmed by the explosion of the container of the gas?"

"There is not time," Mr. Tilson replied. "As a matter of fact, they figure that in order for a man to be sure to protect himself against cloud gases he must be ready to put these masks on in six seconds. The drill in putting on these masks is made as accurate as the manual of arms used by infantry. It is intended to speed up so that a man can put one on, as I say, in six seconds. Even six seconds may be too long with these deadly gases falling from the sky, going out in every direction, and a man getting a whiff of the gas before it is possible to put on his mask. That has happened. I remember one of the party with the British Commissioners told of an instance showing the effect of gas shells containing the terribly poisonous gas called phosgen, which, unlike the chlorine or bromine gas, has a delayed action, so that you take it today and die tomorrow. The instance was one where a shell descended and two men got a whiff of the gas. A surgeon being near, saw that they were exposed to it, and immediately ordered them to the hospital and to bed. They obeyed orders and went off to the hospital, joshing each other that two strong men should be ordered to bed with nothing the matter with them. Before the dawn of the next morning both had died horrible deaths from that awful poison."

Another member asked whether the Germans would not see these flying machines coming or, hearing them and knowing that we had resorted to the use of this outrageous way of fighting, would they not have time to put their masks on. Mr. Tilson said:

"It is hoped that we are going to have so many machines in the air that they will not have to fly 10,000 feet high, but will be able to fly down nearer the ground, and in that way the Germans may have to wear their masks all day long.

"The point is that only a small part of the men can be on the front at once. They take turns, and the men on the front line, subject to exposure to cloud gases, all have to be doubly prepared by having these masks."

Japan's Part in the War

By Gardner L. Harding

FOLLOWING her capture of Kiao-Chau and her hardly less dramatic diplomacy in China, Japan's rôle in war and policy has been less spectacular; but its effect has been none the less actual, and the harmony of that effect with the larger policies of the Allies has within the last two years steadily and substantially increased. The arrival of the Ishii mission in the United States, (in the month of August,) a wise and statesmanlike attempt on Japan's part to co-ordinate with America, Japan's contributions toward the conduct of the war and her policies with respect to its aims, has provided an excellent landmark wherewith to trace up to this point, in extent and in actual results, Japan's assistance to the allied cause.

Her naval assistance began even before the capture of Kiao-Chau, when fast Japanese cruiser squadrons carried out the occupation of the three groups of German islands in the South Seas during the first two months of the war. From that time forward the Japanese fleet has done extremely valuable and incessant patrol duty in the Pacific, in the China Sea, and far westward in the Indian Ocean. The disposition of the Japanese fleet during this period has naturally been a naval secret, but it early allowed the substantial withdrawal of British warships from the crucial shipping lanes between Hongkong and Suez. It also bore a large part in the increased patrol necessitated by the depredations of German raiders like the Emden; it took a responsible share in keeping watch on the interned German ships in Chinese and Dutch East Indian ports, and until recently in American harbors in Guam and the Hawaiian and Philippine Islands.

Japanese warships have engaged on patrolling missions on the Pacific Coast of both North and South America; they have landed marines to quell riots at Singapore, and finally, within the past five months, they have appeared on active service in European waters, in the shape of a destroyer squadron operating in the Mediterranean Sea.

The ability of the Japanese fleet to perform such services is evidenced by its possession of ten superb destroyers, practically brand new, (having been finished since the opening of the war,) with possibly some of the eight others voted under the Okuma Ministry already available, and with a reserve of twenty-odd other destroyers, including four launched since 1910, less than twelve years old. Of other potential patrolling ships the latest Japan Year Book gives twenty-one first and second class cruisers, all rated above 20 knots speed. Finally, there is the first line of the Japanese Navy, numbering twenty battleships and battle cruisers, including eight of dreadnought construction, to which the three big battleships of the Fuso type voted by the Okuma Ministry are soon to be, or may already have been, added. The sixty-five leading ships of this formidable fleet displace no less than 628,321 tons.

Japan's Naval Contributions

Since the entrance of America into the war, the Japanese fleet in the Mediterranean has several times seen active service, and one victorious encounter with a submarine has cost a Japanese warship the loss of her commander, two other officers, and a number of her crew, the first casualties suffered by Japanese naval forces in European waters.

No account of Japan's naval contributions to the Allies' cause would be complete without mention of her assistance in convoying to Europe the Anzac troops at a time when, with the Emden still abroad, such assistance was of immense importance to the scheme of transportation. Furthermore, though other units of the Japanese fleet were not at that time fortunate enough to encounter the German raiding squadron in the South Pa-

cific, they had much to do with driving it into a position where it was effectually dealt with off the Falkland Islands by Admiral Cradock's British cruisers.

The extension of her submarine-chasing service in the Mediterranean, where the U-boats have accounted for practically all the Japanese merchantmen who have so far been their prey, and the assumption by Japan of new naval responsiblities in the Pacific, with the object of freeing American warships for service in the Atlantic, have both been widely suggested among influential centres of opinion near to the Japanese Government, and both these proposals, though as yet still unrealized, are undergoing serious consideration at the hands of the Allies, in close consultation with our own Government.

Commercial Assistance

Japan's naval aid has been formidable; but it has been in financial and commercial assistance that her power has so far been applied to the allied cause with the most cumulative and effectual result. The military character of this assistance makes its determination during the course of the war a delicate matter for general discussion; but in its broad features it is readily ascertainable. For instance, Japan had provided Russia with enormous quantities of guns, ammunition, military stores, hospital and Red Cross supplies, with skilled officers and experts to accompany them, which have admittedly been factors of the highest potency in sustaining Russia through the period of her disorganization, a period which is by no means wholly concluded yet. Those supplies alone had reached a total value of $250,000,000 by the first of August, 1917.

When it is remembered that the entire volume of Japan's exports in 1914 was less than $300,000,000, it will be seen how much Japan has expanded her facilities of export under the influence of the war. Her exports to Russia have, of course, been spread over a period of three years, but they have been accompanied by a huge expanse in general exports, most of it directly attributable to the war, so that in 1916 for the first time in her history her exports passed the billion-yen mark, mounting to as high as 1,127,468,118 yen, or, in round numbers, to over $550,000,000. Her imports also established a record last year, assisted by an unparalleled influx of raw materials for war manufactures, of 756,427,910 yen. The difference gave Japan a trade balance double that of 1915, of 371,040,208 yen, and insured her the firmest commercial and industrial position in her modern political life.

This extraordinary influx of prosperity, while it has naturally enormously benefited Japan, has also been convertible to allied advantage in the war. It has enabled Japan to ship to both England and France vast quantities of flour, beans, peas, and canned goods. A characteristic reaction of her food export possibilities to this country has been, for instance, the increase of our imports of Japanese canned crabs from supplies worth $450,000 in 1915 to last year's total of over $900,000. She also sent us a third again as much sulphur, almost four times as much camphor, almost five times as much cotton fabric, (mostly of cheap grades,) according to the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce; and according to our own statistics she sent us ten times as much of her famous Manchurian soya bean oil.

Japan's Financial Aid

Besides this direct trade, besides supplying ourselves and the Allies with many hundred million dollars' worth of economic staples, worth even more than their enhanced price in the ultimate contingencies of wartime, Japanese finance has managed to accommodate nations in the stress of the war who are usually and normally her creditors. It has been semi-officially reckoned in Japan that these accommodations, in actual and outright loans, in the purchase of bonds for cancellation in England and France, and in other and equally useful transactions involving munition supplies, have mounted up to well over $200,000,000. Japan's early loans to Russia of $25,000,000 and $35,000,000, respectively; her loan to Great Britain of $50,000,000 to help adjust British credit in the United States,

all promptly subscribed and ably floated, have produced in Europe an effect of generosity and good-will on the part of the Japanese Government which is not at all affected by the fact that the comparatively high terms of these loans make the benefit mutual. The benefit is an immediate benefit to the Allies at a time of great need, and the fact that Japan's economic and financial organization has been in a position to supply that need has resulted opportunely to her credit.

Incidentally, her gold holdings doubled in two years, from $175,000,000 to over $350,000,000, (in round numbers,) and they are still rapidly increasing. A symbol of the strength of the Japanese market was evident in this country when, in the eight months preceding June 1, 1917, as much as $50,000,000 in specie gold was shipped from America to Japan, a withdrawal that went on during the month of May at the rate of between $150,000,000 and $200,000,000 a year.

In short, Japan is today a great workshop and trading mart intimately concerned with the economic side of the war purposes of her allies, and formidably useful in furthering those purposes. A typical instance of the overseas destination of her principal products is illustrated in the case of copper. Her output of copper increased last year under the acceleration of war necessity from 78,000 to 108,000 tons; but of all this great yield hardly 10 per cent. was used at home. Some 60 per cent. went to Russia, at least 20 per cent. was shipped to England, a substantial part of the rest was sent to France—even America, richly productive in copper, received over 3,000,000 yen worth (about a million and a half dollars) of this precious metal.

Growth of Japanese Shipping

Finally, Japanese merchant shipping, which grew in gross tonnage from 790,000 to over 2,000,000 tons between 1904 and 1914, and stands at 2,000,000 tons today in oceangoing shipping alone, has loyally, though most profitably, served allied purposes throughout the war. The immense cargoes that have been moved from the American seaboard to Vladivostok, the coolie labor transportation service that has put over 100,000 Chinese industrial laborers at the service of the Allies in France and England, and scattered tramp and traffic services with India, Australia, China, and East Africa, often of importance wholly disproportionate to the size of the cargo—all these services have been insured and stabilized by the presence of Japanese shipping as by no other factor.

With direct connections established from Japan with every great port in the world, including a service maintained by six 8,000-ton boats of the Nippon Yushen Kaisha, (Japan Steamship Company,) for instance, between Yokohama and New York, via the Panama Canal, Japan's opportunity for placing part of this magnificent merchant fleet as reinforcements into the depleted shipping lanes of the Atlantic powers has several times been spoken of semi-officially by the authorities at Tokio; in fact, full consideration of that momentous step has already been stated in the Japanese press to be one of the most important questions to be discussed in this country by the Ishii mission.

In naval and maritime, commercial and financial aid, then, Japan's freely given assistance to the allied cause has been, up to the present, considerable. There is still no responsible move, however, either from Europe or from Japan, actually to transfer Japanese soldiers to the battle front. Japan has sent to France some excellent Red Cross units, and some of her ablest surgeons and sanitary experts, but she is not yet prepared to undertake the vast and delicate task of supplying, replenishing, and maintaining abroad her sons as troops in a war that is still half a world away.

The Arabs and the Turks In the War

By Dr. J. F. Scheltema

LIKE the war in Europe, its counterpart in Asia is being fought on more than one front. The principal theatre of action in the East was at first the Caucasus, where the Turks, launching a brisk attack, tried to reconquer the provinces wrested from them by Russia; they were repulsed and had to evacuate almost the whole of Armenia. Then, after initial reverses, the British tightened their hold on Mesopotamia, swept on to Bagdad and beyond. Turkish attempts on Egypt having failed, there, too, they were thrown back, and a British army followed closely on their heels into Palestine. Now we hear of the occupation of Maan, Tafilah, and Akaba by the Grand Sherif of Mecca, who, proclaiming himself King of the Hejâz, had already chased the garrisons out of the holy places of Islam and adjacent strongholds. This tends to hamper still further the use of the Syrian railway system for the transportation of Turkish troops.

Incidentally, it proves also the wisdom of the Syrian leaders of the Arabic movement, who, as recently became known, abandoned their plan of starting their projected revolution in Iraq to promote the defection of the Hejâz and its transformation into an independent State under the Grand Sherif Husayn Ibn Aly with the title and prerogatives of King. This coup won over to their side the orthodox Arabs, perhaps somewhat suspicious of the Syrian intellectuals but willing to make common cause against the Turks, aliens and usurpers in the land of the Prophet's own; especially against the Young Turks, downright "departers from the precepts of the Book." Some of the Syrian leaders had been officers in the Ottoman Army, which they deserted, and this, with the assistance given to the King of Hejâz by the powers of the Entente, may account for his success in reducing the fortified towns of Western Arabia held by Turkish troops.

Husayn Ibn Aly's son Abd'Allah, who, as the new-blown King's Minister of Foreign Affairs, notified the powers of his advent to the throne, was replaced in that capacity by a Syrian Moslem. Other counselors have been provided by the Entente, notably from among Moslemin that owe allegiance to the French Republic. The loyal Arabs are well supplied from the same source with arms and ammunition, with machine guns, field batteries, and even, it is said, with heavy ordnance of the most improved type, together with expert gunners to instruct them in the efficient use of modern artillery. The expenses attendant on his Majesty Husayn Ibn Aly's civil list are provisionally guaranteed by the Governments of Britain and France. Repayment of the money thus lent can be secured by a lien on the revenue assured to the holy places of Islam by the yearly pilgrimage. And if, as seems likely, this asset does not cover principal and interest of the debt saddled on the new kingdom, the possibilities of future restitution in some form or another are not exhausted.

The story of the British advance on Bagdad and beyond, of the Russian operations in Armenia and Persia, need not be retold. In the latter country German influence, stimulated by the construction of the Bagdad Railroad, received a staggering blow with the expulsion of the Turks. This influence had grown steadily since the brilliant reception accorded at Berlin in 1902 to the Shah Muzaffar ad-Din. Extending northward from Bushir with the extension of German trade, with the foundation of a German bank, its growth can be best gauged by the statistics of Persian exports and imports: from 3,670,000 krans in 1901, their total had increased to more than 30,000,000 krans in 1914.

It goes without saying that political plotting went pari passu with trade. It was principally directed against Great Britain and Russia. Agitators of doubtful antecedents, but useful for the German propaganda, were called to Consular posts and abused their official positions to organize a strong campaign, supported by Turkish envoys. Shiraz, Kerman, Kashan, and Khum, the centre of revolutionary intrigue fomented with funds secretly supplied by Berlin, became almost uninhabitable for Europeans not in sympathy with German ambitions. Astute and adroit, the German emissaries managed even to make the Persians and Turks, equally hostile to the *giaours* who were dividing up their ancient patrimony, forget the rancorous animosity that separates in Islam the Shî'ite from the Sunnite.

Carried on in that manner, the German propaganda, with a smaller Austrian one in its wake, was greatly aided by the Turkish occupation of Tabriz and Urumiah, as it had been by the institution of a Swedish instead of a French gendarmerie to police the roads and, generally, to keep up an appearance of reestablishing order in a country which did not escape the fate of other lands fallen into anarchy by foreign interference. When the Russians in Northern Persia had to retire before the massed battalions of the Ottoman army, all foreigners not acceptable to the representatives of the Central Powers were more or less directly notified to leave. Among those driven out were the French Carmelite Fathers, who, in Bagdad, kept an excellent industrial college; the Dominicans and Lazarists, who taught school in Mosul and Ispahan. Soon, however, the fortune of war changed and the Russians were able to shove the Turks back over the Persian frontier. Meanwhile General Maude entered Bagdad, and the allied forces, pushing on, threatened to crush the Sixth Turkish Army Corps between them if it offered resistance to their junction for a combined sweep to the north.

There matters rested for a while until tidings came of a Russian reverse which, for the present, delays that junction, in fact, jeopardizes the advantages gained both in Persia and Mesopotamia. The Turk, notwithstanding all that has lately been said of his declining mettle, is not to be despised as a warrior. Especially where distances are so enormous and means of transportation so bad as on his Asian front he possesses one virtue which makes him vastly superior to Tommy Atkins and Ivan Ivanovitch. He subsists and marches obediently and fights cheerfully on very little, indeed, on next to nothing. He needs no tremendously complicated commissariat, no excessively heavy and long provision trains that incumber the movements of the combatants proper. A cup of coffee and a handful of millet or corn, at a pinch only a drop of water and a few dates, suffice him for days at a stretch. He pulls through without elaborate preparations and implements of newest invention, whether the khamsin blows or the rain pours down in torrents when his tent has not arrived, if he has a tent at all. His merits are those commended for the ideal soldier by Napoleon, who ranked courage in the third place, after discipline and the ability to endure hardships and fatigue.

Besides that, he knows how to help himself in a quandary. The Turkish military engineers are excellent bridge builders in the most approved scientific fashion if they have the material to hand. If it is lacking, the men return to the methods of their fathers, having recourse to kelleks for the crossing of streams in their path, inflating goatskins for the construction of rafts in any desired dimension, exactly as we see it done on the old Assyrian bas-reliefs. Safely across, they remove the plugs and load the empty kelleks on camels or asses; if no such animals are handy, on their own backs. Though in the present war the finished sections of the Bagdad Railroad, like the Syrian railways, were of the greatest service to the Turks, the secret of their stubborn resistance lies in their extraordinary mobility in regions innocent of even ordinary roads, or roads of any description. Unincumbered by burdensome baggage, or by the superfluous equipment which no European

armament can do without, they pass everywhere at their fastest gait, sharing this power, of course, with the Arabs of Hejâz and the other native auxiliaries of the Entente. On the other hand, they suffer from the desertion of many of their best officers, and from the disruption of their military administration in Asian provinces by their forced removal from Erzerum, Erzinjan, and Bagdad, headquarters, under the old dispensation, of their Ninth, Tenth, and Thirteenth Army Corps.

The Turkish reoccupation of Khanikin, among other places of strategic significance, facilitates again the concentration of Ottoman efforts, guided by German brains, in the direction of Khum, with Teheran and Ispahan as their ulterior objects. At any rate, instead of receiving Russian support in their march on Mosul, the British forces under General Maude are seriously imperiled on their right flank. The situation on the Caucasian front, too, appears less favorable, since many Armenians, equally averse to Russian as to Turkish rule, have joined an armed league for the attainment of absolute independence. On the other hand, we have to note the auspicious activity of the Arabs of the Hejâz, which runs counter to the dictum of one of the highest authorities on Arabian affairs—the dictum that the Sherifate of Mecca cannot possibly take part in the present conflict in its wider sense.

And yet, he may be right. In the game now in progress on the chessboard of the Near East the Grand Sherif-King is but a pawn moved forward as suits the gambit planned by Western players for higher stakes than the royal prestige of an Oriental Kinglet whose counselors could do worse for him than inculcate the homely advice of the Scotch sage: Creep before ye gang. Al-Oiblah, the official organ of the royal Arabian Government, sees fit to repeat periodically that its alliance with the powers of the Entente is based upon its unconditional independence. Its very existence being founded in its purely Islamic character, there seems occasion for such statements in anticipation of hyperorthodox protests. And Mohammedan doctors of the new school can be trusted to find an acceptable equivalent for the opinion of an eminent unbeliever that religion and politics are merely the mutually supplementary manifestations of a single idea.

However this may be, according to the German newspapers, General von Falkenhayn has repaired to the East to continue the work of von der Goltz Pasha, removed from the scene by assassination. This fact indicates the importance Berlin attaches, and rightly, to the conduct of the war in its Oriental ramifications. But the supreme command in such hands, though perhaps it can delay, cannot avert the final outcome of the gigantic struggle, which, for Germany and Turkey alike, bids fair to prove Charles H. Pearson's contention* apropos of one of Bacon's axioms,† that, if the nation which cultivates war absorbingly is bound to achieve great success, it is bound also to do it at the cost, within measurable time, of its place among the nations of the world.

*National Life and Character.

†Essay XXIX: * * * that no nation which doth not directly profess arms may look to have greatness fall into their mouths (laps).

General Haig's Official Report

II.

The German Retreat

Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig's official report of the operations of the British armies in France from November, 1916, *to March* 11, 1917, *appeared in the August issue of* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. *The report of the withdrawal of the Germans, which began March* 12-13, *to the opening of the* 1917 *Spring offensive, follows:*

FOR some time prior to March 12-13 a number of indications had been observed which made it probable that the area of the German withdrawal would be yet further extended.

It had been ascertained that the enemy was preparing a new defensive system known as the Hindenburg line, which, branching off from his original defenses near Arras, ran southeastward for twelve miles to Queant and thence passed west of Cambrai toward St. Quentin. Various "switches" branching off from this line were also under construction. The enemy's immediate concern appeared to be to escape from the salient between Arras and Le Transloy, which would become increasingly difficult and dangerous to hold as our advance on the Ancre drove ever more deeply into his defenses. It was also evident, however, from the preparations he was making, that he contemplated an eventual evacuation of the greater salient between Arras and the Aisne Valley, northwest of Rheims.

Constant watch had accordingly been kept along the whole front south of Arras, in order that instant information might be obtained of any such development. On March 14 patrols found portions of the German front line empty in the neighborhood of St. Pierre Vaast Wood. Acting on the reports of these patrols, during that night and the following day our troops occupied the whole of the enemy's trenches on the western edge of the wood. Little opposition was met, and by March 16 we held the western half of Moislains Wood, the whole of St. Pierre Vaast Wood, with the exception of its northeastern corner, and the enemy's front trenches as far as the northern outskirts of Sailly-Saillisel.

Meanwhile, on the evening of March 15, further information had been obtained which led me to believe that the enemy's forces on our front south of the Somme had been reduced, and that his line was being held by rearguard detachments supported by machine guns, whose withdrawal might also be expected at any moment. The corps commanders concerned were immediately directed to confirm the situation by patrols. Orders were thereafter given for a general advance, to be commenced on the morning of March 17, along our whole front from the Roye Road to south of Arras.

Bapaume and Peronne

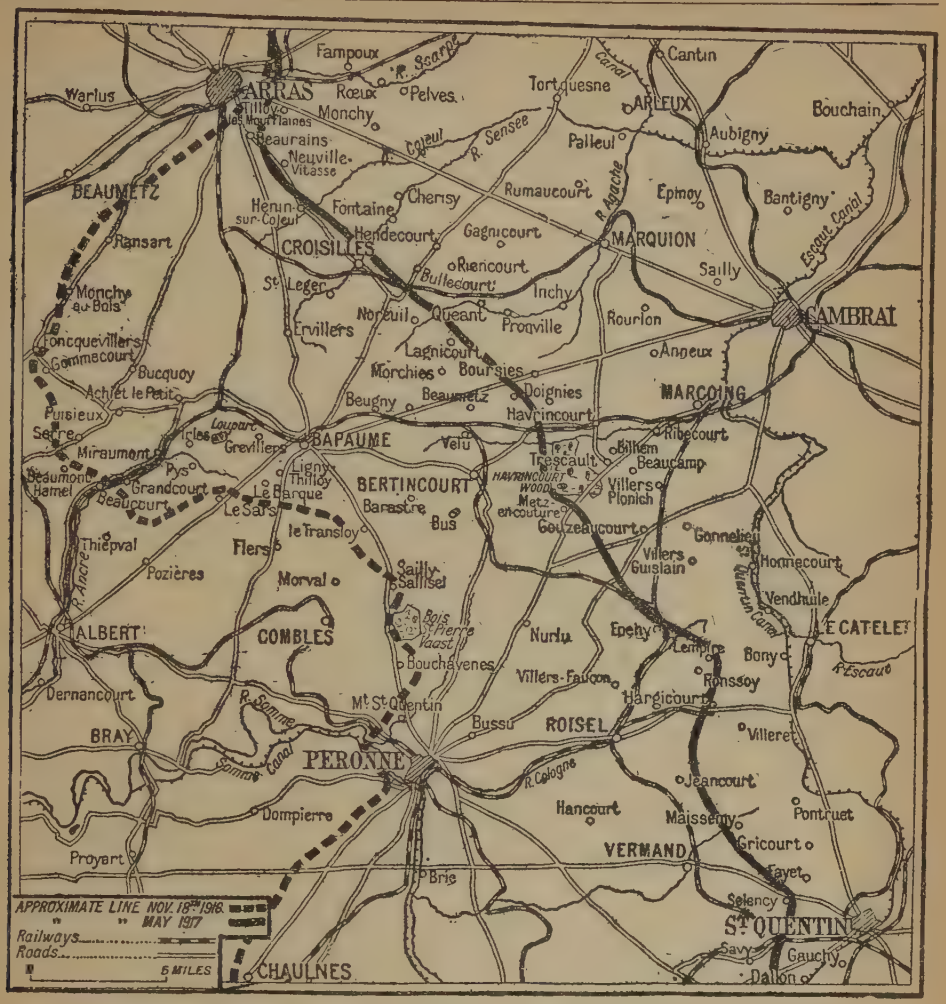
Except at certain selected localities, where he had left detachments of infantry and machine guns to cover his retreat, such as Chaulnes, Vaux Wood, Bapaume, and Achiet-le-Grand, the enemy offered little serious opposition to our advance on this front, and where he did so his resistance was rapidly overcome. Before nightfall on March 17 Chaulnes and Bapaume had been captured, and advanced bodies of our troops had pushed deeply into the enemy's positions at all points from Damery to Monchy-au-Bois. On our right our allies made rapid progress also and entered Roye.

On March 18 and subsequent days our advance continued, in co-operation with the French. In the course of this advance the whole intricate system of German defenses in this area, consisting of many miles of powerful, well-wired trenches which had been constructed with immense labor and worked on till the last moment, were abandoned by the enemy and passed into the possession of our troops.

At 7 A. M. on March 18 our troops entered Péronne and occupied Mont St. Quentin, north of the town. To the south our advanced troops established themselves during the day along the western bank of the Somme from Péronne to just north of Epenancourt. By 10 P. M. on the same day Brie Bridge had been repaired by our engineers sufficiently for the passage of infantry in single file, and our troops crossed to the east bank of the river, in spite of some opposition. Further south French and British cavalry entered Nesle.

North of Péronne equal progress was made, and by the evening of March 18 our troops had entered the German trench system known as the Beugny-Ypres line, beyond which lay open country as far as the Hindenburg line. On the same day the left of our advance was extended to Beaurains, which was captured after slight hostile resistance.

By the evening of March 19 our infantry held the line of the Somme from Canizy to Péronne, and infantry outposts and cavalry patrols had crossed the river at a number of points. North of Péronne our infantry had reached the line Bussu, Barastre, Velu, St. Leger, Beaurains, with cavalry in touch with the enemy at Nurlu, Bertincourt, Noreuil, and Heninsur-Cojeul. Next day considerable bodies of infantry and cavalry crossed to the



SCENE OF THE GERMAN RETREAT ON THE ANCRE AND SOMME

east of the Somme, and a line of cavalry outposts with infantry in support was established from south of Germaine, where we were in touch with the French, through Hancourt and Nurlu to Bus. Further north we occupied Morchies.

Difficulty of Communications

By this time our advance had reached a stage at which the increasing difficulty of maintaining our communications made it imperative to slacken the pace of our pursuit. South of Péronne, the River Somme, the bridges over which had been destroyed by the retreating enemy, presented a formidable obstacle. North of Péronne the wide belt of devastated ground over which the Somme battle had been fought offered even greater difficulties to the passage of guns and transport.

At different stages of the advance successive lines of resistance were selected and put in a state of defense by the main bodies of our infantry, while cavalry and infantry outposts maintained touch with the enemy and covered the work of consolidation. Meanwhile, in spite of the enormous difficulties which the condition of the ground and the ingenuity of the enemy had placed in our way, the work of repairing and constructing bridges, roads, and railways was carried forward with most commendable rapidity.

Increased Enemy Resistance

North of the Bapaume-Cambrai road, between Noreuil and Neuville-Vitasse, our advance had already brought us to within two or three miles of the Hindenburg line, which entered the old German front-line system at Tilloy-lez-Mofflaines. The enemy's resistance now began to increase along our whole front, extending gradually southward from

the left flank of our advance, where our troops had approached most nearly to his new main defensive position.

A number of local counterattacks were delivered by the enemy at different points along our line. In particular, five separate attempts were made to recover Beaumetz-lez-Cambrai, which we had captured on March 21, and the farm to the north of the village. All failed, with considerable loss to the enemy.

Meanwhile, our progress continued steadily, and minor engagements multiplied from day to day all along our front. In these we were constantly successful, and at small cost to ourselves took many prisoners and numerous machine guns and trench mortars. In every fresh position captured large numbers of German dead testified to the obstinacy of the enemy's defense and the severity of his losses.

Our cavalry took an active part in this fighting, and on March 27 in particular carried out an exceedingly successful operation, in the course of which a squadron drove the enemy from Pillers Faucon and a group of neighboring villages, capturing twenty-three prisoners and four machine guns. In another series of engagements on April 1 and 2, in which Savy and Selency were taken, and our line advanced to within two miles of St. Quentin, we captured ninety-one prisoners and six German field guns. The enemy's casualties were particularly heavy.

On April 2 also an operation on a more important scale was undertaken against the enemy's positions north of the Bapaume-Cambrai road. The enemy here occupied in considerable strength a series of villages and well-wired trenches, forming an advance line of resistance to the Hindenburg line. A general attack on these positions was launched in the early morning of April 2 on a front of over ten miles, from Doignies to Henin-sur-Cojeul, both inclusive. After fighting which lasted throughout the day the entire series of villages was captured by us, with 270 prisoners, four trench mortars, and twenty-five machine guns.

By this date our troops were established on the general line Selency, Jeancourt, Epehy, Ruyaulcourt, Doignies, Mercatel, Beaurains. East of Selency, and between Doignies and our old front line east of Arras, our troops ware already close up to the main Hindenburg defenses. Between Selency and Doignies the enemy still held positions some distance in advance of his new system. During the succeeding days our efforts were directed to driving him from these advanced positions and to pushing our posts forward until contact had been established all along our front south of Arras with the main defenses of the Hindenburg line. Fighting of some importance again took place on April 4 and 5 in the neighborhood of Epehy and Havrincourt Wood, in which Ronssoy, Lempire, and Metzen-Couture were captured by us, together with 100 prisoners, two trench mortars, and eleven machine guns.

Tribute to Officers and Men

Certain outstanding features of the past five months' fighting call for brief comment before I close this report. In spite of a season of unusual severity, a Winter campaign has been conducted to a successful issue under most trying and arduous conditions.

Activity on our battle front has been maintained almost without a break from the conclusion of last year's offensive to the commencement of the present operations. The successful accomplishment of this part of our general plan has already enabled us to realize no inconsiderable installment of the fruits of the Somme battle, and has gone far to open the road to their full achievement. The courage and endurance of our troops have carried them triumphantly through a period of fighting of a particularly trying nature, in which they have been subjected to the maximum of personal hardship and physical strain. I cannot speak too highly of the qualities displayed by all ranks of the army.

I desire also to place on record here my appreciation of the great skill and energy displayed by the army commanders under whose immediate orders the operations described above were carried out. The ability with which the troops in the Ancre area were handled by General Sir Hubert Gough, and those further south, on our front from Le Transloy to Roye, by General Sir Henry Rawlinson, was in all respects admirable.

The retreat to which the enemy was driven by our continued success reintroduced on the western front conditions of warfare which had been absent from that theatre since the opening months of the war. After more than two years of trench warfare considerable bodies of our troops have been engaged under conditions approximating to open fighting, and cavalry has been given an opportunity to perform its special duties.

Our operations south of Arras during the latter half of March are, therefore, of peculiar interest, and the results achieved by all arms have been most satisfactory. Although the deliberate nature of the enemy's withdrawal enabled him to choose his own ground for resistance, and to employ every device to inflict losses on our troops, our casualties, which had been exceedingly moderate throughout the operations on the Ancre, during the period of the retreat became exceptionally light. The prospect of a more general resumption of open fighting can be regarded with great confidence.

The systematic destruction of roads, railways, and bridges in the evacuated area made unprecedented demands upon the Royal Engineers, already heavily burdened by the work entailed by the preparations for our Spring offensive. Our steady progress, in the face of the great difficulties confronting us, is the best testimony to the energy and thoroughness with which those demands were met.

The bridging of the Somme at Brie, to

which reference has already been made, is an example of the nature of the obstacles with which our troops were met and of the rapidity with which those obstacles were overcome. In this instance six gaps had to be bridged across the canal and river, some of them of considerable width and over a swift-flowing stream. The work was commenced on the morning of March 18, and was carried out night and day in three stages. By 10 P M. on the same day footbridges for infantry had been completed, as already stated. Medium type bridges for horse transport and cavalry were completed by 5 A. M. on March 20, and by 2 P. M. on March 28, or four and a half days after they had been begun, heavy bridges capable of taking all forms of traffic had taken the place of the lighter type. Medium type deviation bridges were constructed as the heavy bridges were begun, so that from the time the first bridges were thrown across the river traffic was practically continuous.

Roads and Railways

Throughout the past Winter the question of transport, in all its forms, has presented problems of a most serious nature, both in the battle area and behind the lines. On the rapid solution of these problems the success or failure of our operations necessarily largely depended.

At the close of the campaign of 1916 the steady growth of our armies and the rapid expansion of our material resources had already taxed to the utmost the capacity of the roads and railways then at our disposal. Existing broad and narrow gauge railways were insufficient to deal with the increasing volume of traffic, an undue proportion of which was thrown upon the roads. As Winter conditions set in these rapidly deteriorated, and the difficulties of maintenance and repair became almost overwhelming. An increase of railway facilities of every type and on a large scale was therefore imperatively and urgently necessary to relieve the roads. For this purpose rails, material, and rolling stock were required immediately in great quantities, while at a later date our wants in these respects were considerably augmented by a large program of new construction in the area of the enemy's withdrawal.

The task of obtaining the amount of railway material required to meet the demands of our armies, and of carrying out the work of construction at the rate rendered necessary by our plans, in addition to providing labor and material for the necessary repair of roads, was one of the very greatest difficulty. Its successful accomplishment reflects the highest credit on the Transportation Service, of whose efficiency and energy I cannot speak too highly. I desire to acknowledge in the fullest manner the debt that is owed to all who assisted in meeting a most difficult situation, and especially to Major Gen. Sir Eric Geddes, Director General of Transportation, [General Geddes became a member of the British Government July 2 as First Lord of the Admiralty,] to whose great ability, organizing power, and energy the results achieved are primarily due. I am glad to take this opportunity also to acknowledge the valuable assistance given to us by the Chemin de Fer du Nord, by which the work of the Transportation Service was greatly facilitated.

I wish also to place on record here the fact that the successful solution of the problem of railway transport would have been impossible had it not been for the patriotism of the railway companies at home and in Canada. They did not hesitate to give up the locomotives and rolling stock required to meet our needs, and even to tear up track in order to provide us with the necessary rails. The thanks of the army are due also to those who have accepted so cheerfully the inconvenience caused by the consequent diminution of the railway facilities available for civil traffic.

The various other special services, to the excellence of whose work I was glad to call attention in my last dispatch, have continued to discharge their duties with the same energy and efficiency displayed by them during the Somme battle, and have rendered most valuable assistance to our artillery and infantry.

I desire also to repeat the well-merited tribute paid in my last dispatch to the different administrative services and departments. The work entailed by the double task of meeting the requirements of our Winter operations and preparing for our next offensive was very heavy, demanding unremitting labor and the closest attention to detail.

The fighting on the Ancre and subsequent advance made large demands upon the devotion of our medical services. The health of the troops during the period covered by this dispatch has been satisfactory, notwithstanding the discomfort and exposure to which they were subjected during the extreme cold of the Winter, especially in the areas taken over from the enemy.

The loyal co-operation and complete mutual understanding that prevailed between our allies and ourselves throughout the Somme battle have been continued and strengthened by the events of the past Winter, and in particular by the circumstances attending the enemy's withdrawal. During the latter part of the period under review a very considerable tract of country has been won back to France by the combined efforts of the allied troops. This result is regarded with lively satisfaction by all ranks of the British armies in France. At the same time I wish to give expression to the feelings of deep sympathy and profound regret provoked among us by the sight of the destruction that war has wrought in a once fair and prosperous countryside. I have the honor to be, my Lord, your Lordship's obedient servant,

D. HAIG,
Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, British Armies in France.

The Mesopotamian Disaster

The British Commission's Scathing Report on Negligence of High Officials and Generals

THE commission appointed by the British Government in August, 1916, to inquire into the disastrous Mesopotamian expedition in 1915-16, submitted its report June 26, 1917, and it proved to be one of the most sensational revelations of the war.

The commission consisted of Lord George Hamilton, G. C. S. I., Chairman; Lord Donoughmore, Lord Hugh Cecil, M. P.; Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, General Sir Neville Lyttelton, Sir Archibald Williamson, M. P.; John Hodge, M. P., and Commander Josiah Wedgwood, M. P.

The report is of such length that it would be impracticable to publish it in full, hence only a summary of certain questions can be given. The commission's findings as to the first abortive advance on Bagdad are as follows:

The advance to Bagdad under the conditions existing in October, 1915, was an offensive movement based upon political and military miscalculations and attempted with tired and insufficient forces and inadequate preparation. It resulted in the surrender of more than a division of our finest fighting troops, and the casualties incurred in the ineffective attempts to relieve Kut amounted to some 23,000 men. The loss of prestige associated with these military failures was less than might have been anticipated owing to the deep impression made throughout and beyond the localities where the combats occurred by the splendid fighting power of the British and Indian forces engaged.

Various authorities and high officials are connected with the sanction given to this untoward advance. Each and all, in our judgment, according to their relative and respective positions, must be made responsible for the errors in judgment to which they were parties and which formed the basis of their advice or orders.

The weightiest share of responsibility lies with Sir John Nixon, whose confident optimism was the main cause of the decision to advance. The other persons responsible were: In India, the Viceroy (Lord Hardinge) and the Commander in Chief, (Sir Beauchamp Duff;) in England, the Military Secretary of the India Office, (Sir Edmund Barrow,) the Secretary of State for India, (Austen Chamberlain,) and the War Committee of the Cabinet. We put these names in the order and sequence of responsibility. The expert advisers of the Government who were consulted also approved the advance and are responsible for their advice, but the papers submitted to us suggest that the approval of the naval and military experts was reluctant and was perhaps partly induced by a natural desire not to disappoint the hopes of advantage to the general situation which the Government entertained. It is, however, notable that the experts unanimously anticipated no difficulty in the advance on Bagdad, but only in holding it.

We have included the War Committee of the Cabinet and the Secretary of State for India among those upon whom responsibility for this misadventure rests. It is true that the War Committee and the Secretary of State acted upon the opinion of their expert military advisers, and that the Secretary of State only gave his assent to the advance after he had received an assurance from the General on the spot that he had an available force sufficient for his purpose. But so long as the system of responsible departmental administration exists in this country those who are political heads of departments in time of war, whether they be civilian or military, cannot be entirely immune from the consequences of their own action.

The Cabinet from the first laid down the principle, from which it never departed, that questions jointly involving civil and military policy should, in existing circumstances, only be decided by the Cabinet. This authority it exercised throughout, though at times it largely delegated its powers to the War Committee of the Cabinet.

The Siege of Kut

The commission does not deal at any length with the conditions in Kut during its siege, but it publishes, as an appendix, an account of the siege by Colonel Hehir, principal medical officer to the besieged force.

The Turks closed in on General Townshend on Dec. 7, and at first their assaults were numerous and severe; but after three days' fighting about Christmas the enemy was repulsed with such heavy losses that no serious attempts to storm the town were made for the remainder of the siege. The real enemy was starvation, and this compelled the surrender of

the place on April 29, 1916, after a most gallant and tenacious defense of 147 days.

The following extracts from Colonel Hehir's paper show the straits to which the garrison was reduced:

During the last month of the siege, men at fatigues, such as trench-digging, after ten minutes' work had to rest a while and go at it again; men on sentry-go would drop down, those carrying loads would rest every few hundred yards; men availed themselves of every opportunity of lolling about or lying down. There were instances of Indians returning from trench duty in the evening seemingly with nothing the matter who lay down and were found dead in the morning—death due to starvation asthenia. Men in such a low state of vitality can stand little in the shape of illness—an attack of diarrhoea that they would have got rid of in a day or so at the beginning of the siege often ended fatally—all recuperative power had gone. At the end of the siege I doubt whether there was a single person equal to a five-mile march, carrying his equipment. Personally, up to the middle of March I could make a complete inspection of the front-line trenches and fort (about five miles) in the morning; I had then to halve it, and at the end of April, while doing even half, I had to rest on the way. Practically all officers were in the same condition of physical incapacity.

The behavior of the troops throughout the siege was splendid. The defaulter's sheet of the British soldier was a carte blanche, and there was no grumbling; there was almost a complete absence of suicide and insanity.

The difficulties in rationing the Indian troops were much enhanced by caste prejudices as to food. For a long time many of them refused to eat horse or mule flesh. Had it not been for this, these animals could not only have been used as food for the men, but the grain they consumed could have been devoted to the same purpose.

Right up to the end of the siege General Townshend and his brigadiers retained the confidence and allegiance of their men. After the terms of surrender had been settled and the Generals were departing in a steamboat as prisoners of war their men formed up along the riverside and gave them a parting cheer as a proof of their unbroken loyalty.

Equipment and Commissariat Deficiencies

Every General who appeared before the commission agreed that the Mesopotamian expedition was badly equipped. Sir Beauchamp Duff informed it that the Indian Army, which furnished the expedition, was organized only for semi-savage fighting, was not well found for an overseas expedition, to a large extent had second-rate equipment, and was "backward in every particular."

The unpreparedness of the Indian Army for its task in Mesopotamia was primarily due to a long-standing policy of economy and restriction of military preparation to the needs of frontier warfare, for which the Home and Indian Governments were, of course, responsible, and not Sir Beauchamp Duff and the General Staff at Simla. But the unpreparedness for overseas warfare was well known to the Indian military authorities, and when they undertook the management of an expedition which was to fight against Turkey supported by Germany they ought immediately to have striven energetically to bring the equipment of the expedition up to the standard of modern warfare. Serious defects in military equipment, resulting in unnecessary suffering and casualties among the troops, were allowed to persist month after month during the first fourteen months of the campaign, when the Indian Government was responsible for its management.

The commission's finding on this part of its inquiry is:

"During the period for which the Indian Government was responsible, the commissariat of the expedition cannot be said to have been up to the standard of our army in France, but there was no general breakdown. The ration originally supplied to the Indian troops was deficient in nutritive qualities, and a serious outbreak of scurvy ensued.

"In other essentials the expedition was badly and insufficiently equipped, and little if any effort was made to remedy deficiencies until the War Office took over the expedition."

Disputes with the Home Government

The history of the supply of reinforcements to the force is a melancholy tale of altercation between London and Simla. Although up to the time of the advance on Bagdad the expedition was always numerically strong enough to cope with the Turkish forces, yet this result was only attained after protracted wrangling between the Governments at home and in India, neither of whom appeared willing to accept the task of reinforcing an expedition for the success of which they were jointly responsible.

Transport

The findings as to transport are:

1. From the first the paramount importance both of river and railway transport in Mesopotamia was insufficiently realized by the military authorities in Inida.

2. A deficiency of river transport existed from the time the army left tidal water and advanced up river from Kurna. This deficiency became very serious as the lines of communication lengthened and the numbers of the force increased.

3. Up to the end of 1915 the efforts made

to rectify the deficiency of river transport were wholly inadequate.

4. For want of comprehensive grasp of the transport situation, and insufficiency of river steamers, we find the military authorities in India are responsible. The responsibility is a grave one.

5. River hospital steamers were an urgent requirement for the proper equipment of the expedition, and were not ordered until much too late.

6. With General Sir J. Nixon rests the responsibility for recommending the advances in 1915 with insufficient transport and equipment. The evidence did not disclose an imperative need to advance without due preparation. For what ensued from shortage of steamers both as concerns suffering of the wounded and military losses General Sir John Nixon must, in such circumstances, be held to blame.

7. During the first four months of 1916 the shortage of transport was fatal to the operations undertaken for the relief of Kut. Large reinforcements could not be moved to the front in time to take part in critical battles.

Medical Breakdown

The commission adopts the principal conclusions of the Vincent-Bingley Commission, which were that from a very early stage in the campaign the sick and wounded underwent avoidable discomfort and at times great suffering, owing to deficiencies in medical arrangements, especially as regards river hospital steamers, land ambulance transport, hospitals, and medical personnel and equipment. The sufferings of the wounded from these defects became aggravated after the battle of Ctesiphon, and culminated during the Kut relief operations early in January, 1915, when there was a complete breakdown of the medical arrangements. For these deficiencies the Vincent-Bingley Commission divides responsibility between the authorities in India and Mesopotamia.

No river hospital steamers were provided for what it was known must be largely a riverine campaign. Consequently, until 1916, the sick and wounded had to use ordinary river transport steamers. These were always overburdened with ordinary transport work, were not infrequently used for carrying animals, and it was not always possible properly to clear them of their accumulations of filth and dung before they were used for sick and wounded troops. No wheeled ambulance transport was provided. It follows that ordinary army transport carts were the only vehicles available for the sick and wounded where land transport was necessary. There is an overwhelming mass of evidence as to the inhumanity of using these carts for the wounded. Padding for them was not always available. In some cases dead bodies were even used as cushions. Even when padded they were cruel and dangerous for certain classes of wounded. All this must have been well known to Surgeon General Babtie, or might have been easily ascertained by inquiry or experiment. His only action in regard to developing a more suitable vehicle than the bullock tonga was to ask the Maharajah of Benares to provide a special corps of pony tongas, none of which was, however, available in Mesopotamia till long after Sir W. Babtie had left India.

Official Want of Frankness

In matters affecting the sick and wounded the want of frankness has painfully impressed the commission. A number of instances is given in which defects in medical arrangements were not reported. Perhaps the most striking of these is in connection with the medical breakdown after Ctesiphon, when over 3,500 wounded had to be removed from the battlefield to the river bank, in some cases a distance of ten miles, without proper ambulance transport, and with an insufficiency of medical personnel, of food, and of comforts, so that a large proportion of the wounded had to make their way on foot in spite of their injured condition. When they arrived at the river the available steamer accommodation was gravely inadequate.

How one of these river convoys arrived at Basra is thus described by Major Carter, the medical officer in charge of an ocean hospital ship, which was waiting at Basra to receive the wounded:

> "I was standing on the bridge on the evening when the Medjidieh arrived. She had two steel barges, without any protection against the rain, as far as I remember. As this ship, with two barges, came up to us I saw that she was absolutely packed, and the barges, too, with men. The barges were slipped and the Medjidieh was brought alongside the Varela. When she was about 300 or 400 yards off it looked as if she was festooned with ropes. The stench when she was close was quite definite, and I found that what I mistook for ropes were dried stalactites of human faeces. The patients were so huddled and crowded together on the ship that they could not perform the offices of nature clear of the edge of the ship, and the whole of the ship's side was covered with stalactites of human faeces. This is what I then saw. A certain number of men were standing and kneeling on the immediate perimeter of the ship. Then we found a mass of men huddled up anyhow—some with blankets and some without. They were lying in a pool of dysentery about thirty feet square. They were covered with dysentery and dejecta generally from head to foot. With regard to the first man I examined, I put my hand into his trousers and I thought he had a hemorrhage. His trousers were full almost

to his waist with something warm and slimy. I took my hand out, and thought it was blood clot. It was dysentery. The man had a fractured thigh, and his thigh was perforated in five or six places. He had apparently been writhing about the deck of the ship. Many cases were almost as bad. There were a certain number of cases of terribly bad bed sores. In my report I describe mercilessly to the Government of India how I found men with their limbs splinted with wood strips from 'Johnny Walker' whisky boxes, 'Bhoosa' wire, and that sort of thing."

"Question.—Were they British or Indian?—A.—British and Indian mixed."

The withdrawal of the wounded to Basra, which resulted in such appalling conditions, was officially reported to the Secretary of State as follows:

"Wounded satisfactorily disposed of. Many likely to recover in country, comfortably placed in hospitals at Amara and Basra. Those for invaliding are being placed direct on two hospital ships that were ready at Basra on arrival of river boats. General condition of wounded very satisfactory. Medical arrangements under circumstances of considerable difficulty worked splendidly."

Surgeon General Hathaway, the principal medical officer in Mesopotamia, who was responsible for drafting the above telegram, afterward sent to India a detailed report of the evacuation of the wounded; and the commission says: "Nobody reading that report would gather that anything untoward had happened, or that the wounded had undergone any special or avoidable sufferings."

Medical Findings

The medical provision for the Mesopotamia campaign was from the beginning insufficient; by reason of the continuance of this insufficiency there was a lamentable breakdown, causing severe and unavoidable suffering to the sick and wounded after the battle of Ctesiphon and the battles in January, 1916; there was amelioration in March and April, 1916; but since then the improvement has been continual, until it is reasonable to hope that now the medical provision is satisfactory. The main deficiencies were in river hospital steamers, medical personnel, river transports, and ambulance land transport.

The Secretary of State showed an earnest and continuous anxiety as to the condition of the wounded, and the only comment that can be made upon his procedure is that he did not fully utilize the official powers at his disposal for the purpose of disposing at an earlier period an investigation into the treatment of the wounded in Mesopotamia.

To Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, as Viceroy, belongs the general responsibility attaching to his position as the head of the Indian Government. In regard to the actual medical administration he showed throughout the utmost good-will, but, considering the paramount authority of his office, his action was not sufficiently strenuous and peremptory.

A more severe censure must be passed upon the Commander in Chief in India, who failed closely to superintend the adequacy of medical provision in Mesopotamia. He declined for a considerable time, until ultimately forced by the superior authority of the Viceroy, to give credence to rumors which proved to be true, and failed to take the measures which a subsequent experience shows would have saved the wounded from avoidable suffering.

The commission's findings as to the division of responsibility are:

"The division of responsibility between the India Office and the Indian Government, the former undertaking policy and the latter the management of the expedition, was, in the circumstances, unworkable. The Secretary of State, Austen Chamberlain, who controlled the policy, did not have cognizance of the capacity of the expedition to carry out the policy. The Indian Government, which managed the expedition, did not accompany developments of policy with the necessary preparations, even when they themselves proposed those developments. The scope of the objective of the expedition was never sufficiently defined in advance, so as to make each successful move part of a well-thought-out and matured plan."

The Indian Military administration is found to be faulty, and radical military reforms are recommended.

Censure of Indian Government

The commission differentiates between the error of judgment shown by the Indian Government in its advocacy of the advance to Bagdad, which might have happened in any campaign, and its failure adequately to minister to the wants of the forces employed in Mesopotamia.

"This failure," it says, "was persistent and continuous, and practically covered the whole of the period during which the Indian Government was intrusted with the management of the expedition. With the knowledge of the facts which we now possess and of the extent and scope of the preparations of the War Office since it undertook the management of the campaign, it is impossible to refrain from serious censure of the Indian Government for the lack of knowledge and foresight shown in the inadequacy of its preparations and for the lack of readiness to recognize and supply deficiencies. It ought to

have known, and with proper touch with the expedition it could have known, what were its wants and requirements. It is true that its military system was cumbrous and inept. It was, however, within the power of the Viceroy and the Commander in Chief to have established a more effective procedure and a closer touch with the expedition itself."

The report produced a profound sensation and was followed shortly afterward by the resignation of Austen Chamberlain, Secretary for India, and this action caused a partial reorganization of the Ministry and the War Council.

Lord Hardinge's Defense

Lord Hardinge, Viceroy of India from 1910 to 1916 and now Permanent Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, replied in the House of Lords to the criticisms passed upon him by the Mesopotamia Commissioners. The following were the chief points in his speech:

1. The War Effort of India.—The commission did not give sufficient prominence to the unexampled effort made by India at the outset of the war and to the generosity of her contributions, which could not fail to hamper her further operations elsewhere.

2. Internal and Frontier Affairs.—Adequate weight was not given in the report to the risks and preoccupations of the Government of India during 1914 and 1915 in connection with internal and frontier affairs.

3. The Military Budget.—The financial side of the pre-war military administration was in excess of the maximum fixed by the Nicholson Committee. In the light of after events, he recognized that possibly all ordinary financial considerations ought to have been sacrificed if the Secretary of State and India Council would have agreed.

4. The Advance on Bagdad.—The full telegraphic correspondence showed that the Government of India was strongly opposed to an advance on Bagdad without reinforcements. It might be contended that it ought to have maintained its veto, but he asked whether such a course would have been justified in view of the obvious political advantages of the capture of Bagdad, of the strong pressure from home, and of the unanimous military opinion in favor of it.

5. The Inadequacy of River Transport.—This was only revealed when it was too late to make it good, although everything possible was done to remedy it.

6. The Medical Breakdown.—He could only confess to having been completely deceived by the misleading reports received from the front, and to that extent he must accept full responsibility. But the moment the truth dawned upon him he made every effort within his power to remedy the situation.

Lord Hardinge said that the British garrison in India at the beginning of the war was reduced to about 150,000 men; 80,000 British and 210,000 Indian troops had been sent away.

In the Summer of 1914 "the Indian Army was at war strength, the magazines were full, the equipment was complete." Indeed, India sent abroad 70,000,000 rounds of small-arm ammunition, 60,000 rifles, more than 550 new guns, and over 3,500 combatant officers, with tents, boots, saddlery, clothing, &c.

"India was bled absolutely white during the first weeks of the war," said Lord Hardinge, and when the Mesopotamia campaign was started the sacrifices were severely felt. Repeated demands for troops, drafts, airplanes, machine guns, bombs, &c., were for the most part refused by the War Office or given with a sparing hand owing to the greater need in France.

In speaking of the dangers in India in the early part of the war, Lord Hardinge said:

"Conspiracies were discovered at Delhi, Lahore, and elsewhere. Revolutionaries sought to undermine the loyalty of the Indian troops. In the Spring of 1915 no fewer than 7,000 revolutionaries returned from the United States and Canada who instigated murder and terrorism in the Punjab, where there were arrests in one week of 3,500 hooligans. Later a German conspiracy in Bengal aimed at rebellion on Christmas Day, 1915. The Bay of Bengal was patrolled. For ten days every officer had to be at his post. Troop trains waited at big railway junctions. That year, 1915, was a very anxious one for India."

Mr. Chamberlain's resignation was announced in the House of Commons in an intensely dramatic climax July 12. Mr. Chamberlain gave a detailed account of the part which he had played in the control of operations in Mesopotamia. He began by repudiating any suggestion that General Sir Edmund Barrow, Military Secretary at the India Office, had in any way exceeded his powers in recommending an expedition to Mesopotamia. He reviewed stage by stage the communications which passed between the Government of India, the India

Office, and Sir John Nixon, both before and during the advance from Kut. The report of the commission, he was able to show, condensed some of the telegrams which passed and omitted important passages from others. One example was the suppression of the political reasons mentioned in the telegram of Oct. 5 as making the occupation of Bagdad desirable. These reasons, Mr. Chamberlain disclosed, were the activity of German emissaries in Persia, the pressure on Afghanistan, and the situation in the Balkans and the Dardanelles. At the same time, he made it clear that Sir John Nixon urged the advance for military reasons, provided that he was properly reinforced. The problem, according to the General Staff, was not to get to Bagdad but to remain there.

In the course of a history of the discussions and correspondence on the possibility of providing reinforcements to hold the city and the probable effects of a compulsory retirement, Mr. Chamberlain referred to the attacks made on Mr. Asquith and his colleagues for deliberately embarking on a hazardous gamble. The attacks, he said, were based on a mutilated telegram, which attributed to the Cabinet the declaration that "we are in great need of a striking success in the East."

Again filling the gaps, he revealed the fact that these words were preceded in the original message by the statement that Persia was drifting into the war on the side of the enemy and the Arabs were wavering.

Mr. Chamberlain summed up the case for authorizing the advance on Bagdad as follows:

"The capture of Bagdad might be a decisive factor in preserving peace in the Middle East and up to and on the Indian frontier.

"The Cabinet was told by every military adviser whom it consulted that the operation was perfectly feasible.

"No one of these authorities questioned the sufficiency of the force under Sir John Nixon's orders for the purpose, nor was any doubt suggested as to the capacity of his supply and transport departments to sustain the operations.

"The problem the Cabinet had to consider was whether the possibility of an eventual withdrawal outweighed the advantages of an immediate and apparently assured success.

"The Cabinet decided that it did not, and after ascertaining that the Government of India concurred in this view, the orders for the advance were issued by us."

From the military and political aspects of the operations Mr. Chamberlain passed to the collapse of the hospital arrangements, and remarked that it was both lamentable and inexcusable. "I cannot say one word," he confessed, "to excuse or to palliate the horrible breakdown." His personal plea was that he was entirely ignorant of it until the damage had been done.

In the course of a defense of Sir William Meyer and others who held responsibility in the Government of India, Mr. Chamberlain protested vigorously against efforts to cast odium on Lord Hardinge, "the most popular Viceroy that India has ever had," because the military administration to which he trusted broke down under a great strain. It would be an evil day for the country, he declared, if, because of any errors of judgment or any miscalculation for which others were as much responsible as he, a great public servant was to be hounded out of public life without a trial and without a hearing, in answer to the clamors of an ill-informed and passionate mob.

Mr. Bonar Law announced in the House of Commons on July 18 that the Government did not propose to take action in regard to the civilians criticised in the commission's report, that the resignation of Lord Hardinge would not be accepted, and that the soldiers would be dealt with in the ordinary way by the Army Council. The Government's decision regarding Lord Hardinge was challenged by Mr. Dillon on a motion of adjournment, which, however, was defeated after a vigorous debate by 176 votes against 81, a Government majority of 95.

Report on the Capture of Bagdad

General Maude's Official Narrative of the Fighting From August, 1916, to March, 1917

GENERAL SIR STANLEY MAUDE, commanding the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force, officially described in a dispatch dated July 10, 1917, the operations which culminated in the capture of Bagdad and the conquest of a large area north of the city, thus retrieving the ill-starred expedition of the year before which resulted in the surrender of a British army at Kut, and proved one of the most serious disasters which befell the British during the war.

The dispatch covers the seven months from the end of August, 1916, to March 31, 1917—three weeks after the fall of Bagdad. The first half of this period was devoted to the work of preparation, the active operations beginning in the middle of December. In his summary of the results achieved Sir Stanley Maude says:

During the second period fighting was strenuous and continuous, and the strain imposed upon all ranks, both at the front and on the lines of communication, severe. The nature of the operations has been as varied as it has been complex, and the training of the troops has been tested, first in the fierce hand-to-hand fighting in trench warfare round Kut and Sannaiyat, and later in the more open battles which characterized the operations in the Dahra Bend, the passage of the Tigris, the advance on Bagdad, and subsequent actions.

From this ordeal they have emerged with a proud record, and have dealt the enemy a series of stinging blows, the full significance of which will not be easily effaced. British and Indian troops working side by side have vied with each other in their effort to close with the enemy.

Recalling that the area over which the responsibilities of the army extended was a wide one, embracing Falahiyeh, on the Tigris; Ispahan, (exclusive,) in Persia; Bushire, on the Persian Gulf, and Nasariyeh, on the Euphrates, the dispatch proceeds:

Briefly put, the enemy's plan appeared to be to contain our main forces on the Tigris, while a vigorous campaign, which would directly threaten India, was being developed in Persia. There were indications, too, of an impending move down the Euphrates toward Nasariyeh. It seemed clear from the outset that the true solution of the problem was a resolute offensive, with concentrated forces, on the Tigris, thus effectively threatening Bagdad, the centre from which the enemy's columns were operating.

At the beginning of December the enemy still occupied the same positions on the Tigris front which he had held during the Summer, and it was decided first to secure possession of the Hai River; secondly, to clear the Turkish trench systems still remaining on the right bank of the Tigris; thirdly, to sap the enemy's strength by constant attacks, and give him no rest; fourthly, to compel him to give up the Sannaiyat position, or in default of that to extend his attenuated forces more and more to counter our strokes against his communications; and, lastly, to cross the Tigris at the weakest part of his line as far west as possible, and so sever his communications.

The Hai position was seized with little difficulty in the middle of December, but the clearing of the Khadairi Bend, which was undertaken on Jan. 6, involved severe hand-to-hand fighting, and it was not until Jan. 19 that the enemy, who had suffered heavy losses, was finally driven out.

Capture of Hai Salient

On Jan. 11, while Lieut. Gen. Cobbe was still engaged in clearing the Khadairi Bend, Lieut. Gen. Marshall commenced preparations for the reduction of the Hai salient—the extensive trench system which the Turks held astride the Hai River near its junction with the Tigris, and for a fortnight we gained ground steadily in face of strong opposition, until, on the 24th, our trenches were within 400 yards of the enemy's front line.

On the 25th the enemy's front line astride the Hai was captured on a frontage of about 1,800 yards. On the eastern (or left) bank our troops extended their success to the Turkish second line, and consolidated and held all ground won in spite of counter-attacks during the day and following night. The enemy lost heavily, both from our bombardment and in violent hand-to-hand encounters. On the western (or right) bank the task was a severe one. The trench system was elaborate, and offered facilities for counterattack. The enemy was in considerable strength on this bank, and guns and machine guns in skillfully concealed po-

sitions enfiladed our advance. Our objective was secured, but the Turks made four counterattacks. The first was repulsed; the second reached the captured line, and was about to recapture it when a gallant charge across the open by the Royal Warwicks restored the situation; the third was broken up by our artillery fire; the fourth, supported by artillery and trench mortars, forced our infantry back to their own trenches.

On the 26th the assault was renewed by two Punjabi battalions with complete success, and the captured trenches were at once consolidated. Subsequently our gains were increased by bombing attacks and with the bayonet in face of stubborn opposition, and a counterattack in the afternoon was repulsed by our artillery. Meanwhile our troops had considerably increased their hold on the enemy's position east of the Hai by bombing attacks, though their progress was hampered by the battered condition of the trenches and by the numbers of Turkish dead lying in them. On this bank the first and second lines, on a frontage of 2,000 yards, were captured by the 27th, and on the following day the whole of the front line had been secured on a frontage of two miles and to a depth varying from 300 to 700 yards, the enemy withdrawing to an inner line. On the 27th and 28th our troops penetrated further into the Turkish defenses west of the Hai by bombing attacks supported by artillery barrage, and consolidated their position in the first four lines of trenches on a frontage of 600 yards. On the 29th they secured more trenches by means of infantry raids supported by artillery.

After a short pause to readjust our dispositions, the centre of the enemy's third line on the eastern (or left) bank of the Hai was successfully assaulted by the Cheshires on Feb. 1. Bombers pushed rapidly east and west until the whole trench had been secured from the Tigris to the Hai on a front of about 2,100 yards, and an attempted counterattack was broken by our artillery. The enemy's casualties were heavy and many prisoners were taken. On the western (or right) bank the two Sikh battalions captured the enemy's position on a front of 500 yards, but our troops—especially the left of the attack—were subjected to artillery and machine-gun fire in enfilade. The trench system was complicated and difficult to consolidate, and it was not long before the Turks delivered a counterattack in strength. The most advanced parties of our infantry met the enemy's charge in brilliant style by a countercharge in the open, and casualties on both sides were severe. The preponderance of weight was, however, with the enemy, and our troops, in spite of great gallantry, were forced back by sheer weight of numbers to their original front line.

On Feb. 3 the Devons and a Ghurka battalion carried the enemy's first and second lines, and a series of counterattacks by the Turks, which continued up till dark, withered away under our shrapnel and machine gun fire. Our troops east of the Hai co-operated with machine gun and rifle fire, and two counterattacks by the enemy on the left bank of the Hai during the day were satisfactorily disposed of. In the evening there were indications that he was contemplating withdrawal to the right bank, and by daybreak on the 4th the whole of the left bank had passed into our possession. The enemy was found to have fallen back to the licorice factory and a line east and west across the Dahra Bend.

During this period the splendid fighting qualities of the infantry were well seconded by the bold support rendered by the artillery, and by the ceaseless work carried out by the Royal Flying Corps. These operations had again resulted in heavy losses to the enemy, as testified to by the dead found, and many prisoners—besides arms, ammunition, equipment, and stores—had been taken, while the Turks now only retained a fast vanishing hold on the right bank of the Tigris.

Dahra Bend Cleared

Feb. 6 to 8 were days of preparation, but continuous pressure on the enemy was maintained day and night. On the ninth the licorice factory was bombarded, and simultaneously the King's Own effected a lodgment in the centre of the enemy's line, thereafter gaining ground rapidly forward and to both flanks. Repeated attacks by the enemy's bombers met with no success, and two attempted counterattacks were quickly suppressed by our artillery. Further west the Worcesters, working toward Yusufiyah and west of that place, captured some advanced posts, trenches, and prisoners, and established a line within 2,500 yards of the Tigris at the southern end of the Shumran Bend.

On Feb. 3 the Devons and a Ghurkha batwest of the licorice factory, who had been subjected all night to repeated bombing attacks, began early to extend our hold on the enemy's front line. This movement was followed by a bombardment directed against machine guns located at Kut and along the left bank of the Tigris, which were bringing a galling fire to bear against our right. During this the Buffs and a Ghurkha battalion dashed forward, and, joining hands with the King's Own on their left, the whole line advanced northward. As communication trenches did not exist, any movement was necessarily across the open, and was subject to a hot fire from concealed machine guns on the left bank, but, in spite of this, progress was made all along the front to depths varying from 300 to 2,000 yards, our success compelling the enemy to evacuate the licorice factory. He withdrew to an inner line, approximately two and a half miles long, across the Dahra Bend, with advanced posts strongly held, and was finally inclosed in the Dahra Bend by Feb. 13.

An attack against the enemy's right centre offered the best prospects of success, and this involved the construction of trenches and approaches for the accommodation of troops destined for the assault. Early on Feb. 15 the Loyal North Lancashires captured a strong point opposite our left, which enfiladed the approaches to the enemy's right and centre, the retiring Turks losing heavily from our machine-gun fire. An hour later the enemy's extreme left was subjected to a short bombardment and feint attack. This caused the enemy to disclose his barrage in front of our right, and indicated that our constant activity on this part of his front had been successful in making him believe that our main attack would be made against that part of his line. Shortly after the Royal Welsh Fusiliers and South Wales Borderers carried the enemy's right centre in dashing style on a front of 700 yards, and extended their success by bombing to a depth of 500 yards on a frontage of 1,000 yards, taking many prisoners. Several half-hearted counterattacks ensued, which were crushed by our artillery and machine guns, and it became evident that the enemy had strengthened his left and could not transfer troops back to his centre on account of our barrage. A little later the enemy's left centre was captured by the Buffs and Dogras, and, pushing on in a north-easterly direction to the bank of the Tigris, they isolated the enemy's extreme left, where about 1,000 Turks surrendered.

Heroic Infantry

By nightfall the only resistance was from some trenches in the right rear of the position, covering about a mile of the Tigris bank, from which the enemy were trying to escape across the river, and it had been intended to clear these remaining trenches by a combined operation during the night; but two companies of a Ghurkha battalion, acting on their own initiative, obtained a footing in them and took 98 prisoners. By the morning of the 16th they had completed their task, having taken 264 more prisoners. The total number of prisoners taken on the 15th and 16th was 2,005, and the Dahra Bend was cleared of the enemy.

Thus terminated a phase of severe fighting, brilliantly carried out. To eject the enemy from this horseshoe bend, bristling with trenches and commanded from across the river on three sides by hostile batteries and machine guns, called for offensive qualities of a high standard on the part of the troops. That such good results were achieved was due to the heroism and determination of the infantry, and to the close and ever-present support rendered by the artillery, whose accurate fire was assisted by efficient airplane observation.

The enemy had now, after two months of strenuous fighting, been driven entirely from the right bank of the Tigris in the neighborhood of Kut. He still held, however, a very strong position, defensively, in that it was protected from Sannaiyat to Shumran by the Tigris, which also afforded security to his communications running along the left bank of that river. The successive lines at Sannaiyat, which had been consistently strengthened for nearly a year, barred the way on a narrow front to an advance on our part along the left bank, while north of Sannaiyat the Suwaikieh Marsh and the Marsh of Jessan rendered the Turks immune from attack from the north.

On the other hand, we had, by the application of constant pressure to the vicinity of Shumran, where the enemy's battle line and communications met, compelled him so to weaken and expand his front that his attenuated forces were found to present vulnerable points, if these could be ascertained. The moment then seemed ripe to cross the river and commence conclusions with the enemy on the left bank. To effect this it was important that his attention should be engaged about Sannaiyat and along the river line between Sannaiyat and Kut, whilst the main stroke was being prepared and delivered as far west as possible.

Storming of Sannaiyat

While Lieut. Gen. Marshall's force was engaged in the Dahra Bend, Lieut. Gen. Cobbe maintained constant activity along the Sannaiyat front, and as soon as the right bank had been cleared orders were issued for Sannaiyat to be attacked on Feb. 17. The sodden condition of the ground, consequent on heavy rain during the preceding day and night, hampered final preparations, but the first and second lines, on a frontage of about 400 yards, were captured by a surprise assault with little loss. Before the captured trenches, however, could be consolidated they were subjected to heavy fire from artillery and trench mortars, and were strongly counterattacked by the enemy. The first counterattack was dispersed, but the second regained for the enemy his lost ground, except on the river bank, where a party of Ghurkhas maintained themselves until dusk, and were then withdrawn. The waterlogged state of the country and a high flood on the Tigris now necessitated a pause, but the time was usefully employed in methodical preparation for the passage of the Tigris about Shumran.

On Feb. 22 the Seaforths and a Punjabi battalion assaulted Sannaiyat, with the same objective as on the 17th. The enemy were again taken by surprise, and our losses were slight. A series of counterattacks followed, and the first three were repulsed without difficulty. The fourth drove back our left, but the Punjabis, reinforced by an Indian Rifle battalion and assisted by the fire of the Seaforths, who were still holding the Turkish trenches on the right front, reestablished their position. Two more counterattacks which followed were defeated. As soon as the captured position had been consolidated two frontier force regiments assaulted the trenches still held by the enemy

MAP OF REGION TRAVERSED BY THE BRITISH EXPEDITION THAT CAPTURED BAGDAD

in prolongation of, and to the north of, those already occupied by us. A counterattack forced our right back temporarily, but the situation was restored by the arrival of reinforcements, and by nightfall we were in secure occupation of the first two lines of Sannaiyat. The brilliant tenacity of the Seaforths throughout this day deserves special mention.

Feints in connection with the passage of the Tigris were made on the night of the 22d-23d opposite Kut and at Magasis, respectively. Opposite Kut preparations for bridging the Tigris opposite the licorice factory, under cover of a bombardment of Kut, were made furtively in daylight, and every detail, down to the erection of observation ladders, was provided for. The result was, as afterward ascertained, that the enemy moved infantry and guns into the Kut peninsula, and these could not be retransferred to the actual point of crossing in time to be of any use. The feint at Magasis consisted of a raid across the river, made by a detachment of Punjabis, assisted by parties of sappers and miners and of the Sikh Pioneers. This bold raid was successfully carried out with trifling loss, and the detachment returned with a captured trench mortar.

Tigris Crossed

The site selected for the passage of the Tigris was at the south end of the Shumran Bend, where the bridge was to be thrown, and three ferrying places were located immediately downstream of this point. Just before daybreak on Feb. 23 the three ferries began to work. The first trip at the ferry immediately below the bridge site, where the Norfolks crossed, was a complete surprise, and five machine guns and some 300 prisoners were captured. Two battalions of Ghurkhas, who were using the two lower ferries, were met by a staggering fire before they reached the left bank, but in spite of losses in men and pontoons they pressed on gallantly and effected a landing. The two downstream ferries were soon under such heavy machine-gun fire that they had to be closed, and all ferrying was subsequently carried on by means of the upstream ferry.

By 7:30 A. M. about three companies of the Norfolks and some 150 of the Ghurkhas were on the left bank. The enemy's artillery became increasingly active, but was vigorously engaged by ours, and the construction of the bridge commenced. The Norfolks pushed rapidly upstream on the left bank, taking many prisoners, while our machine guns on the right bank, west of the Shumran Bend, inflicted casualties on those Turks who tried to escape. The Ghurkha battalions on the right and centre were meeting with more opposition, and their progress was slower. By 3 P. M. all three battalions were established on the east and west line one mile north of the bridge site, and a fourth battalion was being ferried over. The enemy attempted to counterattack down the centre of the peninsula and to reinforce along its western edge, but both attempts were foiled by the quickness and accuracy of our artillery. At 4:30 P. M. the bridge was ready for traffic.

By nightfall, as a result of the day's operations, our troops had, by their unconquerable valor anad determination, forced a passage across a river in flood, 340 yards wide, in face of strong opposition, and had secured a position 2,000 yards in depth, covering the bridgehead, while ahead of this line our patrols were acting vigorously against the enemy's advanced detachments, who had suffered heavy losses, including about 700 prisoners taken in all. The infantry of one division were across and another division was ready to follow.

Kut Reoccupied

While the crossing at Shumran was proceeding, Lieut. Gen. Cobbe had secured the third and fourth lines at Sannaiyat. Bombing parties occupied the fifth line later, and work was carried on all night making roads across the maze of trenches for the passage of artillery and transport. Early on Feb. 24 our troops in the Shumran Bend resumed the advance, supported by machine guns and artillery from the right bank. The enemy held on tenaciously at the northeast corner of the peninsula, where there is a series of nalas in which a number of machine guns were concealed, but after a strenuous fight, lasting for four or five hours, he was forced back, and two field and two machine guns and many prisoners fell into our possession. Further west our troops were engaged with strong enemy forces in the intricate mass of ruins, mounds, and nalas which lie to the northwest of Shumran, and rapid progress was impossible, but toward evening the enemy had been pushed back to a depth of 1,000 yards, although he still resisted stubbornly.

While this fighting was in progress the cavalry, the artillery, and another division crossed the bridge. The cavalry attempted to break through at the northern end of the Shumran Bend to operate against the enemy's rear along the Bagdad road, by which airplanes reported hostile columns to be retreating, but strong Turkish rearguards intrenched in nalas prevented them from issuing from the peninsula. During this day's fighting at Shumran heavy losses had been inflicted on the enemy, and our captures have been increased in all to four field guns, eight machine guns, some 1,650 prisoners, and a large quantity of rifles, ammunition, equipment, and war stores. The gunboats were now ordered upstream from Falahiyeh, and reached Kut the same evening.

While these events wre happening at Shumran, Lieut. Gen. Cobbe cleared the enemy's sixth line at Sannaiyat, the Nakhailat, and Suwada positions, and the left bank as far as Kut without much opposition.

The capture of the Sannaiyat position, which the Turks believed to be impregnable, had only been accomplished after a fierce struggle, in which our infantry, closely supported by our artillery, displayed great gallantry and endurance against a brave and determined enemy. The latter had again suffered severely. Many trenches were choked with corpses, and the open ground where counterattacks had taken place was strewn with them.

Flight of the Turks

Early in the morning of Feb. 25 the cavalry and Lieut. Gen. Marshall's force moved northwest in pursuit of the enemy, whose rearguards had retired in the night. The gunboats also proceeded up stream. Our troops came in contact with the enemy about eight miles from Shumran and drove him back, in spite of stubborn resistance, to his main position two miles further west, where the Turks, strong in artillery, were disposed in trenches and nalas. Our guns, handled with dash, gave valuable support, but were handicapped in this flat country by being in the open, while the Turkish guns were concealed in gun pits. After a severe fight our infantry gained a footing in the enemy's position and took about 400 prisoners. The cavalry on the northern flank had been checked by intrenched infantry and were unable to envelop the Turkish rearguard. The Royal Navy, on our left flank, co-operated with excellent effect in the bombardment of the enemy's position during the day.

On the 26th one column, following the bend of the river, advanced to force any position which the enemy might be holding on the left bank of the Tigris, while another column of all arms marched direct to the Sumar Bend in order to intercept him. His retreat proved, however, to be too rapid. Stripping themselves of guns and other incumbrances, the Turks just evaded our troops, who had made a forced march across some eighteen milse of arid plain. Our cavalry came up with the enemy's rear parties and shelled his rearguard, intrenched near Nahr Kellak.

The gunboat flotilla, proceeding upstream full speed ahead, came under very heavy fire at the closest range from guns, machine guns, and rifles, to which it replied vigorously. In spite of casualties and damage to the vessels, the flotilla held on its course past the rearguard position, and did considerable execution among the enemy's retreating columns. Further upstream many of the enemy's craft were struggling to get away, and the Royal Navy pressed forward in pursuit. The hostile vessels were soon within easy range, and several surrendered, including the armed tug Sumana, which had been captured at Kut when that place fell. The Turkish steamer Basra, full of troops and wounded, surrendered when brought to by a shell which killed and wounded some German machine gunners. His Majesty's ship Firefly, captured from us during the retreat from Ctesiphon in 1915, kept up a running fight, but, after being hit several times, she fell into our hands, the enemy making an unsuccessful attempt to set fire to her magazine. The Pioneer, badly hit by our fire, was also taken, as well as some barges laden with munitions. Our gunboats were in touch with and shelled the retreating enemy during

most of the 27th, and his retirement was harassed by the cavalry until after dark, when his troops were streaming through Aziziyeh in great confusion.

Hussars' Brilliant Charge

The pursuit was broken off at Aziziyeh, (fifty miles from Kut and half way to Bagdad,) where the gunboats, cavalry, and Lieut. Gen. Marshall's infantry were concentrated during the pause necessary to reorganize our extended line of communication preparatory to a further advance. Lieut. Gen. Cobbe's force closed to the front, clearing the battlefields and protecting the line of march. Immense quantities of equipment, ammunition, rifles, vehicles, and stores of all kinds, lay scattered throughout the eighty miles over which the enemy had retreated under pressure, and marauders on looting intent did not hesitate to attack small parties who stood in their way.

Since crossing the Tigris we had captured some 4,000 prisoners, of whom 188 were officers; thirty-nine guns, twenty-two trench mortars, eleven machine guns, his Majesty's ships Firefly, Sumana, (recaptured), Pioneer, Basra, and several smaller vessels, besides ten barges, pontoons, and other bridging material, quantities of rifles, bayonets, equipment, ammunition and explosives, vehicles, and miscellaneous stores of all kinds. In addition, the enemy threw into the river or otherwise destroyed several guns and much war material.

On March 5, the supply situation having been rapidly readjusted, Lieut. Gen. Marshall marched to Zeur, (eighteen miles,) preceded by the cavalry, which moved seven miles further to Lajj. Here the Turkish rearguard was found in an intrenched position, very difficult to locate by reason of a dense dust storm that was blowing and of a network of nalas, with which the country is intersected. The cavalry was hotly engaged with the enemy in this locality throughout the day, and took some prisoners. A noticeable feature of the day's work was a brilliant charge made, mounted, by the Hussars straight into the Turkish trenches. The enemy retreated during the night.

The dust storm continued on the 6th, when the cavalry, carrying out some useful reconnoissances, got within three miles of the Diala River, and picked up some prisoners. The Ctesiphon position, strongly intrenched, was found unoccupied. There was evidence that the enemy had intended to hold it, but the rapidity of our advance had evidently prevented him from doing so. Lieut. Gen. Marshall followed the cavalry to Bustan, (seventeen miles,) and the head of Lieut. Gen. Cobbe's column reached Zeur.

On March 7 our advanced guard came in contact with the enemy on the line of the Diala River, which joins the Tigris on its left bank, about eight miles below Bagdad. As the ground was absolutely flat and devoid of cover, it was decided to make no further advance till after sunset. Our gunboats and artillery, however, came into action against the hostile guns.

Gallant North Lancashires

Measures for driving the enemy's infantry from the Diala were initiated on the night of March 7-8. It appeared as though the enemy had retired, but when the first pontoon was launched it was riddled by rifle and machine-gun fire. A second attempt was made with artilley and machine-gun cooperation. Five pontoons were launched, but they were all stopped by withering fire from concealed machine guns. They floated down stream, and were afterward recovered in the Tigris River with a few wounded survivors on board, and further ferrying enterprises were for the time being deemed impracticable. It now became evident that, although the line of the Diala was not held strongly, it was well defended by numerous guns and machine guns skillfully sited, and the bright moonlight favored the defense. To assist in forcing the passage a small column from the force under Lieut. Gen. Marshall was ferried across the Tigris in order to enfilade the enemy's position with its guns from the right bank of that river.

During the night of the 8th-9th, after an intense bombardment of the opposite bank, an attempt was made to ferry troops across the Diala River from four separate points. The main enterprise achieved a qualified success, the most northern ferry being able to work for nearly an hour before it was stopped by very deadly rifle and machine gun fire, and we established a small post on the right bank. When day broke this party of seventy of the Loyal North Lancashires had driven off two determined counterattacks and were still maintaining themselves in a small loop of the river bend. For the next twenty-two hours, until the passage of the river had been completely forced, the detachment held on gallantly in its isolated position under constant close fire from the surrounding buildings, trenches, and gardens, being subjected to reverse as well as enfilade fire from distant points along the right bank.

On the 8th a bridge was constructed across the Tigris, half a mile below Bawi, and the cavalry, followed by a portion of Lieut. Gen. Cobbe's force, crossed to the right bank in order to drive the enemy from positions which our airplanes reported that he had occupied about Shawa Khan, and northwest of that place, covering Bagdad from the south and southwest. The advance of our troops was much impeded by numerous nalas and water cuts, which had to be ramped to render them passable. During the forenoon of the 9th Shawa Khan was occupied without much opposition, and airplanes reported another position one and a half miles to the northwest, and some six miles south of Bagdad, as strongly held. Our attack against this developed later from the south and

southwest in an endeavor to turn the enemy's right flank. The cavalry, which at first had been operating on our left flank, withdrew later, as the horses needed water; but our infantry were still engaged before this position when darkness fell, touch with the enemy being kept up by means of patrols, and the advance was resumed as soon as indications of his withdrawal were noticed.

City Entered

On the morning of March 10 our troops were again engaged with the Turkish rearguard within three miles of Bagdad, and our cavalry patrols reached a point two miles west of Bagdad railway station, where they were checked by the enemy's fire. A gale and blinding dust storm limited vision to a few yards, and under these conditions reconnoissance and co-ordination of movements became difficult. The dry wind and dust and the absence of water away from the river added greatly to the discomfort of the troops and animals. About midnight patrols reported the enemy to be retiring. The dust storm was still raging, but, following the Decauville Railway as a guide, our troops occupied Bagdad railway station at 5:55 A. M., and it was ascertained that the enemy on the right bank had retired upstream of Bagdad. Troops detailed in advance occupied the city, and the cavalry moved on Kadhimain, some four miles northwest of Bagdad, where they secured some prisoners.

On the left bank of the Tigris Lieut. Gen. Marshall had during the 9th elaborated preparations for forcing the passage of the Diala. At 4 A. M. on the 10th the crossing began at two points a mile apart, and met with considerable opposition, but by 7 A. M. the East Lancashires and Wiltshires were across and had linked up with the detachment of Loyal North Lancashires which had so heroically held its ground there. Motor lighters carrying infantry to attack the enemy's right flank above the mouth of the Diala grounded lower down the river, and took no part in the operation. The bridge across the Diala was completed by noon, and our troops, pushing steadily on, drove the enemy from the riverside villages of Saidah, Dibaiyi, and Qararah—the latter strongly defended with machine guns—and finally faced the enemy's last position covering Bagdad along the Tel Muhammad Ridge. These operations had resulted in the capture of 300 prisoners and a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and equipment, while severe loss had been inflicted on the enemy in killed and wounded, more than 300 of his dead being found by our troops.

During the night of March 10-11 close touch with the enemy was maintained by patrols, and at 1:30 A. M. on the 11th it was reported that the Turks were retiring. The Tel Muhammad position was at once occupied, and patrols pushed beyond it, but contact with the enemy was lost in the dust storm. Early on the 11th Lieut. Gen. Marshall advanced rapidly on Bagdad, and entered the city amid manifestations of satisfaction on the part of the inhabitants. A state of anarchy had existed for some hours, Kurds and Arabs looting the bazaars and setting fire indiscriminately at various points. Infantry guards provided for in advance were, however, soon on the spot, order was restored without difficulty, and the British flag hoisted over the city. In the afternoon the gunboat flotilla, proceeding up stream in line ahead formation, anchored off the British Residency, and the two forces under Lieut. Gens. Marshall and Cobbe provided for the security of the approaches to the city, being disposed one on either bank of the river.

For more than a fortnight before we entered Bagdad the enemy had been removing stores and articles of military value and destroying property which he could not remove, but an immense quantity of booty, part damaged, part undamaged, remained. This included guns, machine guns, rifles, ammunition, machinery, railway workshops, railway material, rolling stock, ice and soda water plant, pipes, pumps, cranes, winches, signal and telegraph equipment, and hospital accessories. In the arsenal were found, among some cannon of considerable antiquity, all the guns (rendered useless by General Townshend) which fell into the enemy's hands at the capitulation of Kut in April, 1916.

Care of Sick and Wounded

On the right bank of the Tigris the retreating enemy had intrenched a strong position south of Mushaidie railway station, some twenty miles north of Bagdad. A force under Lieut. Gen. Cobbe carried this on March 14, after a brilliant charge by the Black Watch and Ghurkhas. At Mushaidie station the enemy made his last stand, but the Black Watch and Ghurkhas rushed the station at midnight, and pursued the enemy for half a mile beyond. The enemy's flight was now so rapid that touch was not obtained again, and on March 16 our airplanes reported stragglers over a depth of twenty miles, the nearest being twenty-five miles north of Mushaidie.

On the same day a post was established on the right bank of the Diala, opposite Baqubah, thirty miles northeast of Bagdad, and four days later Baqubah was captured. On March 19 our troops occupied Feluja, thirty-five miles west of Bagdad, on the Euphrates, driving out the Turkish garrison. The occupation of Feluja, with Nasariyeh already in our possession, gave us control over the middle Euphrates from both ends. During the remainder of the month minor operations were undertaken on the Diala, pending the arrival of the Russian forces advancing from Persia. The total number of prisoners taken during the period Dec. 13 to March 31 was 7,921.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[English Cartoon]

United Again

—From The Evening News, London.

JOHN: "Today's the day you left me, Sam, the day that made you free."
SAM: "Yep, John, free to come back!"

[French Cartoon]

A Large Contract

—From Pele-Mele, Paris.

WILLIAM: "I never imagined Liberty was so high that it was impossible to extinguish her flame."

[German Cartoon]

The Roar of the American War God

—From Kladderadatsch, Berlin.

[One of Germany's many attempts to ridicule the fighting ability of the United States.]

[French Cartoon]

After the Charge

—From La Baionnette, Paris.

THE POILU: "I, too, have brought down my fifth Boche, but it won't be mentioned in the War Office bulletin."

[NOTE.—Every French aviator who brings down his fifth enemy machine is cited in the official reports]

[English Cartoon]

America's Choice

—*Raemaekers in Land and Water, London.*

America refuses the olive branch from "the ugly talons of the sinister power."
(President Wilson's Address on Flag Day, June 14.)

[Australian Cartoon]

For the Armageddon Melting Pot

—*From The Sydney Bulletin.*

DEMOCRITUS THE JUNK MAN: "Any old crowns today—any old crowns?"

[Italian Cartoon]

Constantine's Report

—From Il 420, Florence.

WILHELM: "What necessity forced you to leave Greece?"
CONSTANTINE: "It was not necessity. It was the Entente."

[Italian Cartoon]

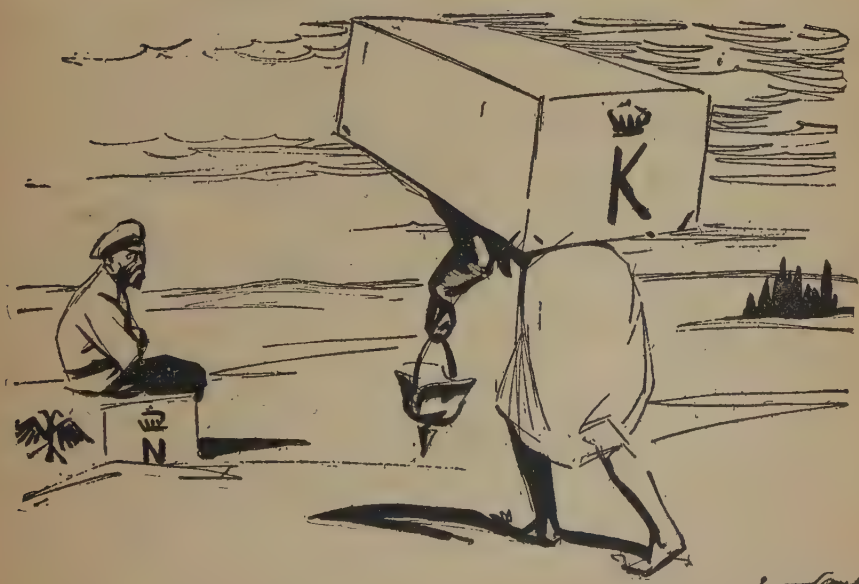
Constantine's Departure

—From Il Numero, Turin.

A cold welcome in Switzerland, but things are coming his way.

[French Cartoon]

The Sovereigns' Asylum



—From La Victoire, Paris.

CONSTANTINE: "Move up, Nicholas, some others are coming."

[German Cartoon]

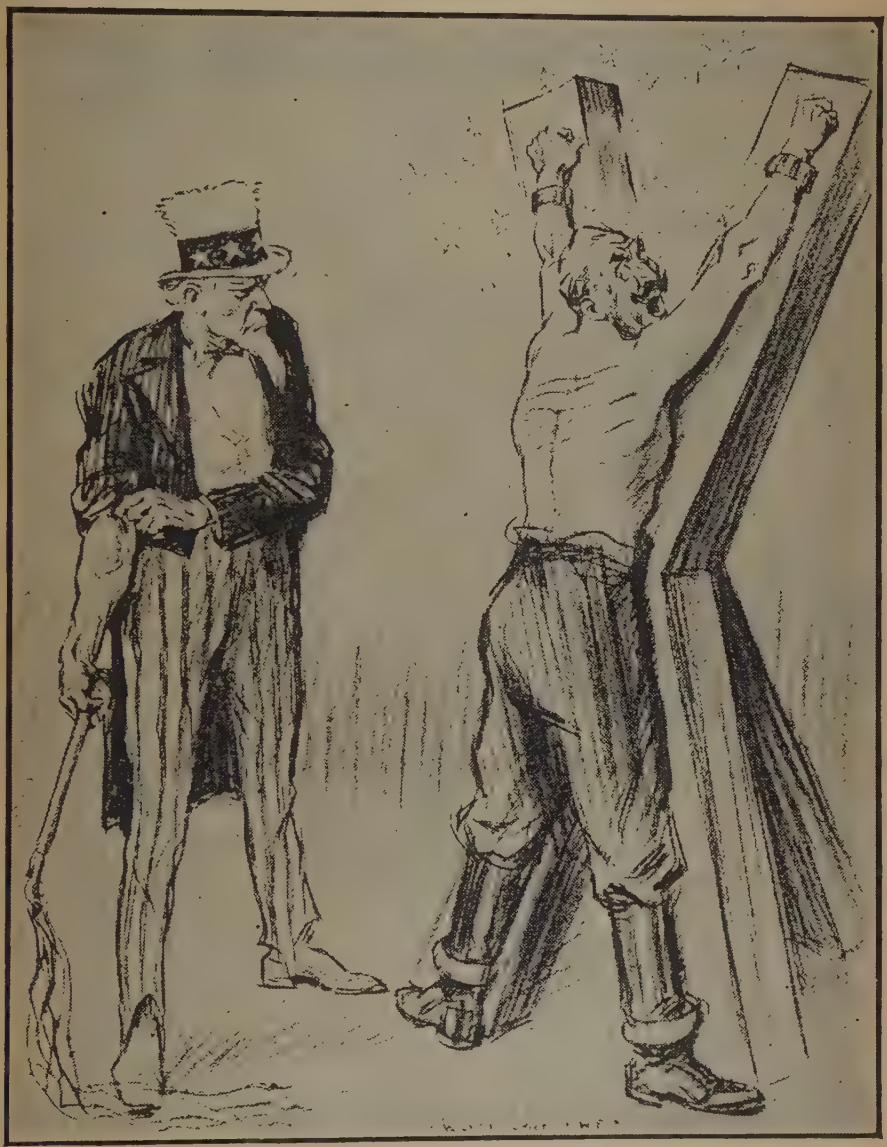
John Bull, the Conqueror

—From Der Ulk, Berlin.

"It's an easy job to conquer Germany. Look, I have already captured a French village!"

[English Cartoon]

Uncle Sam's War Aim



—From The Bystander, London.

To demonstrate to the Kaiser a new meaning of Stars and Stripes.

[English Cartoon]

The U-Boat Blockade

—From London Opinion.

JOHN BULL: "What! Not starving yet!"

[Norwegian Cartoon]

Full Compensation

—From Hvepsen, Christiania.

GERMAN CONSUL: "Our Government has decided to pay full compensation for the torpedoed ship on which your husband was drowned. How much do you want?"

[French Cartoon]

The American Spirit

—Le Rire, Paris.

No longer a matter of typewriting machines.

[Polish Cartoon]

We, Nicholas II., &c., &c.

—From Mucha, formerly of Warsaw.

[American Cartoon]

The Last Draft

—*From The New York Times.*

DEMOCRACY: "On what grounds do *you* claim exemption?"

[French Cartoon]

The Kaiser's Insignia

As they appear—

—*From Le Pele-Mele, Paris.*

—and as they are.

[Italian Cartoon]

Peace

—*From Il 420, Florence.*

Over the body of Attila the celebrated artist Death will sing the hymn of peace.

[American Cartoon]

On the Brink

—*From The New York Times.*

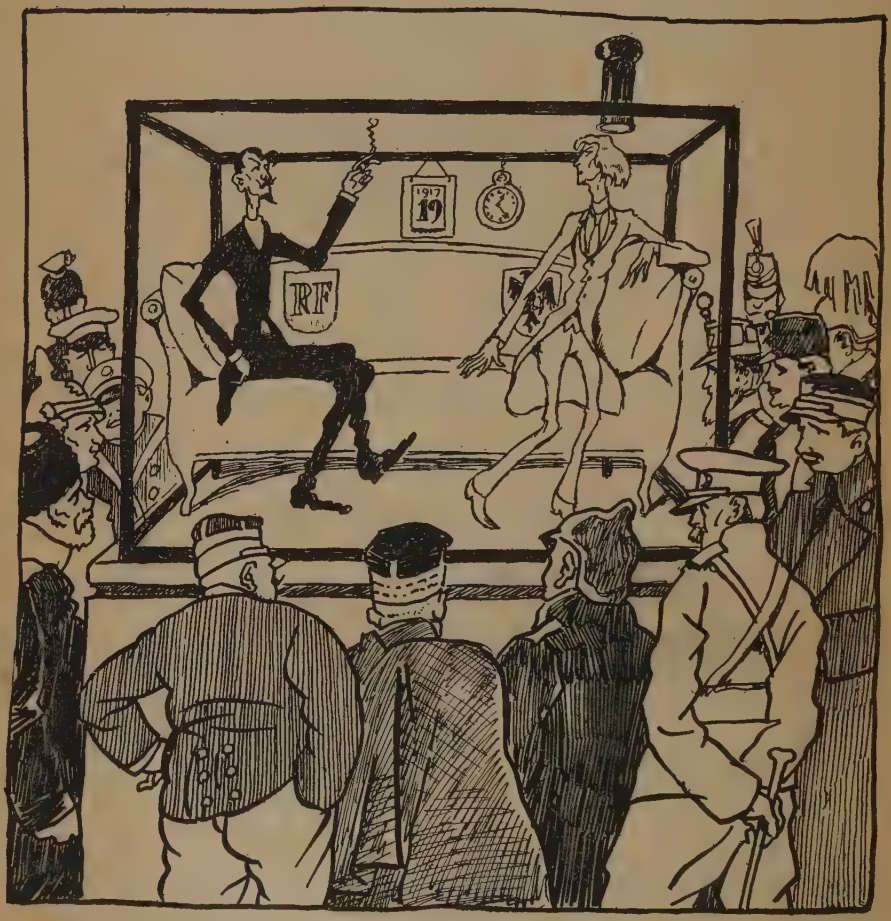
[American Cartoon]

Whose Fire Is It, Anyhow?

—From The Baltimore American.

[German-Swiss Cartoon]

Deciding the Hunger War



—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

In the end it will be fought out by a German poet and a French artist in the form of a hunger duel.

Ivan's Answer

—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

The Persecuted Middleman

—Dallas News.

A Hard Leap for Fritzie

—Cleveland Leader.

U. S.: "That Fellow Certainly Has Some Appetite"

—Ohio State Journal.

"'Smatter, Pop?"

—Baltimore American.

Off for the Front

—From The Manchester Union.

The Man Behind the Gun

—Montgomery Advertiser.

The Tail Trying to Wag the Dog

—Duluth Herald.

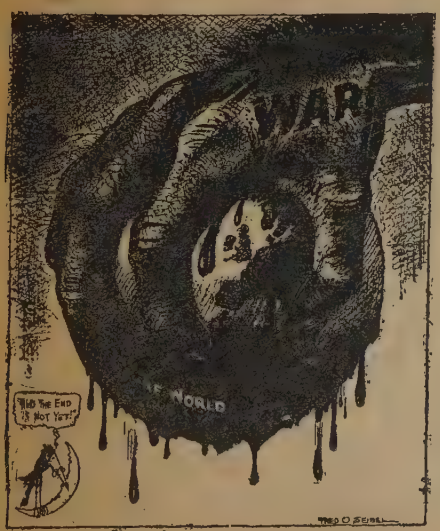
"The Last Argument of Kings"

—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

Unmasked

—*Atlanta Journal.*

The Third Anniversary



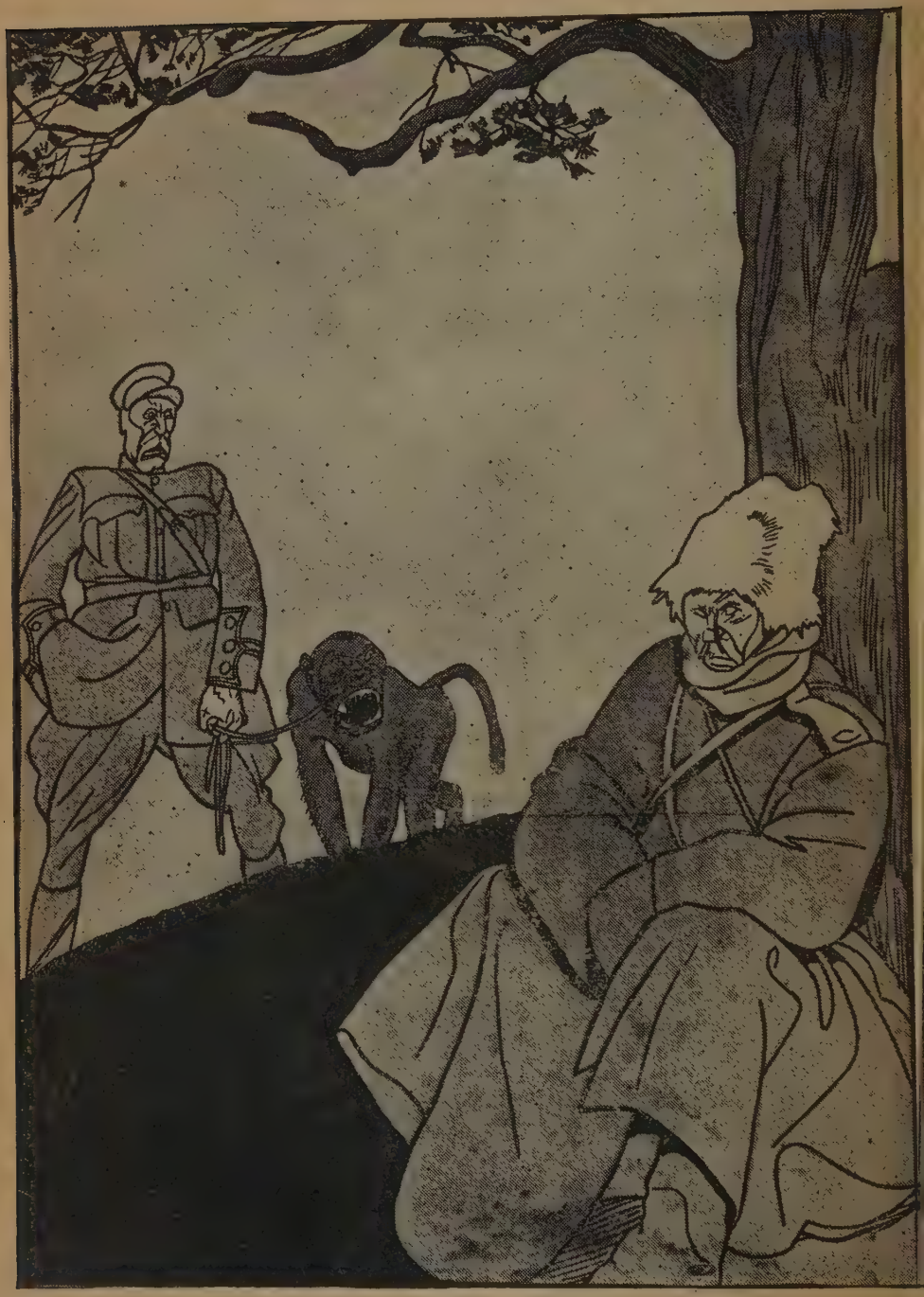
—*Knickerbocker Press, Albany, N. Y.*

The Early Bird Loses the Worm

—*Baltimore American.*

[German Cartoon]

English Reserve



—*From Simplicissimus, Munich.*

JOHN BULL: "Look out, Russia! If you don't love me any more I will set my Japanese on you!"

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